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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XXXIII.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1859.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1859.

ART. I.—1. *Annual Report of the Revenue Survey Operations in the North West Provinces, the Punjaub and Sindh for Season* 1856-57. Calcutta: *Military Orphan Press.*

2. *Dry Leaves from Central India:—Engineer's Journal of India and the Colonies:* Calcutta.

3. *Professor Oldham's Strictures on the Geology of Central India.*

ATTENTION has been recently called to the progress of Revenue Survey Operations in the North West Provinces, the Punjaub and Sindh, by the able Annual Report which Major Thuillier has furnished for the Season 1856-57. This subject, so useful in an economic point of view, may not to the general reader prove dry and uninteresting.

Like the ordnance survey of England, that great national undertaking, the topographical survey of India is based on a system of accurate triangulation. Those who are acquainted with the system of triangulation carried on by the Ordnance Survey, or with the internal details of work of the Southampton Office, will not be at a loss to understand the workings of the system in India. The principal series of triangulation of the Ordnance Survey, carried on with the most rigorous precaution and with the most perfect mechanical means which human ingenuity can devise, is scarcely susceptible of any appreciable error. Projected from the measured base lines on the shores of Lough Foyle and Salisbury Plain, the sides of those triangles vary from sixty to thirty miles. Checked by Azimuths of verification, the ratio of error between measured base lines and their computed distance scarcely exceeds two and a half inches for seven miles. This minuteness and accuracy are indispensably necessary, where the object of the large triangulation is to form a basis for a network of smaller and subsidiary triangles.

The mode of procedure and the object of the Great Trigonometrical Survey in India, are precisely the same. The superstructure of detail topographical work in the two countries is, however, widely different.

From the time when the Great Trigonometrical Survey was first commenced by Colonel Lambton in 1801, it had for its object the acceptance of a basis for topographical survey. It is by means of it, to use Colonel Waugh's expression, that the four initial elements required for commencing a survey are obtained; viz. 1st, a point of departure, the latitude and longitude of which are fixed; 2nd, a linear element or base of ascertained length; 3rd, an initial Azimuth or true direction of the meridian; and 4th, the height above the sea level. On this basement is the structure of topographical survey in India raised. Less costly, perhaps, and less minute than the Ordnance Survey, it is admirably adapted for the requirements of our Indian Empire. In the Ordnance Survey the method adopted to fill in the topographical detail is by means of subsidiary triangles and chain measurement, delineating every physical and artificial feature. This method, admirably adapted where accuracy and minuteness are indispensably necessary, would for our colossal Indian Empire prove too slow and too costly.

The Indian Empire embraces an area of a million and a half of square miles. England, Scotland, and Wales, do not exceed ninety thousand. That system, then, of a contoured trigonometrical survey, of which the contouring alone might be estimated to cost 40 Rs. per mile, would not satisfy the conditions for which a topographical survey in India is necessary; nor would it be adapted to the physical nature of the country. Departing, then, from that system, the substitution of the plane table has been adopted for topographical survey operations in India. This system has been found the least inexpensive and felicitous, it allows of the greatest rapidity of execution compatible with correctness, and can be entrusted to native agency under European superintendence.

The results for eleven years are before us, exemplified in the operation of the North-West and Punjaub surveys.

No. of Parties.	Division of Surveys.	Area Surveyed.	Total Cost.	Average rate per Sqr. Mile.	Grant allowed.	Savings to Govt.
		Sqr. miles.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5	Bengal ...	6965.69	1,76,183-1-1	25-4-7	1,87,620-0-0	11,436-14-11
4	Punjaub ...	12509.76	1,60,592-12-0	12-13-3	1,57,516-0-0	3,076-12-0
5	N. W. Provinces ...	5109.57	1 49,117-9-9	29-2-11	1,50,096-0-0	973-6-3
14	Total for Season 1856-57 ...	24585.02	4,85,893-6-10	19-12-2	4,95,232-0-0	9,338-9-2
	Total for 1855-56 ...	18313.97	4,19,472-4-5	22-14-5	5,47,839-5-11	1,28,367-1-6
	Difference	6271.05	66,421-2-5	3-2-3	52,607-5-11	1,19,028-8-4
	Grand Total for II. Seasons 1846,47	155170.45	35,23,436 4-2	22-11-4	40,18,217-15-6	4,94,781-11-4

Thus at a total cost of Rs. 35,23,436 has an area of 1,55,170 square miles been surveyed. This would give us an estimate very much higher than what Col. Waugh reckoned, but which nevertheless by the judicious will be thought very satisfactory. Major Thuillier has, by retrenchments, by the facilities for surveying afforded in Bengal by large areas of champaign country, and in the Punjaub by large tracts of uninhabited and waste forest lands, succeeded in shewing the pretty large figure of 4,94,781 Rs. as savings to Government. That this method of surveying is the best adopted, and the best which under circumstances could have been adopted, will scarcely in the face of these results be denied. That it must rank as one of the greatest works of public utility undertaken in India, bears the truth of its own impress. It is due to Lord Bentinck that we owe in a great measure the present plan and organization of the work. In 1823, when it was first in contemplation to undertake the work of Indian surveys, and to execute an atlas, which, on the scale of 4 miles to the inch, should form a complete topographical delineation of the country, Major Rennel, startled with the very extensive area which was to be brought under survey, suggested the cheap and comparatively *rapid method* of conducting the work on an astronomical basis. The latitude and longitude of principal stations were to be determined by astronomical observations, and their relative positions correctly delineated: "the intervals were to be 'filled up" writes Major Rennel "by compass bearings, and by 'time employed as a means of distance (which habit will soon 'render familiar,) by triangles formed in a coarse way, where the 'country is favorable by furnishing natural marks, and by latitudes and longitudes finally made subsidiary to the observations 'above contemplated." Subsequently he seems to have discarded this opinion. More judicious, and sacrificing the quantity to the quality, Lord William Bentinck suggested a survey based on an accurate system of triangulation. In his minute on this subject he sketched with some precision the leading principles and the system of internal detail, on which an extensive survey should be conducted. Those views were eminently sound, practical and statesman-like; and stand out in strong relief from that narrow and economical policy which characterized the Government of Lord Ellenborough on the Ganges Canal question. There are some points which must redeem Indian Statesmanship from the slur of either unfitness or incapacity. That some acts have been characterized by an insouciant style of execution, and that the system of protocolling and delay has its inevitable evils, cannot be denied. Speedy measures are too often intended to dazzle as a coup de theatre, and want of mature deliberation in the undertaking of great national works of public utility, may too often be attended with consequences of very serious and permanent evil.

The United States of America afford us a recent illustration. It is incontestable that the cheap American Railway has signally proved a failure. Less permanent, and at commencement less expensive, than the system adopted in England and the Continent, it has been found by a careful and elaborate comparison that the cost for working and maintaining Railways in America, exceeds the cost for the same amount of mileage in England. Thus in nearly every department, wherein permanency, quality, and the future are sacrificed to quantity and the present, wherever the higher development of skill is undervalued, wherever a coup de theatre is intended, disastrous failure must be expected.

In India where the principle source of Revenue springs from land, and where endless disputes and litigations must arise from contested boundaries, a system of survey operations based on the principle of giving permanency to established rights, and the primary operations of which are directed conformably to the artificial boundaries of estates previously marked out and roughly *surveyed, will* perhaps be found to be better adapted for Indian requirements than any other system of which the operations might be made conformable with natural boundaries. These Estates, Mouzahs, or Mehals are often very extensive. A cluster of them are incorporated in a superior division, Pergunnah or Tuppah. The limits of these are generally bounded by the natural features of the country, a broad river, a narrow mountain torrent, or a range of hills: and it is with the boundaries of these Pergunnahs that the principal lines of operation, the main circuits of a Revenue Survey, are made to conform. Subsidiary to the main circuits are the boundaries of the villages comprized within the circuit. These have to be surveyed subsequently to the main circuit survey, the angular and linear measurements affording the data for plot, while simple deductions on the system of traverse, give the arithmetical areas of the land surveyed. The survey is conducted on the traverse system, or the system of computation by rectangular co-ordinates, and it is the simplicity of this system which enables extensive areas to be surveyed with rapidity, and the large out-turns of work we have noticed to be annually made. So well indeed and successfully had this system of periphery measurement, to use Major Thuillier's expression, been found to work, that in 1837 the Revenue Board N. W. P. suggested the scheme of doubling the establishment, and of obtaining a yearly out-turn of 3,000 square miles. The intervals between village boundaries are filled up with sketch surveys executed with the prismatic compass, or the plane table, on the plan of the Bavarian Cadastre. In these sketch maps are delineated every artificial as well as every physical feature which comes under survey, roads, rivers, tanks, temples, village sites, footpaths; every feature which it would be useful to shew for military or political purposes; and even hills, local elevations, or subsidences may, with sufficient care, be delineated with an approach to accuracy and truth. In open and champaign country great accuracy in survey is necessary to shew the proportion of cultivation to waste or forest lands. In diversified or corrugated tracts, broken up by ravines, hills, or watersheds, and rivers, that minuteness of detail is scarcely necessary. It is, however, these prominent physical features which set off a map; and on the outlines of hills, and the depressions of water-courses, the utmost care in delineation is often bestowed. It is just these prominent physical reliefs of hills, table lands, spur, ridge, or furrow which lend to a plan its chief beauty; and a skilful draftsman, by proper care, by a judicious distribution of light or shade, by attention to the rules of shading, or by a skilful and artistic coup d'œil, may enable one to form a pretty accurate idea of the *vertical height* or depression of hills.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the scope of the Revenue Surveys should be so limited. They bear,

"A stamp exclusive and professional."

To define boundaries, and to give a correct topographical view of the country, appear to be their chief end. With this object the documents that are yearly furnished are a volume of congregated village maps on the scale of four inches to the mile; a compilation or Pergunnah map on the scale of one mile to the inch; a skeleton map of triangulation on four miles to the inch; and a reduced compilation map on the same minute scale. The statistical returns, derived from the Khusra or native survey, and inserted in the Pergunnah volumes which accompany these documents, are meagre and unsatisfactory. The same remarks might be applied to the reports illustrative of the country. From the extracts which Major Thuillier makes, that conclusion is almost inevitable. In no one instance do any of those reports tend to illustrate the resources of the country. In one of the reports among other topics, the soil of Asnee in the lower Derajat is noticed as being "very remarkable; after the rains becoming 'very pulpy; harassing troops, and sometimes transfixing deer." In another the hills of Central India are dismissed with the brief notice that they "are thickly wooded, and in a state of nature."

A very severe or ill-natured critic would feel inclined to use the writers of descriptions so unique, and expressions so primitive, as severely as Euclio ever used Staphyla in the Aulularia. But alas! the sacredness of official correspondence; who shall attempt to disturb the dust, which must cover those sacred repositories and adyta, and which like the mysteries of the Bona Dea, must for ever be withheld from the profane gaze. Let it suffice to say that in the selections made from these reports by Major Thuillier, we have seen disappointed. We had hoped to have seen in them something relative to those interesting fields of undeveloped resources, the Punjaub and Central India; some remarks relative to the physical or moral organisms of the natives; their psychological character as affected by the nature of the physical influences which surround them; something too of the beneficial effects or otherwise of the introduction of our Revenue laws.

We had expected, too, some useful generalisations from the statistical data furnished. It is impossible to shew sufficiently the importance which must accrue from all statistical and collateral enquiries. It is perhaps an indication of the enlightenment of the times, that enquiries on this point should in England, France, and the Continent be prosecuted with so much eagerness. So deeply too were the Court of Directors impressed with its importance that they established a statistical office in their Home Department.

It was the keen appreciation of the weight to be attached to all statistical enquiries which distinguished the Government of Neckar from that of his predecessors, during the fervor of French innovation. It is the importance which the Historian of Europe has attached to every statistical detail which has given its only weight to his history. It is indeed by the combination of figures alone, that we are enabled to build broad generalisations or correctly to estimate the resources of nations.

At present a Revenue Survey party in India traverses large areas of land, measures entire provinces, and with the exception of furnishing the maps of those districts, perhaps a very little more accurate or elaborate than those which had been projected before, leaves no other trace of its advent. No series of levels might enable the canal officer to form a pretty accurate idea of the irrigation requirements of his district.

A survey which costs at an average the large sum of fifty Rs. per mile, ought, we submit, to embrace more comprehensive features. Accurate and reliable information ought to be supplied by the surveyor on points of economic interest; on the sources of revenue, on the state of commerce, the manufactures and arts; on the state of transit and water communication; on the navigability of rivers, and the physical capabilities or facilities for irrigation. Nor would it be out of place to advert to the geological structure of the land, its subsoil, general appearance and capabilities, as well as its atmospheric and climatic conditions. Nor must it be thought that attention to points of this nature is misdirected. The simple record of the most simple facts collected by headmen, have in the hands of the architect enabled him to build up some of the loftiest generalisations or finest theories. It is to thermal agencies that the resultant effect of all that is peculiar in nature is mainly attributable. A correct acquaintance with the different temperatures of different places, enables one to form a pretty accurate idea of their palæontology. Every one knows that the date palm will not ripen under 70° Fahrenheit; and that the vine cannot be cultivated under 72°. That simple fact gave to Arago the clue to one of the most brilliant deductions of the present day; that within the historic period at the least there has been no appreciable decrease in the thermal agencies of this earth. Such are a few of the most salient points on which we had looked to for information, and as usual we have had to search for it out of the sacred pale of routine.

The map which Major Thuillier has appended to his report, will shew approximately how much of the Punjaub and the Cis-Sutlej States has been surveyed. Contemporaneously with the Revenue Survey of these Provinces, the Trigonometrical Survey of the upper portion, embracing the Cashmeer Valley and the Jhelum and Peshawur divisions, had been carried on. A line drawn from Hurdwar on the Ganges, parallel with the base of the Great Himalayah range, excluding a small slip embracing the districts of Hoshiarpoor, Sultanpore, and Kote Kangra, and terminating with the Pind Dadun Khan, and Chichalee range of nummulitic limestone hills, forms the demarcation between the two surveys. Four Revenue Survey parties have been employed on this interesting field. The results are satisfactory. Major Thuillier thus writes. "Whilst the surveys in 'the North West and Central Provinces may be said to be but 'commencing, and a wide field lies before us in different quarters; 'those in the Punjaub are very nearly drawing to a close, the 'Sindh Sagur Dooab and Derajat are alone occupied by our parties; the progress in the former is approaching a junction, near 'the Salt Range, with the topographical operations under the 'Surveyor General of India, and will perhaps be brought to a 'conclusion by the end of season 1858-59. The Derajat work 'is also rapidly advancing, but will occupy at least two seasons 'more." The maps of Shapore and Jhung, Major Thuillier reports, have been compiled: those of Khangur have been commenced; those of Goozerat and Googaira have been sent to the Press, as have also the maps of the five districts of the Lahore Division. This adds one more instance to the facility with which operations of every kind seem to be carried on in the Punjaub.

It is not alone in a political aspect that the Punjaub has been so pre-eminently distinguished from the other Provinces of India. It is not to the statesman alone that it proves interesting. To the antiquary, the geologist, the naturalist, it offers a useful field for research and discovery. The plains of the Hazara, the fields of the Sindh Sagur Dooab, Furwalla, the chain of the Kurangli mountains, are as interesting from the ancient traditionary legends associated with them, as Moodkee, Alliwal, Ferozeshah and Goozerat from the memory of great and recent battles fought there. The monumental remains, the traces of sculpture, of architecture, of the arts, bear the impress of the Scytho-Grecian period. In those provinces where the successors of Alexander reigned, where the Pali and Bactrian languages were once spoken, where western civilization first dawned amidst the Erebus of Asiatic barbarism, there is very much yet left for antiquarian study. No ancient documents, no Grecian history, no Pali record still extant, may be found to tell of those times:—these the Mussulmans sedulously destroyed. But in the coins, those broken tablets of history, and in the rough etchings on stone, the surface history of that period may be read. Those barbaric coins and rude etchings would serve as the connecting links between the past and present of Northern Indian history, and by taking us back through the long vista of very nearly twenty centuries, introduce us to the dark and fabled periods of Indian history from which very much of that chivalry which lives in its tradition and gives life to its legend, appears to have sprung. Those coins bearing mostly the impress of Vikramadytya, of Kadphises and of Ramchunder, the fabled Osiris, take us back to the times when, after the first shock of the Bactrian invasion, the two races, the Scytho-Greek and Asiatic, became intermixed, or introduce us to the wars of Sali Vahana and Vikramadytya; to the combats between the Rakuss and Russalo, typical, according to Major Abbot's theory, of the great contest between the rival and contemporaneous faiths of Christianity and Boodhism, which here first met on common ground; to the origin of the Rajpoots of Central India, and the Gukkurs of the Sindh Sagur Doab; to the first rise of that massive and stupendous form of superstition which overspread India from the Himmalayah to Ceylon, acknowledging like the Gnostics the existence of the one creative self-existent principle, Adi Budha—the Aion of the latter sect, from which all life and being emanated and to which they again ultimately tend; and to the first rise of the still darker faith of Thuggism. Thus too with its traditions and the traces of its ancient architecture. Like the coins found on the banks of the Indus and Jhelum bearing the impress of Basileus Basileôn, they too tell of the race which once ruled there, and of past greatness. How small the vestiges now of that greatness; how degenerate now the descendants of that once ennobled stock! And as those strong lights and shades of past greatness and evanescent kingdoms pass before the mind as in a drama, it turns from them with something of the same melancholy with which it might have viewed the shadowy procession of Banquo's descendants, in the magic caverns of the weird sisters.

To turn from the science which teaches us

"To mark of mighty things, the narrow grave"

it is not necessary to point to any very large portion of the Punjaub to shew how intensely interesting must be the geological study of the country. Any small section will illustrate our position. Referring once again to the map which Major Thuillier appends, we shall take up the line of hills which is there shewn as the base of the area embraced in the topographical survey operations under the Surveyor General. That range in its geological character is of the most interesting nature. It forms a continuation Westward of the Sewalik range. Parallel with the base of the great Himmalayahs it traverses in a South Westerly direction all that elevated tract of country lying above the line of water-sheds, of the Punjaub, from the Sutledge to the Jhelum, where it forms the Khorian range; still maintaining its parallelism lower down it again protrudes in the Surafar hills. Across the Jhelum, the classical Hydaspes, it presents itself in the boldly scarped limestone range of the Salt formation, and in the Chichalee range. The interesting notices of Falconer and Cautley have made us acquainted with some features of their lithological character, whilst those of Mr. Flemming of a later date have introduced us to their geological nature. There is much however yet left to be done. So wide a field for research appears to us to have had as yet very few observers, and we should be very glad to receive even stray sheets from these interesting fields.

Turn we to Central India, and to Major Thuillier's report. Major Thuillier purposes to supply a long needed desideratum by an approximate map on the scale of eight miles to the inch, of this large tract of hitherto almost unexplored country. He thus states its wants and proposes its remedy. "The geo-'graphy of Central India including Malwa, Meywar, Marwar, 'Jeypore, Joudpore and other Rajpootana and adjoining States 'being but little known, and no commonly correct maps being 'available, I have for several years past been engaged on a ge-'neral compilation of the tract in question, on the eight mile to 'the inch scale, which I am happy to say has at length been 'completed and is now in the Press, undergoing transfer to the 'stone with all the rapidity possible. The map will embrace 'all the countries between the Cis-Sutlej States Frontier, and 'Kurnal in the North, and the Nerbudda river on the South, 'and from the meridian of Saugor including Sindhia's territory 'on the East, to the Sindh and Bombay Presidency Frontier 'on the West; and although a large portion of it is of necessity 'merely approximately correct, laid down prior to any regular 'survey, yet I have no doubt it will be found to supply a very 'great want, and serve a good purpose, pending the number of 'years which must elapse before all the native States can be sur-'veyed."

Two survey parties have labored in this interesting field. One under the command of Captain Vanrenen, had their head-quarters at Jubbulpore; the other, under the late Captain Blagrave, cantoned at Saugor. The surveys broke ground in the winter of 1855; and on the 1st June 1857 all field operations terminated owing to the Mutinies.

It would perhaps be interesting to trace the causes of mutiny in Central India. Major Thuillier's sketch of this critical period is very meagre and incidental. How it is that the *agricultural masses*, who form nearly the entire population of India, should, after having enjoyed for nearly a century the blessings of good Government, have been found arrayed against order and law; how it is that a simple Military revolt should have merged into a national revolt; how it is that the entire machine of Government, recently so perfect and so entire, should in a few brief months have been so rapidly disorganized; how the Indian Empire should very nearly have been on the verge of a dissolution like that of 1707, must always prove an interesting problem. Nor does the question afford an easy solution. So confused have been the events, and so little plan or combination has been displayed, that the efforts everywhere, like the variegated threads in shot silk, have an ever glancing and changing aspect. Great events spring from trifles. Every one remembers Voltaire's sarcastic taunt. "The revolution which brought about the treaty 'of Utrecht, which displaced Marlborough, which changed the 'destinies of Europe for a time, might be traced to Mrs. Masham's 'anger, occasioned by the Duchess of Marlborough who accidentally overturned a cup of water on her brocade." That trenchant sarcasm contains much serious truth. The springs of great rebellions are too often found in the recesses of a few designing hearts; and originating in the purlieus of the Palace of Delhi, the Indian Rebellion has been precipated by that effete native aristocracy whom the almost prophetic pen of Napier described as the inveterate enemy to Anglo-Saxon progress, by a very large class of native officials, and by all that class of turbulent spirits who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by anarchy and confusion. The means were found in the weakness of the Army system.

We are aware that there is a tendency to ascribe to broad general principles the Indian Rebellion of 1857, and writers have not been wanting to bring forward the old truisms with regard to the motives of rebellion in India. Rebellions are caused by misgovernment;—the ruin or prosperity of a State depends upon the administration of its Government;—there is a limit to the endurance of the multitude, and when carried to excess, the fault is alone ascribable to the Government. Such are a few of the sophisms which have been brought to bear on the subject; and in Europe fusionists and abolitionists alike pointed to the dislike which the Asiatics evinced for the Anglo-Saxon rule. At a later period a small class pointed to the incubus of the land tax as the motive for disaffection.

It was not misgovernment that caused the Rebellion. In India where, amongst Indians, independence of thought is so seldom exercised, even granting that great and radical defects in our Civil Administration existed, we deny that they have had any part in causing the Rebellion. The fact of the existence of an erroneous political system; of the dead weight of the Civil Service; of the annual deficit of two millions; of revenues wasted, might have existed and existed for ever, without producing any popular outburst of native feeling. Subjects like these are not generally canvassed by the natives.

It would perhaps be absurd to ascribe to the motives of rebellion in India the causes from which have sprung rebellion in free and civilized states. Terms which there have a significance are without meaning when applied to the apathetic race with whom we have had during two centuries to deal. The calm and philosophic mind of Burke might have traced, amidst the sudden effervesence and powerful passion for liberty; amidst the sweeping away of order, monarchy and religion; amidst the anarchy and terror, the unprecedented calamities and unparalleled crimes of the French Revolution, the march of a principle, of an idea, of a logical process of conviction. The Historian of Europe may have traced in the passions called forth in the wars of Clovis and Charlemagne, in the victories of Martel, in the Jacquerie rebellion, in the religious contests between the followers of Jansen and Molina, in the wars of Louis XIV., the embodiment of a lofty idea. In the Indian Rebellion we shall find alone abject passion developed. For the causes of that Rebellion we must turn to the evils of the Army system; to a fatal conciliatory policy towards native parvenus; to a stoical indifference to the condition of the masses; to a too great respect for Indian nationalities, caste, and religions; and to a too great confidence in the honesty of the native character. Something perhaps may be owing to the antagonism of race; something to the indifference which did not supply a sufficient number of European Regiments when it ordered Lord Dalhousie to annex Oude.

The disturbances in Central India formed an episode to the main action of events which occurred in the Upper Provinces. While those dark tragic scenes were in the North West being enacted with such wild recklessness; while fitful rumours were flying about the horrors at Cawnpore, the massacre at Jhansie, Hansi, and Hissar; while the personnel and staff of the Government of the North West, and the residents, were forced to seek protection in the Agra Fort; Rebellion might be said only to have grazed the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.

The progress of Revolt is one of uncertainty. It is, to use an expression which Macaulay has lent us, like treading on the fine crust of ashes beneath which the lava fiercely burns. No Anglo-Saxon in a station where a Bengal Corps was located could feel himself safe. A single spark might inflame that huge mass of combustible matter which would unsettle provinces. It is no wonder then that the pulse of public feeling in every station in

Upper and Central India should have vibrated with an irregularity which almost defied description. Wherever a Bengal Regiment was located; wherever a spirit of mutiny manifested itself within a hundred miles, there suspicion was the evil genius which seemed to mark the station for its own. Alarmists gave the cry, and people ran with eagerness to defend the first brick house into which provisions could be thrown. It is no wonder then that in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories public feeling during those critical months should have undergone, to use a metaphor borrowed from toy-shops, all the diverting oscillations of a tombola; and that the residents of Saugor should have thrown themselves into the Fort and those of Jubbulpore into the Agency. The arrival of the Kamptee Moveable Column at Jubbulpore on the 19th August 1857, and the secession of the 52nd B. N. I. who left the treasure and spare stand of arms untouched, relieved the residents of this station from the incubus of fear. It was not till a later period that the Saugor garrison was relieved.

In consequence of these events, and on the representation of Major Erskine to the Government, all survey operations in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories were discontinued; and the two surveys transferred to the Nagpore Province. The out-turn of work appears to have been satisfactory. The charges were higher than those of the North West, and very much higher than those of the Punjaub surveys. The high charges may perhaps be attributable to the difficult nature of the country which had to be surveyed, and to the large employment of coolie labor which had to be impressed. Of the physical nature of the Nerbudda basin, of its geological and accidental features, a great deal has been recently written.

Not three years ago the brothers Schlagintweit paid a visit to that interesting country. The short memoir of the geological character of the country published by them is both interesting and useful. In the same field had labored Dr. Spry, Captain Coulthard, and Dr. Spilsbury. We have before us Mr. Oldham's Geological Strictures, and some stray shots, illustrative of a portion of its physical features, contributed by Mr. Clive to the *Engineer's Journal.* We shall make no apology for adverting to these, as both Mr. Oldham's memoir and Mr. Clive's notes illustrate that portion of country embraced in the Revenue Survey operations of this Province.

Travelling in India has not yet been exhausted of its interest. There are many parts of the continent which are yet perfectly unknown. Narratives of travels in India such as those which Humboldt and Livingstone, Captain Basil Hall and Franklin, have given us of the countries they visited; such as those which must rank with the standard works of this description, we have as yet but few of. Many parts of India are yet but a terra incognita. Nevertheless in its vast fields a few observers have occasionally labored; and the names of Voysey, Malcolmson, Hislop and Carter, will perhaps stand out in relief from the sombre back-ground of callous indifference which has been displayed by Europeans in India. Valuable as their contributions are to geological science, they do not sufficiently illustrate the physical character of the country. What we require are works of travels which would illustrate the country, which would afford descriptive vignettes of Indian scenery, as well as correct daguerreotypes of Indian manners and customs. How few books are there which do give us a correct description of the country, or of particular sections of it, such as they are. Sir Alexander Burnes and Dr. Hooker, Heber and Sleeman, have indeed left interesting notices of the countries through which they passed. But how vast a field for research and observation yet lies before us.

In India every physical feature is colossal. Its shady groves, its vast plains, its high hills, its broad rivers, its dense jungles, its vast solitudes, its magnificent water-falls, require a genius commensurate with them to understand it. Perhaps that melancholy genius of Chateaubriand which loved to identify itself with vast solitudes, which was never so much at home, as when in the simple garb of the émigré he found himself associated with the backwoods of America or the falls of Niagara, is best fitted to rightly understand and give expression to its vastness and sublimity.

Where there has never been much accuracy of information, there will always be a tendency to exaggerate or depreciate. According to the different leanings of partiality or prejudice, vanity or ignorance too easily dazzled will either accord too much or yield too little. The patriot Roman flattered himself into the belief that the provinces which comprized the Roman Empire, extended to every portion of the known globe. The patriot Hindoo believed that Mount Meru occupied the centre of the earth, that its sides were studded with precious stones, gems and rubies, that it was surrounded by concentric belts or circles of land divided from each other by seas of wine, milk and sugar, and that its summits afforded a terrestrial paradise to the traveller who was so fortunate as to attain to it.

The vivid and interesting accounts given by Campbell and Sherwill of the approaches to those massive elevations which lie beyond Darjeeling, are scarcely inferior in their attractive novelty to those which Mr. Albert Smith and Mr. George Barnard have given us of their passage Overland or over les Grandes Mulets. In a geological view, every variety of formation from the primary to the tertiary are here exposed in its naked landslips, in its pine clad valleys, or among its less elevated, sombre, scragged, and furrowed spurs. From that unbroken line of glaciers amidst the regions of perpetual snow, the most stupendous hills and the most striking mountains, whether for the impressiveness of their character, ruggedness of outline, or the startling and abrupt grandeur of their pinnacled and castellated forms, stand out in relief against azure and fathomless skies. Lower down amongst its furrows or elevated valleys, amidst dense solitudes unbroken by any sounds except by the booming, hissing and thundering of some rolling avalanche, flourish in primæval silence giant forests of verdurous pine. Scenes more rugged than Salvator Rosa dashed, or more ethereal than any over which the pencils of Horace Vernet or Claude Lorraine ever flung the soft radiance of a winter's sun, are there to be found.

Nor does our estimation of the Indian Empire lessen when we become statistically acquainted with it. The following figures from an official report laid before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1831, will give us an accurate idea of its dimensions, and population.

	Sq. Miles.	Population.
Bengal Lower Provinces, ...	153,862	37,500,000
Bengal Upper Provinces, ...	66,510	32,200,000
Bengal Cessions from Berar, ...	85,700	3,200,000
Total Bengal, ...	306,012	72,900,000
Madras, ...	141,923	13,500,000
Bombay, ...	64,938	6,800,000
Total British possessions, ...	512,873	93,200,000
Allied States, ...	614,610	43,022,700
Punjaub, ...	60,000	3,500,000
Sind, ...	100,000	1,000,000
Total of all India, ...	1,287,483	140,722,700

A cursory glance at the map of Europe will shew that the surface area of India is very nearly as large as the surface area of that continent, if we take from it the Northern wastes of Russia. The population is however one-sixth less. Of these large divisions, the political division of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories extends over an area of only 30,000 square miles, in the Bengal Cessions from Berar. The population may be fixed at forty to the square mile.

Mr. Oldham's geological survey embraces the upper portion of the Nerbudda basin. Mr. Clive's descriptive sketch will furnish us with an outline of its physical features. The Hills form the most prominent feature of this portion of the Nerbudda basin. Two ranges running parallel to each other, bearing distinctive names, and presenting striking but essentially different physical contours, subside in a partially synclinal descent, if we may be allowed the expression, into the Nerbudda valley. To the North, forming the Southern boundary of Upper or Gangetic Hindostan, is the Vindhyan range. This range runs through the whole of Central India, from the deserts of Goozerat to the Ganges: supported on one side by the elevated table and high plateaus of Bundelkhund, and on the other abutting in well defined though separate and detached hills on the Nerbudda river. It lies between the parallels of 23° and 25° North latitude. To the South is the chain of the Satpooras, supported by the Koraie table land, and the Sanjee hills. Between these parallel ranges flows the Nerbudda river.

In the high elevations of Amerkuntuck very nearly 5000 feet above the sea level, in jungles where a deadly miasma arises, this river takes its rise. It rills from a swamp held sacred by the natives; then unwinds itself among the hills and flows over basaltic channels, and through chasms which it forces through the rocks. Lower down it assumes all the impetuosity of a mountain torrent: turbid, tumultuous, brawling, dashing over rocks of basaltic or dolomitic marble, or granite; it flings its waters in cascades of the most brilliant jet d'eaux, or widens out into most lovely reaches and crystal pools. Fed by the numerous streams which take their rise from the hills alluded to, it acquires a larger volume, and after forming the falls of Mandla, the cascades of Mundhar, and the rapids of the Heronpall and Mookree, it debouches into the Indian Ocean. The precipitate character, and the abrupt nature of its rocky banks covered with thick, and in many places impenetrable, jungle, give an air of the picturesque to this stream.

The three principal groups of Bundair, Kymore and Rewah, form the Vindhyan range North of the Nerbudda. The general lithological character of these hills is sandstone, shale and limestone. Mr. Clive sketches the Kymore and Bundair ranges in the vicinity of Jubbulpore.

"In order to give, in the absence of any sketch map, an idea of these hills, it would perhaps be necessary to give in detail the direction which they take up. Their line of direction and more specially of those of igneous origin is from West to East. The first of the group which deserves mention is the Kymore Scar or Range. It is a continuation Westward of that Anticlinal range which extends itself in an Easterly direction, through nearly the whole length of Zillah Jubbulpore, passing through Pergunnahs Herapore, Patun, Kuttungee, Mujhowlie and Bhowribun, and which, from their prominent peaks and rugged outlines, have been made use of both by the great Trigonometrical and Revenue Surveys for triangulation."

These rocks are principally sandstone. The Kymore Scar in Pergunnah Herapore extends along the North banks of the Heron, from Amerkho to a short distance of the hills near the village of Herapore. It is entirely barren of vegetation except at its foot. The debris and fragments of stone which have peeled off from some disrupting force or the action of the atmosphere, are immense, some of them exceeding a thousand tons. Along this line of hills are the sites of some of the ancient villages of Gondwana, and on the table land to the North, not far from Herapore, traces of dilapidated fortifications may still be seen by the curious traveller or enquiring native pedestrian. These hills form a cul de sac or valley, with the great table land of the Bundair to the North, from which they are separated by deep intervening strata.

To the South, and nearly at its foot, flows the Heron. From the summit of this hill one can look down between the high banks and deeply wooded glens through which the river flows, on the crystal water of the stream itself: a lovely cascade formed by a single fall of a few feet deep, which sends the stream onward, no longer chattering 'in little sharps and trebles', but with all the impetuosity of a turbid mountain torrent affording very fine morceaux of hill and river scenery. The North face of these hills presents a more precipitous appearance than the South, the dark masses of rock having scarcely a particle of clay; but on the South, where the angle of inclination is something more than 45", there is a tough ferruginous clay formed by the disintegration of quartz sandstone and trap, which affords support to the many large trees which have sprung up on this fall. The soil between this range and the table land is the black cotton, which yields rich crops of gram and wheat.

The escarpment of the table land of the Bundair runs in a North Westerly direction. On the West towards Dumoh there is a gradual synclinal descent towards the plains. On the East towards the large village of Kuttungee, it comes to an abrupt and somewhat unexpected termination. The scarped sides are heavy and rounded, and the transverse fissures and gorges, thickly wooded and denuded of their associated alluvium by the hill torrents to which they give a passage, break the sameness and vary the appearance of the hills. The fluviatile action of these streams has broken up the country at the foot of the table, and given it an indented appearance; while their degrading and transporting force, (the velocity of many during the rains, so far as a mile from the dip of the table, exceeding 36 inches per second,) is such as to remove large masses of clay, marl, and boulder from the hills, and to deposit them below. The general level of this table land varies from 1,500 to 2,500 feet above the sea. The G. T. Station of Kuloomer is the highest point on the table. It stands in latitude 23° 27′ 52″, longitude 79° 46′ 51″. This forms a description of but a small section of these hills. That section may however be taken to represent the two groups. The lithological character of the Kymore is sandstone with associated beds of arenaceous shales. That of the Bundair is thus characterized. "The substratum of the table land appears ‘to be gneiss sometimes merging into granite. It is overlaid by ‘red sandstone, with its limestones, shales, clays, and conglome-‘rates." The Rewah groups are limestone, shales, and sandstone.

It is amongst the groups of the Vindhyan range that the sandstone formation of Central India is most fully developed: and no question can be more interesting than that which relates to the geological age of this formation. It has been left unanswered. Mr. Oldham remarks "that the general physical rela-‘tion of the rocks should be determined, and the several groups ‘established, on such evidence derived from the actual arrange-‘ment and sequence of the rocks, rather than from some fanci-‘ed or imperfectly established analogies, derived from partial-‘ly collected or partially examined organic remains." This simply waives the difficulty. It is indeed seldom that any formation is any where found so fully developed as to allow of its being identified primâ facie with the system to which it belongs. No series are found so well defined as to enable us to classify them at sight. It is careful observation and research that must supply the desiderata, and an imperfect or partial examination may too often be inconclusive or fallacious.

Even those formations which in the British Isles are the most completely developed, must at first have been associated with the same indefinitiveness of character. The old red sandstone of European geologists will answer as an illustration. Scarcely any group has been so fully developed or clearly identified. The plant impressions, berries, ferns, leaves and equisetaceæ are distinct. So are all its fossil ichthyolites. Yet distinct as these are, and presenting as they do clearly marked traces of a new organism, it requires the minutest observation to distinguish their peculiarities The Silurian series of Sir R. J. Murchison fades imperceptibly into the Grauwacke system which underlies it. The pterichthys of the old red sandstone, is but a little more advanced than the simpler asaphus of the Silurian: and often while the sub-medial red sandstone of the series may only be represented by a few indistinct arenaceous beds, no well defined series corresponding to the superior strata may be discoverable at all.

To the South of the Nerbudda the Mahadewa hills rise to the height of nearly 5000 feet. The upper sandstones which form the mass of these groups have been generally referred to the Jurassic period. Careful and varied observations have however led Mr. Hislop, who appears to have made these groups his study, to refer them to a more recent period. The coarse arenaceous beds reticulated with ferruginous bands, he was led to class among the upper members of the cretaceous series, while the underlying beds appeared to be a transition between the Lias and Jura formations. In Mr. Oldham's Memoir the geological age of this group is described as unknown, a few vegetable and fossil stems alone being found.

Below the sandstone formations of the Nerbudda basin are the gneiss and mica schist series. These occur to the South of the sandstone groups, and may be considered as an offshoot from the Vindhyan groups. It is here that the abrupt and the picturesque are chiefly to be found. "A line drawn through the village of Seinpoora in lat. 24°-0′-11″ in the direction of Koombi, South, marks the change from the carboniferous systems of the red sandstone and its associated trap, to the schistose and crystalline formations. We are no longer amongst rocks of the secondary formation; we have left the transition with its red sandstone and limestones far behind. Outcrops of gneiss and beds of finely laminated mica schist, give evidence of our treading on primary rocks. The soil from the comparatively loosely aggregated black cotton has changed into a very compact and hard clay marl. Foliated chlorite slate of a dark green or olive colour, protrudes above the soil, and granite of a highly crystalline character is not unfrequently found outlying. The Biltee hills are in Pergunnah Koombi. They form a semi-circle, running in a North Easterly direction. These hills are nearly all schistose, gneiss forming the lower while mica schist forms the upper strata. Those who delight in the picturesque of hill and dale scenery, and would look for it amongst the hills of this basin of the Nerbudda Valley, must find it amongst the abrupt declivities, deep fissures transverse gorges, and thickly wooded glens of this range. It is amongst the gneiss and mica schist formations that much of the wild and the abrupt in nature occurs. Hills rise in every direction. Thrown together in groups, or rising one above another, they resemble the tiers in a tertiary formation. * * * The granite in this locality varies from a highly crystalline, to a loosely aggregated siliceous rock of quartz and felspar. Nowhere does it appear that these rocks are made use of by the natives. Outcrops of slate and gneiss very little weather-worn, or blackened, present an appearance the most interesting from their very novelty. The villager regards them as an incumbrance."* For these groups Mr. Oldham has adopted the name of Sub-Kymore.

The provisional classification of the formations of the Vindhyan range into series bearing the local name of the groups themselves, has a tendency to overburthen the multiplicity of a nomenclature already too large, and to establish a brother nomenclature for the Indian formations. Like chemistry, like botany, like almost every other empirical science, geology has suffered from a rage for nomenclature. Before a sufficient collection of facts can be made, and a basis obtained for a systematic and scientific classification, before general terms can acquire a universal and acknowledged circulation, these sciences must necessarily suffer from an evil of this nature. And that they must suffer is self-evident, so many are the species presented which have to be named. Botany presents 100,000 species of plants. The chemist from fifty elements by a varied combination reproduces a thousand others which require to be named. Thus too in geology. From the time of Werner to that of Sir R. J. Murchison, every new writer commences by making a tabula rasa of previous nomenclature.

The geological survey under Mr. Oldham is isolated from the other surveys. It would appear that there is at present no connection between this and the Revenue Survey. Where so many kindred departments are employed in the same field, there ought to be an effort to give unity to their isolated labors. Sciences of a kindred nature assist each other. It was not until meteorology was applied to marine geography, that its utility was acknowledged; not till then were the isolated observations of a few savants rendered available for the purposes of science; not till then could Lieutenant Maury have published his useful charts and directions, which have proved such valuable helps to nautical science, and have shortened distances by something more than a fourth of their time.

Professor Oldham, or Mr. Medlicott, or any other geological surveyor, at present makes a rapid detour over the country, and publishes a memoir very brief, and very scanty, of the classification of rocks, their geological eras, and the distribution of pristine organic life among the strata, without those auxiliaries of physical illustration which a topographical map on a large scale would afford. The assistants of Major Thuillier furnish maps on the scale of 1 mile to the inch, very artistical perhaps in their appearance, in which every feature, from the surface configuration of hills to the reticulations of watersheds and streams, is delineated, and every acre of ground measured; but which can give no idea of strata, sub-soil, or superficial accumulations. Nor can other results be expected so long as there is no co-operation between the departments. The rapidity of execution of the geological survey is incompatible with that minuteness of observation so essentially necessary to geological research. The intimate acquaintance with the country surveyed, is at present turned to no secondary or useful account by the assistants of Major Thuillier.

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* Engineer's Journal: Vol. I., p. 115.

The Vindhyan hills of the Nerbudda basin are for the most part covered with rank and impervious jungles. It is principally amongst sandstone and its allied carboniferous rocks that vegetation attains to its most prolific growth. No contrast in physical appearance can be greater than that presented by tracts where sandstone and trappean rocks alternately protrude. It is amongst the sandstone series of Merdanghur, Singorgurh and Bhyronghat, that those interminable jungles of low, tangled brushwood and other trees, are to be found, which give to this portion of the Nerbudda country the character of wildness for which it has been famed.

The trap rocks in the vicinity of Saugor are as sterile and as desolate as trap rocks are known to be all over the world, wherever they occur, whether among the wilds of Lanark and Ayrshire or amidst the steppes of Central India. The character of the jungle which covers the sandstone hills of the Bundair and Kymore, appears to be the same with that of the Kurruckpore and Khasia hills. Not to speak of the catechu, resins and dyes, which these interminable underwood forests afford in large and perhaps inexhaustible quantities, in the absence of coal the wood which they yield may extensively be employed as charcoal on our railway works.

Amongst the economic products of the Nerbudda valley must not be forgotton its extensive and inexhaustible fields of Iron. From Jubbulpore to the Nagode table land, and far beyond the Nagode table land to the vicinity of Bundelkhund, the red color of the soil from the peroxide of iron it contains, gives evidence of the existence of the ore in large quantities. "On the banks of the Weingunga," writes Mr. Hislop, "there are illimitable fields of 'iron ore which all the railroads in all the world will not exhaust." The remark may with equal truth be applied to the Nerbudda territories.

According to the latest computation the Revenue derived from the Saugor and Nerbudda territories is 59,80,000 Rs. This sum, which is double of that which the South Mahratta country and Tenasserim coast together yield, is irrespective of any system of artificial irrigation, and of its great but hitherto unworked staple of wealth—its mines of iron. By a simpler and more effective method of manufacturing iron, and the intervention of European agency and skill, the iron-producing mines of Central India would give a considerably larger out-turn of profit than they do at present. By means of an extended system of artificial irrigation the Revenue would be quadrupled. A single chudder, or map of congregated village plans, will give us a pretty accurate idea of the country. The Nerbudda country is reticulated with water-courses, streams and Nuddees. A very simple expedient at a minimum of expense would tend to develop the resources of the country, by laying hold of the natural facilities for artificial irrigation which these streams afford. By means of revetments they could be made capable of holding a volume of water sufficient for all irrigation purposes. Those who are acquainted with the system of irrigation in Southern India, will not be at a loss to know how easy it would be to introduce it into territories where the same facilities are afforded. A single embankment across the bed of the stream would retain the water. In order to provide for the outflow a tank so excavated might be made to receive the surplus; and the embankments should be provided with outlets to irrigate the fields.

In the absence of an extended system of artificial irrigation, such as has been developed in Northern India, with its costly water ways, escarpement dams, inlets for minor drainage, locks, navigable channels, and Rajbahas or irrigation channels, the less expensive Colabah system may be introduced. Simple water cuts taking in the hill drainage may at first be tried, and the management under the superintendence of local officers be entrusted to private associations of individuals or villagers. Rude as these beginnings are, the earnest which they must give of future increased good, will, it is to be hoped, form the introduction to more scientific undertakings. The advantages which must accrue from a rude system of irrigation, taking into consideration the smallness of the capital invested, will bear no proportion to the profits which are annually derived from a work of a more scientific character like the Ganges Canal, costly even as the capital has been which has been invested in that gigantic undertaking. A few facts will illustrate this. The Ganges Canal is 890 miles in length; estimating the volume of its discharge at 6,750 cubic feet per second it will irrigate an area of 4,500,000 acres. The annual returns of water rents and transit duties have been found to amount to nearly £145,000, and subtracting from it £40,000, a year, the cost for maintenance, the Government derive a return of 7 per cent. clear profit.

Poor as the peasantry are all over India, the social degradation and abject penury of the peasantry of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territores are even greater than the average degradation of the peasantry in other parts. The peasantry of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories are poor, because enterprize and invention, and all those arts which obtain a mastery over physical obstructions, have never been theirs; poor, because from time immemorial they have been oppressed by the proprietary; because they have been so by habit and custom; because the strong cast iron pressure of want, will not for a single moment allow them to look beyond the present.

Mr. Clive sketches their social status:—

"It is a contrast, and we do it with some reluctance, to turn from the aspect of the country to the degraded state and abject social position of the Gond peasantry. It is, to use a fine metaphor of Burke, the single black cloud which darkens the horizon. The population of the Nerbudda districts is of a somewhat mixed nature. It averages according to a recent computation 40 to the square mile; and comprizes three principal classes of Hindoos, Moosulmen, and Gonds. The Gond is a degraded being. What the Allophylian races were to the Arian; what an Angamee Indian is to a Bengalee, the Gond is to his Hindoo brethren who dwell with him in the same village and plough with him in the same field.

Between the men of the plains and the men who are accustomed to furrow amongst rocks, there is and must be a very conceivable difference. Wherever there is a great scarcity of food, wherever there is a total abnegation of personal wants and animal comforts, there must be a degradation of the species. It is so in the case of the Gond. Social degradation and personal wants alike tend to debase him. Isolated from the rest by his religion, his manners, his appearance, and his habits, he is often left to his own individual exertions and unaided efforts.

Our physical as well as psychological nature is subjected to laws as invariable as those which have produced, in unerring order, the different strata of the earth's crust; as those which have fixed for ever trilobites in one, and Saurians in another. A long period of sustained misery will perhaps alter sensibly the delineations of the human form and contour; and the stunted race who have long had their home among the great Vindhyan range, with spare forms, low foreheads, sharp quick eyes, and dark complexions, will perhaps find a prototype in the small built sturdy tribes of many hilly countries. It may not perhaps be generally remarked, that there is a sensible decrease in the Gond population. A single season of scarcity will be marked by the disappearance of a hundred Gond families. Gond villages amidst the solitudes of hills, or in the centres of jungles, will be entirely depopulated. Perhaps a few lingering families in some will be alone left to tell the tale of so universal a desertion. Existence can but ill be supported by the uncertain sustenance which the wood-apple can afford; and where death does not remove its victims, the hope of finding employment at the hands of their wealthier neighbours, will induce, during these rugged seasons, whole families to emigrate to the plains. Perhaps a closer contact with the Hindoo, will tend to assimilate the character of the Gond with that of his; but it would not perhaps be too much to assert, that this peculiarly abnormal race, with a physical appearance and manners so striking as to have invested them with a degree of the marvellous, will in time disappear. They will perhaps come to be regarded with a degree of interest which is now attached to a batrachian reptile, a mastodon, or megatherium, one of those pachydermata, which serve to mark the difference of eras between the tertiary formation and our modern epoch."

Two causes have, perhaps more than any others, tended to perpetuate that state of abject, social and moral degradation, so characteristic of the Indian masses. The great mass of the Indian population are agriculturists. The prosperity of the masses has been in inverse ratio to the preponderance of the agricultural over the manufactural systems. Everywhere it has been the agricultural classes who have been most depressed. Amidst the steppes of Asia or the northern wastes of Russia, the condition of the agricultural masses has been depressed below that of the pastoral tribes, and considerably below that of the mechanic and manufacturing classes. The independence of action, that robust and manly strength which is developed amidst the equality and energy of pastoral life, those artificial wants which spring from increasing wealth and which incite to fresh efforts, are wanting to a people tied down by a life-long labor to the soil which they cultivate. The smallness of the proportion of large cities to the vast extent of territory in India, is another cause which has produced that state of political nullity so characteristic of the Indian masses. That concentration of strength by political union, that combination against oppression and violence, and that free interchange of ideas which a moral population enjoy, are wanting amongst classes attached to the soil, and limited from want of communication in their thoughts, ideas, and aspirations. Nor even in the present century have these difficulties been removed to any very large degree by the facilities afforded to travelling by the multiplication of roads. A chapperbund ryot rarely has the opportunity or the inclination to visit a village twenty miles away: and it is only as witnesses under the strong compulsion of law that a small percentage are sometimes dragged to a Sudder Station. It is no wonder then, with this feature of isolation so strongly marked in the social life of the Indian masses, that their material existence should present no traces of progressive civilization: that the Indian peasantry under the British administration should be as much immersed in social and political degradation as the Indian peasantry under the administration of Akbar, or under the rule of Menu; or that several large sections of this interesting peninsula should be as undeveloped in their resources, as wild and as unreclaimed, as those savage lands in Guiana described by Buffon in his animated and philosophical "Epoques de la Nature." When the surveys of Central India shall have been completed, and public works, roads, railways, and telegraphic communication introduced, it is to be hoped that the material life and moral condition of the Indian peasantry will be considerably improved.

It is not with the rapidity of months, but with the slow revolution of cycles that those gradual though unerring changes are effected which act upon the material existence of a people, which remove ancient evils, and raise on the mouldering and crumbling ruins of ancient servitude or superstition a superstructure of a fresh and buoyant life. It was not in a day that the ancient structure of prædial servitude and mediæval feudalism crumbled away. The freedom of Rome was struck out from the sparks of a contest which lasted for seven centuries. It has been only in our own day that the Russian serf has been emancipated; and eighteen years have been fixed as a period not too long to serve as an apprenticeship to freedom. History lends us two parallels at least within the memory of living men to shew how a too speedy emancipation may be followed by evils of which philanthropists never dreamed; evils in their momentary effects far worse than the permanent evils of serfdom or servitude. The sudden enfranchisement of St. Domingo and Hayti reduced those colonies to the depths of wretchedness and misery. While French democrats might have dreamed of building on the ruins of ancient aristocracy the edifice of a liberal democracy, experience taught the thinking few, that however *facile* it might have been to destroy, to reconstruct required at least half a century.

Consisting, as the material of a Revenue Survey does, of men who are expected to possess professional abilities and to pass a scientific examination, it is perhaps matter of regret that they are not adequately paid. While the standard of examination for the surveys is very nearly the same as that for the Engineering Department, and while the duties are perhaps equally arduous, both the status and salary of the Surveyor are lower than that of the Executive or Engineer Officer. In a Revenue Survey the Revenue Surveyor is perhaps the only one well paid, and even that functionary has not the opportunity of rising eventually so high as officers of the same standing and professional abilities in other departments.

Staff officers are very effective, but it should not be forgotten that it is the European Uncovenanted Assistants who constitute the executive, survey the circuits, put off the traverses, lay down the bearings, triangulate the country, and manipulate the maps. They are depressed in the department. It excites no surprise to find that the department maintains no proper esprit de corps, or that the best men leave, and others who are perhaps less exceptional are obliged to be entered. Not until an exposé of the real difficulties with which the Surveyor and Civil Engineer in India have to contend, has been made, will a reform in the organization of these departments be effected.

However arduous in India the life of the Civil Engineer or Surveyor may be, he still has something to compensate for the trying difficulties he has to encounter, the malaria he has to brave, the risks of sudden coup de soleil, or the more insidious though not less fatal fever—the genius loci of the forests he surveys, in the fresh, buoyant, tiger-shooting, hyæna-hunting life of the districts. Not unfrequently he finds relief from the monotony of a life which must be otherwise uniformly dull. "We well remember the sense of keen enjoyment we experienced when we found ourselves encamped on the Bhyronghat 'spur of the Bhandair table land. A deep valley separated us 'from the Kymore Scar. At its foot tumbled the Heron, a mountain 'stream, wild, boisterous, noisy, now gliding with a deceitful smoothness, now tumbling and foaming and dashing over the rocks. 'The evening was delightfully mild. The sun had set, the skies 'to the North were brilliantly illuminated. Against a burning 'background of golden red stood out in bold and beautiful relief 'clouds of glorious hue. The warm tints of the West harmonized with the rich colors, which seemed to have taken their 'reflex from the sun, and where a glimpse of the blue distance 'could be obtained, might be seen the soft and undefined pencilings of tree and village, such as we see them in Baxter's 'inimitable oil colourings, blending and fading away imperceptibly into the very skies. On the Kymore Scar stood a temple, 'and a pale yellow reflection served to throw it out into relief 'from the dark and sombre masses of rock on the summit of 'which it had been built."*

In the winter months with the thermometer at 72° Fah. camp life in the district in many provinces of India is bearable; in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories and in the North West it must be positively pleasant. There are many spots which must gratify the lover of the picturesque among those wild hills which overhang the Nerbudda, which run through the whole extent of Gondwana, and form part of that great range of the Vindhyan which traverses India from West to East. There are, too, many ancient legends floating about this part of India. The valley of the Nerbudda is the classic ground of the Hindoos. On its plains where the

"Hunter of deer, and the warrior tread,"

may still be seen monuments of historic or legendary interest. To the mineralogist as well as the lover of the wild and the beautiful in nature, to the Surveyor as well as the Civil Engineer, the Nerbudda basin will always form an interesting study.

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* Engineer's Journal: Vol. 1, p. 239.

Whether amongst the ruins of Mundla or the groves of Bhilsa, whether making fossil collections among the rocks which abut on the banks of this wild stream, or indulging in a quiet 'cœnobitical symposion' on the banks of some wooded torrent, or last, not least, tracking the wild deer and peafowl amongst its wooded and shelving banks, there is something to gratify that craving for roaming so strongly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon in India.

Fancy may lend us a sketch of the Surveyor's enjoyment of physical beauty in the pleasant months of December and January. He is encamped on an eminence or gently rising ground. Tall, branching and shady trees—the Ficus Religiosa of the Indians, making a 'pillared shade,' intertwine their branches over his tent. From that eminence he can see the entire country which surrounds him, broken into undulations, green fields, thickly wooded glens, streamlets, and in the distance blue reliefs of hills. To the East where the headland abuts, is a pretty little lagoon or lake receiving the waters which rill from the elevations. That lake mirroring the bright sky, with its purple clouds and varied tints, is indeed refreshing, and while sunshine and shade course each other freely along the green grass, and the little ripplets laugh up in the parting light of the sun, he might indulge in reveries; and with that bright and gorgeous tapestry of clouds above, dream visions as brilliant and as fading, to be swept away by the cold and startling chill of twilight. The stirring and active life of the Surveyor will not allow his indulging often in the "dolce far niente;" and even the recollection of a momentary pleasure of this nature becomes obliterated when he has to 'battle stour' with the coming asperities of the dry and hot months.

In April the Surveyor's camp presents a very strong contrast to his camp in January. The thermometer stands at 9 P. M. at 96° Fah. That which makes camp life so delightful in the winter months ceases to be one of the principal elements of attraction in the dry, parched months. Scenery, who cares for it now? The trees no longer look spirituelle. The hills no longer stand out in blue relief from the skies. The last nebulous cloud that tessalated the heavens has passed away, giving place to the dull and grey sky of a summer day. In the evening, the only time he can devote to reading and writing, he finds himself tortured by mosquitoes, embryo beetles, ephemeral moths. These thick as summer leaves come flocking in, and like Laplace's planetary atmosphere, form concentric circles of varying densities round his tent lamps.

The Surveyor's life in India is not one of romance. Slightly parodying the border motto of the clan of Macfarlane, his general routine work may be pourtrayed in a few epigrammatical lines.

"We are bound to take our angles,
All by hollows hoists and hillocks,
Through the sun and through the rain,
When the heat is baking dry
Hills and trees and parched up lakes,
Bold and heartily we hie.
For very little gain."

Art. II.—1. *Tales.* By Miss Edgeworth.

2. *Gurney Married.* By Theodore Hook.

3. *Guy Mannering. The Surgeon's Daughter.* By Sir Walter Scott.

4. Lord Macaulay's *Essays: "Clive," and "Warren Hastings."*

5. *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son.* By Charles Dickens.

6. *Vanity Fair. Pendennis. The Newcomes.* By W. M. Thackeray.

7. *Speeches at the Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.* By the Bishops of London and Oxford. London: 1857.

8. *Sermon on the Evangelization of India; Preached before the University of Oxford.* By the Rev. G. Curteis, M. A. London: Parker. 1857.

The list over which the reader has just cast his eye comprises specimens of English authorship in very various walks; they are brought together in reference to the subject expressed by the title of this Paper. Whatever amount of censure may attach to the practice of our home contemporaries, whereby a number of books are cited at the head of an Article, which, with an *apropos des bottes*, runs on for twenty or thirty pages, at the critic's own sweet will; we never profess to confine the scope of this *Review* to mere notices of new books. Not only is the number of Indian publications wholly inadequate, but our pages are needed for something else. In the general paralysis of Indian literature have been involved, soon or late, nearly all attempts to carry on serial works, whose importance should be derived from Essays of a general nature, in which topics of current literature were to be fully examined from a political standpoint. But this is the position which the *Calcutta Review* has occupied without interruption for some sixteen years; and to maintain it something more than a gigantic Publisher's Circular was evidently required. Moreover Indian literature is not likely to be, for some time, much more than a feeble exotic; and gladly as we have always lent our aid to foster its growth into strength and beauty, we are not prepared to pass the whole of our time, watering-pot in hand, among the heavy damps of the conservatory.

One of the most disadvantageous necessities of our Anglo-Indian literature is, that on most subjects it is tied down to a close imitation of English models; but there is one—its own peculiar ground—on which we think it might take a bolder tone. On Indian subjects we might fairly expect independence from Indian writers; but such is rarely found to be the case. They usually echo the misconceptions and misrepresentations of the Home Press; and naturally react in turn, and keep up those mistakes for which they must needs become a sort of authority. Some of these writings were glanced at in a late issue of this *Review*;* and we now propose, in the same spirit of impartiality and good feeling, to shew some of the errors of writers in England when they deal with the social characteristics of their countrymen out here. We do not refer to the sound solid books on special Indian subjects, produced by men whose knowledge and ability are limited by no local accidents. The History of Mill is scarcely less valuable than those of Elphinstone or Orme, though, unlike those writers, he never set foot in India; and on the other hand authors like Hooker, Royle and Baird Smith, enjoy a European reputation. But it must be confessed that these *specialités* often hamper the general interest of a book, however well done; they are to be regarded doubtless as valuable Monographs, but neither Aqueducts, Fibrous Plants, nor even Chronic Diarrhœa, can be said to be topics which come home to one's daily business and bosom.

But on the other hand, it is undesirable that the works of general literature produced among ourselves are not enough to satisfy the fitful spasms of curiosity which the affairs of India from time to time excite in the breasts of the English. The stimulated appetite of 1857-58 would have swallowed heavier diet than was furnished in any of the works named in our Article above referred to; and as for the novels arising from Indian *motifs* and written by Indians, the *Friend of India* some months ago shewed causes for their inadequacy. One obstacle, it appeared to our weekly contemporary, which prevents the digestion of Indian fiction, is "the feathery palm-tree," so favorite a feature in Oriental Scenery. On this head hangs a tale.

Once upon a time, a friend of ours, whose skill with the pencil is well known to rank high among his social and military accomplishments, felt called upon to send some sketches to the *Illustrated London News*. They were faithful delineations of scenes in Upper India and the Punjaub; and rendered ample justice to the monotonous sky, the unbroken flats, the lumpy mango-groves of those favored climes. To await, in trembling hope, the arrival on the shores of India, or rather on the Regimental Mess table, of the number that should contain these works of art, so slightly flattered by the cunning woodcutter as to deceive (almost) himself, formed the innocent pleasure of our friend's spare moments during the following three months. How they would look, whether the scale would be increased; the Editorial comment calling attention to "the gifted contribution of Phœbus Chateaupen, Esq., Bengal Native Infantry"—we can fancy the honest fellow's feelings. Time sped on, the number arrived and was hurriedly torn open; the pictures—there they were, but they were hardly to be recognized, save by parental eyes. Masses of graceful clouds, vast breadth of shadow, and ranges of distant hills diversify the scenes; whilst the undulating or boldly broken foregrounds are in every instance profusely stocked with cocoa-palms rich with their milky stores! Long did Mr. C. smart under this disappointment—for he was a real artist, and loved truth too much to admit cocoanuts in that region; but at length an opportunity arrived, he visited his native land, and sought an interview with the Publisher of the *News*. Nothing could be more polite; the clouds, the hills, were duly apologized for; in a social sense, one may say, withdrawn. But on the botanical solecism the Hon. Member for Boston, or his delegate, stood firm:—"very sorry, 'Captain; but, you see, the British public demands palm-trees." Now, if the *Friend* will kindly consider the moral of the above apology, we think he will observe that the objection on the score of overcrowded accessories will not hold. Mr. Ingram should be a good authority, and we find him positively and unhesitatingly declaring that the British public expects, on these occasions, the identical monocotyledon which our contemporary implores us to discard.

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* No. LXIII. "The Literature of the Rebellion."

Certain it is, whatever be the cause, "the general reader" is not satisfied with the light literature offered him by Indian writers; and his views of our life and prospects are usually colored by his ordinary instructors, the Novelists, Essayists and Journalists some of whom we have cited at the commencement of the present pages. We have all learned from Mr. Carlyle, to recognize the place of light or general literature—simply "Literature" according to the common usage of these days. Oratory, Poetry, History, in all their branches, are leafless, compared to this fresh young forest. We still "sit under" the Preacher who is appointed to sit upon us; some people believe even in Parliamentary Debates; History is studied by a few, and played with by a good many; and the works of the poets continue to be regarded as a valuable magazine of weighty and glittering epigrams, quotations which some use for display, for attack or for defence; and which to the elect of Parnassus form stores of private comfort only less dear than the *treasured* texts of Holy Writ, which they have cherished from the time when they stood at their mothers' knees. But, on the whole, the rapid and cheap forms of printing, and the increased extension of the power of reading, while the crowds thus qualified have to spend most of their time struggling for bread, must give the chief influence to the light leaves blown across our daily path, to the novel, the magazine and the newspaper. Even plays are often written *not* to be acted, only to be read; and many a sermon which in former days would have perished, or lived alone in a few sequestered hearts, now influences the whole country; the Preacher being induced, chiefly (of course) by the request of a few partial friends, to seek an infinite expanse of congregation by means of the press. Even the *animalculæ* of the mind, small jokes and their producers, are sucked into the same vortex; as we see in Pendennis, a *convive* checks the rising pun at his publisher's table, as the sacrifice of a possible five-pound note (more or less) from *Punch*. Thought, theology, wit, and song, all the produce of human brain and tongue, gravitates to-day towards the mind of the million, through the medium of the pen and the printing press. A serious responsibility for those who command those potent weapons! How it is generally borne we are not here called on to pronounce; nor indeed is this a subject on which it is quite safe to express an opinion. As in former days it was an admitted axiom that "the king could do no wrong," so is it now treason to speak a word, in public, against the Majesty of that many-headed monarch whose power we have just now been celebrating; and the popular writers of the day, with their servile courtiers, are always ready to sit *in curia Regis*, Judges in their own cause, and to issue and execute sentence of heavy penalties against any such offender. People may murmur—and we all know they do—in private, but woe to the bold rebel whose objections are made known to the Court. "We hurl back the 'censure with scorn" writes—Briefless, Esq., from his chambers, "and we take leave to tell this would-be independent but anony-'mous scribbler that his ribald remarks are as false in fact as they 'are &c." Ensign Bumptious in his Indian Bungalow attempts the same thing, but the royal "*We*," and the roar of the Pantomimic thunder, do not sound so natural as those which fulminate from Printing House Square; and he usually scolds like a washerwoman before he has finished his paragraph. Let it therefore be at once laid down that "The Press" is infallible, if, that is, our object be to save trouble and controversy. Perhaps it might be more manly on the part of the Public to confess that some portion of the weakness of our common nature will certainly cling even to those whom they accept as their teachers; and surely a little more modesty would not misbecome those, for their part. Captains of thought should care alone to influence thinking minds, and with such minds a due humility would do them anything but ill service. No doubt public writers are better informed and wiser than those who pay for their opinions—Bampfylde Moore Carew, the Gipsy king and fortune-teller, was a superior man to most of his customers —but they should remember that their success is, of itself, a proof of their bearing *some* resemblance to their readers; a sign that they share with the latter the traditional conceptions derived from the Past, no less than the temporary hallucinations which agitate and perplex the Present.

It is probable that neither the heathen nor Christian races of India will be fitly represented to the people of England in literature under existing conditions. What seems wanting is a writer, or writers, who, to more than common literary skill and experience, should add a fair knowledge of the subject; and it is a sad fact that this combination is not a very probable object of expectation. Hence it happens that, to please a public which "demands palm-trees," the few Indians who venture into the so-called Republic of Letters appear there under well-known banners, echoing the cries which they there find prevalent. Mr. J. W. Kaye is perhaps the only Indian writer who has been content to describe his *quondam* associates without caricature. Generally speaking, you can scarce pronounce, from the way in which Indian matters are introduced, whether the writer be or be not totally unacquainted with the country. And of Mr. Kaye even, it must be admitted that, at least, his novels are the least popular of his works; so that it would appear almost as if the unvarnished Indian, painted as he is, will hardly go down. There has been for so long a tradition of the "Bengal Tiger," the wealthy upstart who wears nankeen, and whose skin is as yellow as his curry or his guineas; and who opportunely dies after a life chiefly passed in vulgarity and violence; just as the hero is on the point of losing his lovely Lilian; and thus extricates the attached pair from their anxiety, as they naturally inherit the bulk of his ill-gotten but extensive property. Bon Gaultier in his excellent parody of "Locksley Hall" speaks of his cousin as;—

"Falser than the Bank of Fashion, frailer than a shilling glove,
Puppet to a father's anger, minion to a Nabob's love;"

and she is reproached, accordingly, with having

"Stooped to marry half a heart—and
Little more than half a liver—."

Times and fashions change, but a perusal of the principal works in which Indian exiles have been mentioned for the last hundred years will shew that this type has remained tolerably constant; and that Indian writers have not only rarely protested, but often aided in maintaining the absurdity. The natives, on the contrary, are often of the class exemplified in M. Bernardin de St. Pierre's narrative "La Chaumière Indienne," a work of which it is impossible to say whether the tone or the tale is the more true, each being decidedly and totally false. Millions of pure-minded but partially clothed philosophers, soaring to the empyrean on wings of contemplation, but dragged again to earth, and trampled on by lawless European taskmasters—this is the state of things which the Palmtree-loving Public believes to exist in India.

"Let us contemplate," said, or might have said, the Sublime—and—Beautiful, "let us contemplate the bloated oppres'sor, surrounded by his *Nabobs* and his *Kabobs*, his *Chillums*[*] and 'his *Chillumchees*[†]; rolling in the lap of plunder, with his *Punka'walla*[‡] in one hand, and his *peenika pany*[‖] in the other." The reported speeches of Burke and Sheridan on the trial of Warren Hastings are often supposed to be very well "got-up" with local color and accessories; but indeed they are not very much better than the above, although, from the solemnity of the occasion and the fame of the speaker, they have undoubtedly given the cue to a great deal of English opinion on India, and helped to fix the false types we have been denouncing in minds otherwise intelligent and honest. Mr. Phillimore in Parliament, and the *Examiner* among London journals, are noted instances of this; and their misconception of Indian affairs, working upon minds naturally and by training generous and strong, has produced a kind of monomania hardly to have been looked for by those who only listened to them on other topics.

Nor is it long since a noble Lord stood up in his place, and declared of the Civil Officers that they were but one degree raised above the level of civilization of the savages whom they tortured; the officers of the Civil Service from which rose C. Metcalfe, Thomason, Elphinstone, Macnaghten, Elliott, Torrens, Lawrence, and many others whose reputation is not confined to this country. Here, where the Civil Service does its work, its chief unpopularity amongst Anglo-Indians is caused by its imputed over-sympathy with the Natives! So true is the popular mind (and unfortunately a Peer is no more exempt than a Journalist from prejudice) to original and misinformed conceptions. Most people must remember more or less of the passage in which Lord Macaulay, who knows India from experience gathered on the spot, has described the formation of public opinion about "Nabobs," and the way in which it affected literature during the latter part of the last century.

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[*] The tobacco prepared for the Hookah.

[†] A metal bason.

[‡] The man who works the indispensible fanning machine.

[‖] Drinking water.

> "The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connection, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquess. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth.
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> "The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state; but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known. That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of every thing in their neighbourhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches were finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill governed households corrupted half the servants in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud and the crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men; these were things which excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumoured that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord Lieutenant on the race-ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as Domesday Book, had been accumulated by violating public faith, by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonour the riches which he now lavished with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy, of Turcaret and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain and Richard the Third. A tem-

pest of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The Dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The Maccaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars and flatterers, tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hothouse flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires. Mackenzie, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper, in that lofty expostulation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or subvillain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart."

It was so, perhaps, from the necessity of the case; but it is discreditable to the Public and her instructors that such a mixture of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, should have been perpetuated for so long a period, exemplifying the danger of giving a dog a bad name. The Indian exile often retired, in those days, with a great deal of money not very purely got, and not very prettily spent; that may be; but now that Indians go home poor and live cleanly, the caricature becomes a libel.

To shew the prevalence at one time of the notion regarding the wealth obtainable in India—a notion which had a good deal died out before the Mutiny, although perhaps not even then entirely unfounded, and likely to be quite opposed to the fact in future—the reader may be referred to a story called "Lame Jervas," written by Miss Edgeworth in 1799. The story turns on the fortunes of a lame boy who is supposed to have disappeared mysteriously from a Cornish tin mine, and to return twenty years afterwards with a considerable fortune. He assembles his former comrades the miners, and tells them his story; from which it appears that, having been sent out as a teacher in Dr. Bell's School at Madras, he had proceeded to the Court of Tippoo, the Sultan of Mysore, and there made money by presents received from that chief, to whom he exhibited scientific apparatus, and instructed in their use the Prince Abdul Calic, Tippoo's son. Some years later Theodore Hook, in his amusing novel "Gurney Married," brought some of his Mauritius experience of "Nabobs" to bear on the story of two returned *Millionaires*, Messrs. Nubbley and Cuthbert Gurney; but even then it was apparently contrary to his knowledge of facts to represent *officials* as returning with large fortunes, and his characters are accordingly represented as retired merchants. Nubbley is an active, but absent-minded, man of business, while Cuthbert has all the lazy listless habits of the traditional Nabob. Nubbley's cellar of wine at Chittagong Villa is a good bit:—"His London 'Particular Madeira, Gordon Duff and Bean's own, bought by 'himself in their hospitable mansion, or rather palace, in the 'Ruadas Esmeraldas at Funchal—four pipes, with two quarter-'pipes to fill up ullage—his delicious Paxton port..." But though, like Col. Newcome, Mr. Cuthbert is ruined by the failure of a house in Calcutta, there is little but conventionalism in his portrait.

Even Sir Walter Scott split upon this rock to a certain extent. Colonel Mannering, to be sure, is not a very conventional Nabob; but on the other hand there is so little Indian about him, that it was, apparently, only for the sake of accounting for his wealth that he was connected with India at all. The adventures of Mr. Richard Middlemas at the Court of Tippoo will amuse the reader who will turn to the pages of "The Surgeon's Daughter;" but they are entirely free from that life-like interest which attaches to so many of the Magician of the North's creations, and are evidently written from cram. In fact, in those days, India only existed in the popular imagination as a kind of Eldorado of irresponsibility, and Indians were too small and isolated a class to cause any dread to be felt of their criticism.

But a better time, we will hope, is at hand. There is one writer who, with all but the very first gifts, has made use of his splendid position to describe Indian life and character soberly, though in a manner certainly no less entertaining than any of his less conscientious predecessors. The following charming passage from "The Newcomes" shews how truly Mr. Thackeray, perhaps alone in this respect, appreciates some of the real circumstances of our exile;—[He is speaking of some children being embarked for England.]

> "What a sad report their parents had that day! How their hearts followed the careless young ones home across the great ocean! Mothers' prayers go with them. Strong men, alone on their knees, with streaming eyes and broken accents, implore Heaven for those little ones who were prattling at their sides but a few hours since. Long after they are gone, careless and happy, recollections of the sweet past rise up and smite those who remain; the flowers they had planted in their little gardens, the toys

they played with, the little vacant cribs they slept in as fathers' eyes looked blessings down on them. * * * * * * What a strange pathos appears to me to accompany all our Indian story! Besides that official history which fills Gazettes, and embroiders banners with names of victory which give moralists and enemies cause to cry out at English rapine and enable patriots to boast of invincible British valour—besides the splendour and conquest, the wealth and glory, the crowned ambition and the conquered danger, the vast prize, and the blood freely shed in winning it—should not one remember the tears too?"

Here is a sketch from the same work, which shews how much the author has been struck with the false tone of which we have been speaking ;—

"One of Colonel Newcome's fellow passengers from India was Mr. James Binnie of the Civil Service, a jolly young bachelor of two or three and forty, who having spent half of his past life in Bengal, was bent upon enjoying the remainder in Britain or in Europe, if a residence at home should prove agreeable to him. The Nabob of books and tradition is a personage no longer to be found among us. He is neither as wealthy nor as wicked as the jaundiced monster of romances and comedies, who purchases the estates of broken-down English gentlemen with Rupees tortured out of bleeding Rajahs, who smokes a hookah in public, and in private carries about a guilty conscience, diamonds of untold value, and a diseased liver ; who has a vulgar wife, with a retinue of black servants whom she maltreats, and a gentle son and daughter with good impulses and an imperfect education, desirous to amend their own and their parents' lives, and thoroughly ashamed of the vices of the old people. If you go to the house of an Indian gentleman now, he does not say, "Bring more curricles," like the famous Nabob of Stanstead Park. He goes to Leadenhall Street in an omnibus, and walks back from the city for exercise. I have known some who have had maid-servants to wait on them at dinner. * * * * * * After two-and-twenty years' absence from London, Mr. Binnie returned to it on the top of the Gosport coach with a hat-box and a little portmanteau, a pink fresh-shaven face, a perfect appetite, a suit of clothes like every body else's, and not the shadow of a black servant."

Few characters in the wide range of English fiction are likely to be more valued and loved than Thomas Newcome; and though he may be no more a type of the Bengal Officer than Sir Roger de Coverley of the English country gentleman, yet Indians may well be proud of such a representative, and grateful to the author. Who has forgotten his old-fashioned courtesy, his modesty, truthfulness, and manly foibles; his cold bearing towards J. J. Ridley the butler's son, "kind but distant, as to a private soldier," or his indignation and hauteur when he found His Highness Rummun Lall the centre of an admiring group of English ladies? Page after page of this charming description might be extracted, and greatly to the adornment of the present Paper; but we must refer to the book itself, for the whole character will well repay careful study.

Mr. Dickens is a writer of a very different stamp. As keen in his observation as his great contemporary, he has not the well-bred manner, the classical reserve, which are necessary to give real truthfulness to character-painting. Instead of being dramatic he is melodramatic; his personages smell of the footlights, we fancy them on the stage in that delusive splendour. Great, extraordinary, is his comic power, the broadest, heartiest mirth, without a spice of ill-nature (except when he puts on his dignity robes, and stalks forth as a social reformer) but it is nearly always *buffoonery*. What amused us so much in the Wellers and Squeers, (in characters of the class we had never met or studied) the exaggeration became unpleasing in Pecksniff, and others of whom we were better qualified to judge: perhaps Major Bagstock is one of the most striking illustrations of this. Like Colonel Newcome, he is a retired officer who has served in Bengal; but he is the mere conventional Nabob, blue instead of yellow, with a native servant whom he beats furiously without provocation. Take the following specimens:—

"Although Major Bagstock had arrived at what is called in polite literature the grand meridian of life, and was proceeding on his journey down hill with hardly any throat, and a very rigid pair of jawbones, and long flapped elephantine ears, and his eyes and complexion in a state of artificial excitement, he was mightily proud of awakening an interest in Miss Fox, and tickled his vanity with the fiction that she was a splendid woman who had an eye on him. * * * It may be doubted whether there was ever a more selfish person at heart; or at stomach is perhaps a better expression, seeing that he was more decidedly endowed with that latter organ than with the former."*

Again;

"Here is a boy, Sir, son of Bitherstone of Bengal. Bill Bitherstone, formerly of ours. That boy's father and myself, Sir, were sworn friends. Wherever you went, Sir, you heard of nothing but Bill Bitherstone and Joe Bagstock. Am I blind to that boy's defects? By no means. He is a fool, Sir."

Again;

"'Where is my scoundrel?' said the Major, looking wrathfully round the room.

"The Native, who had no particular name (?) but answered to any vituperative epithet, presented himself instantly at the door, and ventured to come no nearer.

"'You Villain!' said the Major 'where's the breakfast?' "The dark servant disappeared in search of it, and was quickly heard re-ascending the stairs in such a tremulous state that the plates and dishes on the tray he carried, trembling sympathetically as he came, rattled again all the way up."

Or this;

"In this flow of spirits and conversation, only interrupted by his usual plethoric symptoms, and by intervals of lunch, and from time to time *by some violent assault upon the Native* who wore a pair of earrings in his dark brown ears * * * the Major continued all day, etc."

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* Dombey and Son; p. 62.

Surely this is merely the Indian of farce, a dressed up, disgusting phantom, described *from without;* while Thackeray's is done from actual knowledge, *intus et in cute.* We really do not institute this comparison merely for its being favorable to our own class. Let us take Colonel Altamont of H. M. the King of Oude's service from *Pendennis;* surely he is not a favorable specimen of our class; yet he is true to nature; and a distinguished officer and general will rise to the recollection of many as a justification of the horrid picture. The splendid exterior, vulgar manners, and unbridled habits do not delight us, we are glad to think we do not know *many* Indians of the type, but it is one, for all that, which we recognize. We believe that we have seen Colonel Altamont.

Take another specimen, one coming still nearer to the unpleasant blue Major "the heaving mass of Indigo," take the celebrated Collector of Boggleywallah. Does not the same remark hold good, and will not the British reader trust, now, to the skilful Master? If he believes that India has Civil Officers like Jos. Sedley, and Militaires resembling Colonel Altamont, will he not (*per contra*) accept Colonel Newcome and Mr. Binnie? If he will not, the only defence of his conduct will have to be founded on the books written by Indians themselves; which, as we have before hinted, are not implicitly to be followed, because so few amongst us have the necessary leisure or natural power to enable them to rely on their own resources; and are hence led to appeal to certain conventional preconceptions, and to describe Indian manners and matters as they fancy they are expected to do, rather than as they have seen them.

We can indeed conceive a writer possessed of less skill than Mr. Thackeray, not so complete a man of the world, less observant, it may be; still conscientiously minded and truthfully bent on conveying to others the knowledge and the feeling that were in him. We can imagine of such an one, with such an object, producing Essays, Sketches, Tales or Novels—all, in short, that is commonly called Literature—in which Indian Society should be represented as composed of much the same materials as that of the minor aristocracy, or "upper-middle-class" of England; the tone a little saddened by *mal de pays,* and by the serious aspect in which life is presented to them; taught by that experience that "life is real, life is earnest" and death ever at hand, but also knowing how to gather, with a gentle epicureanism, the innocent wayside flowers of Hospitality, Mutual-help, and Becoming-mirth. The younger men should still shoot tigers, but their sports should nerve them for the nobler game of war; they should be fond of society, and ready to dance with any partners they could find; a little reckless, even sometimes calling the natives "niggers," though not given to causelessly breaking their heads, and promptly brought to book for every such unprovoked outbreak; the young ladies indulging themselves with innocent freedom, and marrying early and mostly for love; the middle-aged couples knit to one another, in a manner seldom seen among their contemporaries at home, by the consciousness of impending separation, of serious aims and hopes, of lost infants forgetting them in England or watching them from Heaven; the old men often distinguished by wisdom or by valor shewn during many years of public service, discussing grave topics with a wide and liberal scope, and earnestly striving to better the condition of the seemingly God-forgotten heathen who surround them. Over all, too, would now hang the shadows of a fearful Past, the clouds of an uncertain Future; the memories of the Saints and Martyrs, of the heroic young soldiers slain foully in the promise of their prime, the guileless children, the fond mothers, the fair girls gone—gone through the Gate of Blood, through shame and sorrow to Him who went there some eighteen hundred years before; and the anticipations of change so perplexing to those who have grown up before the Revolution, when the foundations seem shaken, and even the righteous falter in their course.* But as the Apostle speaks of "spots in feasts of love, &c. raging waves of the sea, *foaming out their own shame*," so it must be confessed that amongst us too, at the present day, there are many disgraceful or ridiculous individuals, and some of these are from time to time brought forth as fair samples of the whole.

Among the most recent of these reprehensible caricatures we must certainly reckon Captain Atkinson's "Curry and Rice," a work by an Indian Engineer officer, but published in London. There are a number of colored lithographs, many of which are very well done, the Publishers having spared no due exertions in presenting them to the public with graceful execution; but, alas, all this skill and labor are only successful in more signally illustrating the inherent vulgarity and stupid superficiality of the author's conceptions. In many of the pictures the exaggerations are utterly pointless; as, for example, where "The Judge" is represented by a lean old scarecrow in the costume of forty years since, and a close transcript of the picture of "The Civilian" in "Tom Raw, the Griffin," a book by the late Sir Charles D'Oyley, which was considered clever in the early part of the century. No attempt is made to preserve the likenesses of the various characters,

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[*] The conduct of the late E. I. Company's European soldiers will serve as an instance of what must be the feelings of Civil and Military Officers, though they may be too loyal and honorable to give way to them.

though this is obviously the great charm in a series of social sketches, and even in the Letter-press their individuality is of the very faintest. The crowning humor is to assign to those shadowy creations names founded on a misconception of certain vernacular words for ingredients and materials of cookery, in furtherance, probably, of the brilliant idea in the title of the book: but some of the names shew a still loftier aim, and emulate the facetiousness of "Ten Thousand a Year," where a Schoolmaster is called Mr. Hic, Hæc, Hoc. The style is a forced imitation of Mr. Thackeray's, and to him the work appears to be dedicated (with or without permission) if we have rightly interpreted the intention of a flippantly worded epistle which follows the title page, and which is without any address, but commences "My dear Thackeray."* We can only trust that the humorist (if he does peruse the book) will, in common with all others for whose opinion we Indians ought to care, exercise taste and sense enough to see that such an affair can only be a fair portrait of a certain portion of our society, drawn by a person whose deficiencies in both sense and taste prevented him from associating with any other.

To turn from such a book to the Life and Letters of the late lamented William Hodson, is like stepping from Madame Warton's Walhalla into that of Woden. Yet both belonged to the same profession, being Captains in the Indian Army. Let the reader, therefore, take to heart this lesson; that, as one man will see nothing but meanness all round him, and will find in the siege of Delhi itself material for "comic copy," while another finds it all instinct with serious interests and noble struggles; so Indian Society as a whole is not to be dismissed with any one sweeping epithet. There are several reasons why no man is a hero to his valet, one (a common one) being that valets do not know heroes when they see them. We do not say that all Indian officers are Hodsons, nor yet that Hodson himself was a perfect hero (who is?) He was evidently very "wide awake," more of a Marmion than a De Wilton. But we maintain that a picture of Indian life, in which intelligent soldiership and thirst of glory should be entirely omitted, were no good likeness.

There is no such word in the Dictionary as "pessimism," but the thing is very common. Some of the Smelfungus tribe will go from Caithness to Cornwall and say, "all is corrupt." We should like to extract from a recent lecture by Archbishop Whately a passage wonderfully descriptive of the tendency of such writings as "Little Dorrit," and "Never too late to Mend;" but space presses, and we can only give a few short sentences, hoping that they may lead our readers to peruse the whole work. He commences this portion of his remarks by saying how much he regrets to find.

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* It is right however to mention that there is a Lieutenant Thackeray in the Bengal Army to whom this may apply, as being in his corps, Capt. A. is more likely to be intimate with him than with the great namesake.

> "Writers who, with much wit and power of description, find amusement for themselves and their readers in the keen pursuit and exposure of everything faulty, or which can be represented as faulty in every portion of our whole system; exaggerating with eager delight every evil they can find, and fixing on it like a raven pouncing on a piece of carrion; inventing such as do not exist, and keeping out of sight whatever is well done, and unexceptional."

The fault, he says, is peculiarly attributable to the authors of "what are avowedly works of *amusement*, and the *main staple* 'of which is to hold up our institutions to ridicule mixed with 'abhorrence." After shewing that such representations would, if believed, create a revolution, the thoughtful writer thus proceeds;—

> "The practical effect on the minds of the greater part of the Public is to render them incredulous as to real and remediable defects, and indifferent about really needful reforms. They understand that these overwrought representations are merely for dramatic *effect*."

The conclusion of these extracts especially points to all exaggeration in novels, social no less than political. The "Uncle-Tom-School" is not without followers, even among the thin ranks of Anglo-Indian authors. It would be bad enough if a Chinese, after a six months' residence in London, during which he occupied himself in visiting the hospitals and making drawings of the principle diseases and deformities which fell under his notice, were to write them in one figure, and exhibit the picture to the intelligent public of Pekin, on his return to that capital, as the likeness of an average Englishman; the hair afflicted with Plica Polonica, the nose and teeth destroyed by the use of Mercury, the shoulders unequal, the back humped, the belly dropsical, the legs crooked, and the feet clubbed. Yet how far worse is the conduct of a person who does this with regard to his own countrymen and intimate companions, and that not with their bodies but their minds.

Foremost among our Indian pessimists is the quondam Editor of the "Optimist". Mr. Lang was a successful journalist in this country, and at home has proved himself to possess some dramatic power and narrative skill. We cannot afford to pass without notice an author who has written a play with Tom Taylor, and published a Novel in Mr. Routledge's "Two Shilling Series." But the pictures given of Indian Society in Mr. Lang's works do far "more credit to his head than his heart." The tale which appeared serially in *Fraser's Magazine* some years ago under the title of "The Wetherbys," was completely constructed on the hospital-scheme above referred to; the whole of the characters being, to all appearance, selected from the rogues and drabs whom the author may have known or met during the course of an Indian career, which was not perhaps very well regulated or very fortunate in the general nature of its associations. However this may be, we cannot allow that such a book presents a fair specimen of the constitution of Indian Society. A later work—"Will He Marry Her?" —is free from this objection, the Indians introduced being mostly distinguished for courage and virtue; but it is so inferior in construction, in probability, in every point of literary execution, that it can hardly be looked to as an antidote to the venom of "The Wetherbys."

The amiable and earnest author of "Oakfield," who is, alas, beyond the reach of criticism or the power of amending his faults, doubtless injured both his adopted country and his own reputation by a similar error. Entering the Indian Army from the bosom of a University and of a high-toned English home, Mr. Arnold passed, directly, into one of the (then) worst regulated Corps in the Bengal Native Infantry; and it was his further misfortune to pass from that into a second corps, which is stated to have been even worse. Did this justify him in making his great talents subservient to an exhibition of "Fellowship in the East" which should combine the worst traits of the worst men in these two Regiments, as a fair example of the whole fabric? This is worse than the Scholasticus in Hierocles, for we do not read that that celebrated sage selected a *half-baked* brick as a sample of his house when he put it up for sale. Time and death, sanctifying powers, have done much, we may be sure, to mitigate the resentment which Mr. Arnold incurred in India. Love for the man, respect for his memory, honest appreciation of the fearless earnestness of his book, regret for the premature close of his useful career, the natural short-livedness of all violent feelings—all these causes will operate in mitigation of a possibly exaggerated censure; but the wise man, whose censure was moderate at the time, will not so relax its strictness; *nec sumit nec ponit secures arbitrio popularis auræ.* If a thing was wrong, let it be called wrong, *as far as it was wrong*, that so future imitators may know what to avoid, and any other evil results of the evil may be warded off as far as may be. Let the public give up—to a certain extent—its palm-trees, and a Phœnix of another sort shall perhaps be given to it; even an

Indian Novel containing views of Indian life at once natural and varied, looking for a sure, if slow, success.

A book which legitimately claims our attention in this connection is "The Timely Retreat," the account of a year in Bengal by two young ladies, which was so much talked of during the period of 1857 and first half of 1858. Without denying that something is due to the *à propos*, it may still be admitted that no utterly stupid book could have had such a "run;" we have been assured that, before the second edition was out, the trade-subscriptions for a third were completed; and all in about the third month from the appearance of the book. The fair writers may take Martial's ground, the bookseller is the truest critic after all. But whatever may have been the book's merit, and however one may disapprove such unmanly attacks as the Article "English Girls" in the *Saturday Review*, we cannot compliment the fair writers on their reserve or their good taste. Under their disguises, men and women who had kindly received them in India, whose lives and motives were alike utterly unknown to them, were made actors in a "low comedy," just at the very time that they were stuggling for life or honor amidst horrors such as are rare even in the blood-stained page of religious history. The contrast is too broad and too dreadful to be here pursued.

But it was necessary to notice it; because, though the sufferings of the Indian exile are not usually so severe, nor the *persiflage* of his caricaturists so strikingly inappropriate, there is yet this objectionable fact remaining, that the English, and their imitators among ourselves, consider ill-health, exile, ennui, fit subjects for smart writing, and their victims valuable as constituents for a farce. Let us hope that this is, in many cases, the result of ignorance, misled by the traditions of their literature during so long a period, and overwhelmed by a competition which renders dulness a mortal sin. Light writers at Home, whether in Magazine, Newspaper or Novel, must make the best they can of Indians. And the handsome salaries ("on the same scale," says *The Times*, "as the Elephant, the Banyan, and the palm-tree," *heu, iterum Crispinus!*) together with the high social position, form an idea more easily appreciable to the Grub-Street mind than the somewhat sentimental drawbacks by which those advantages are accompanied; but these are not the less real. A member of one of the Indian services, or of a good mercantile firm, may marry young it is true: but he is usually doomed to see wife and children droop, decay, and die around him in a few years, unless he can nerve himself to send them to England; in which case he has to bear the expenses of a married establishment combined with the discomforts of bachelor life. The climate, of which Mr. Bright makes so little, is simply the most miserable that can be conceived on this side of Phlegethon; the winters wet or windy, the summers wasting and wearisome. How would Mr. Bright like to spend half the year on the top of the monument, and the other half tied by the leg to the door of a furnace? The frightful boredom, loneliness, absence of amusement, in this part of India at least, have been noticed in two recent articles of this *Review,*[*] but they must be *felt* to be appreciated.

Not but that exile, like every other condition of human life, has its blessings for those who with thankful hearts embrace all divine dispensations. Many of us, it is to be hoped, are of those who "sow in tears to reap in joy." The same beautiful Psalm tells us that he who goes forth weeping, and *bearing good seed,* shall come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him. And is not the condition so far true as to justify the hope that the promise will be fulfilled? The young man, the fair girl, who start for India with their father's "last faltered blessing" on their heads, and their mother's constant sweet counsel at their hearts, may not these be truly said to bear good seed? And though, to human sight they come not again, though the eye fail in watching, and the gray hairs go down in sorrow to the grave, do we not know that none in this world have an abiding city, in order that we may seek one that is above? It was pathetically said by one who is now gone to his rest, that "people in India talked of 'Home,' as if it were their long-home." Let us remember the spirit of brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert's last words; "It is as near to Heaven from India as from Europe."

Having been thus led to take a more serious view of the subject than that with which we commenced, we think it appropriate to speak a few words on Missionary matters, and the notions of Hindooism prevalent in the religious world at Home. During the late crisis a good deal of excitement prevailed on this subject, and Parsondom was moved in all its departments from Samuel Oxon to Baptist Noel. Whether the East India Company had done too much or too little for Christianity, had fostered or insulted idolatry, was not agreed, but this was certain, that, the waters being troubled, the curing of sick souls was at hand. We have selected Mr. Curteis' Sermon as a type of these views, because he represents the sensible, moderate, well-informed portion of the English Church, and because his very virtues have led him into what we cannot but consider serious errors.

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[*] Vol. XXVII, Article 3, "Indian Ennui."
Vol. XXVIII. Article 1, "Life in the North West."

No one who does not know India by practical experience can tell how little real influence (especially for good) the systems of the Pundits really have on the people at large of this day; and therefore how much need there is, when we speak of the Hindoos' superiority over us in philosophy, to add the words of St. Paul, "falsely so called." Speculative systems in which imaginary premises are pushed by force of logic into unpractical conclusions; this is from beneath, and very different from the wisdom that is from above, of which it is said, "Happy the man that findeth her." Mr. Curteis, and the religious philanthropists in general, seem to approach the brink of Mr. F. Newman's heresy that all religions are divine; whereas in fact this is not God's world, but on the contrary most of its creeds are from the *de facto* Prince, who studiously parodies the forms of truth, as he transforms himself into an angel of light, and makes *Devil*, *Deev*, *Devta*, to look like those of God.* The study, then, of Indian systems should form a part not of theology—which is one—but of Satanology, which varies to suit the varying whims of human passion, and whose fruits are sin and death. Missionaries may study them, but only as King Alfred studied Guthrum's Camp. This *respect* with which they are urged to enter upon discussions with heathen sages, will often leave them unable to keep their heads above water. Such questions as the origin of evil, the nature of Goo or of the soul, the existence of Matter, are not weapons from the memory of faith, and its soldiers had best not choose them when challenged. If, on the other hand, the heathen be encouraged to incorporate into Christianity any part—no matter how seemingly innocent—of his own system, he will surely cling to the whole. An incarnation more, as Mr. Curteis acknowledges, is nothing to that wonder-loving mind. The vast numbers of Indian Christians in the 17th century to whom he refers, what were they but the converts of the Jesuits, who allowed them to alter Déby's paint, and call her the blessed virgin. And where are they now? We know the consequences of putting new wine into old bottles.

Let the Missionary look on these false systems as no more complements of truth than Darkness is of Light, or Satan of the Almighty. We look for a time when there shall be neither night, nor devil, nor any evil thing; shall we not expedite its coming? May not the Missionary say, "Brother, I know your 'systems and their fruits; and I cannot argue about them, be'cause the demonstration of *fact* has already solved them by the '*reductio ad absurdum*." *Then* he may bring in the beauty of holiness, and the divine affinities of the soul of man; and fortify the whole fabric by the unshakeable bastions of personal virtue and national glory.

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* So in Sclavonic "Bog" = God; in Scotch Bogie is Demon.

On the whole, we submit that the European and Native inhabitants of India have a kind of common cause, a common ground on which to move the British nation for a review of judgment. We and our predecessors have formed British India, the admiration and envy of continental Europe, and a magnificent field for usefulness as ever nation had. We ask, in return, no more than what every man owes his brother—well-informed sympathy and consideration. The natives are really as much injured by being looked upon as black Englishmen, as are the settlers when they are regarded as English blacks, (or blackguards). There is a kind of telescopic philanthropy which, sweeping the horizon in search of sufferers, neglects the claimants for aid who shiver on its own doorsteps: but the worst feature of it is that is essentially uncharitable, and involves the transfer to distant and ill-perceived objects of that scorn and reproach which, did you but look at your feet, would seem due to yourselves. It is not only charity that should begin at home, but censure also. Some of us may remember the light in which the planters of Jamaica were popularly regarded before the emancipation of the slaves. That is the very spirit which actuates too many English writers (who ought, however, to know better) in depicting a fancy-portrait of Anglo Indians. The same men who went on till 1858 without attempting to provide for the homeless poor of their own metropolis, and who bring their whole nation into contempt and hatred by vulgar insolence in continental streets and hotels, these are the very first to take up a cry because they find—or fancy that they find—their countrymen in the East keeping order somewhat roughly among a set of hereditary bondsmen to whom they are as one to one thousand; and who love them as Westminster boys did Dr. Busby. The middle classes of England are dreaming, they may awake too late. Let them do their duty towards those who are placed in their immediate charge, and give us credit for wishing to do the same towards the people of Hindoostan.

ART. III.—*Minute on the Employment of Junior Civil Officers as Assistant Judges.* By the HON'BLE F. J. HALLIDAY, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. April, 1859.

THE Judicial Courts of Bengal are not generally favorites of the Indian public. Ever since their introduction under the auspices of that Company which is now numbered with the things that were, up till the present day, the cry has been loudly raised against them. Many an able essay has been written on their constitution and defects, many an indignant philippic has been poured forth against their abuses; Civilians have mildly remonstrated, "outsiders" and "interlopers" vehemently protested against their insufficiency for the wants of the country at large, yet up till now without effect. The same "traditionary policy" which wished to keep India a close borough or appanage of Leadenhall Street, maintained the Judicial Courts with their acknowledged defects in spite of all the clamor and outcry against them. Regulations and Acts doubtless were made altering the principles of the administration of justice, but the procedure of the Judicial Courts seemed too perfect to require change or admit of improvement. "Laissez aller" was the motto of our legislators, and thus up till now the Court procedure has been but slightly modified, far less, as was required, radically changed. Now however a change has passed over the government of India, a change too in the principle of that government, and the hopes of India's well-wishers have waxed high. Reform is all the cry, and among the many topics to which that cry has reference, the Bengal Courts hold a prominent place. Already in the Punjab has a new judicial system been initiated under Lawrence and Montgomery, already in the North West Provinces reforms are being mooted and devised despite the curse of the Regulations, and we trust the tide of improvement will not ebb, till it reaches the benighted regions of Lower Bengal. We propose to give a brief outline of the life which the embryo Magistrate and Collector first enters on in the Mofussil, noting as we go along the impressions likely to arise in his mind on first being brought into contact with the realities of the Judicial Courts.

Let us first consider the initiatory training which the young Civilian receives to prepare him for the duties of his profession. It has frequently been a taunt raised against the Civil Service that its members, from the moment of their appointment on the establishment, seemed to be considered capable of successively assuming the powers and performing the duties of Magistrate, Collector, Judge or Commissioner without any special training whatsoever. "Poeta nascitur, *Collector* fit" some one has remarked, but the truth of the proposition was apparently not universally admitted, and if we may judge from sundry expressions generally used with reference to our administrators, the Civilian was supposed to lay claim to direct inspiration and intuitive aptitude to perform the duties of his calling. The taunt was repeatedly repudiated. Haileybury and Fort William Colleges were pointed out as standing proofs of the injustice of the reproach, and it was asked in reply if, with these institutions vividly before them, cavillers would still dare to bring against the Company the charge of neglecting their servants' early training. Yet, notwithstanding this open challenge, the cry against the deficiency of young Civilians' special training continued and still prevails. We do not purpose in our present remarks to enter into any elaborate discussion as to the comparative excellence or deficiency of the Competitive and old Haileybury system. That is a question which in our opinion will be better determined by time and the actual results of the future than by any conjectures we might offer on the subject. Sufficient data have not yet been provided to enable us with any certainty to pronounce the new superior to the old method, and we believe that not until a generation of competition-Civilians has passed away, and their actual career be compared with that of a generation of Haileybury men, can a just decision be pronounced. Leaving then this question as a moot point at present, we shall confine our remarks to the so-called special training provided for the young Civilian in the College of Fort William, Calcutta—a training immediately preceding his employment in active life, and ostensibly professing to fit him for the successful performance of his duties in the Mofussil.

The great aim professedly on the part of the Indian Government has always been to make their servants a body of practical working men—so to teach them that "the art and practick part of life should be the mistress to the theoric." And in so doing doubtless the aim was praiseworthy. India, the fabled dreamland of the ancients, has certainly not proved so to any modern adventurers who have had the curiosity or hardihood to wander thither. From the times of Vasco de Gama down to the Mutiny of 1857, India has witnessed more of stern, sterling action and activity than perhaps any other country in the world. It has afforded no sphere of ease and retirement for the philosopher who studied morals and not men; obstacles requiring the highest energy and exertion to overcome, have constantly presented themselves; and the Englishman, first as conqueror and then as ruler of the country, has had ever to deal more with the actual than the ideal, more with facts than fancies. Praiseworthy indeed then was the aim of the Directors of the old Company to send out a body of men, who would not be ashamed to apply all their energies to work, and who would grapple directly and earnestly with the incidents of every day life as they arose,—praiseworthy was their aim we say, were the means adopted to attain their end equally deserving of commendation. In former days the so-called special training was inaugurated at Haileybury, where Law, Political Economy, Hindustani, &c. were taught by learned and competent professors. How much of their instructions the students of Haileybury carried with them from the halls of their Alma Mater to the shores of Calcutta, and the examination-room of Fort William College, we have neither time nor inclination to inquire. Most people considered that the young Civilian in his student days at Haileybury resembled that prince of old, whose "contemplation, 'obscured under the veil of wildness, grew like summer grass 'fastest by night: unseen yet crescive in its faculty." An opinion not unsupported by experience, and confirmed by witnesses from among the members of the service itself.

We do not mean to condemn altogether the system in vogue at Haileybury. It had its bright as well as its dark side, its recommendations as well as its disadvantages. The students were united by the strong bond of community of aim, and an 'esprit de corps' was thereby established which has ever been remarked as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Civil Service. Still notwithstanding this and other advantages which we could mention, we are obliged to admit that as a special training school for future work in India—the object for which it was established, Haileybury was, to speak mildly, defective. The new system, brought into force in 1855, brought within the pale of the Indian Civil Service men who, up to the date of their admission, had received a high general education, but who were not, with few exceptions specially trained for any one of the learned professions, much less for the Indian Civil Service. The examination, success in which secured their admission into the service, was designed to test more their education as gentlemen than their special knowledge of India or Indian lore, and the students admitted thus by competition arrived in Calcutta to commence a career, which to most of them must have been comparatively unknown, and for which few if any were prepared. For both of these classes—Haileybury as well as Competition, a second curriculum of study was provided in Fort William College. Here both combine; each has the same test to undergo, each the same facilities afforded him, each the same incentives to spur him on. Promotion depends upon success; the sooner therefore the ordeal is passed the better for the future prospects of each.

Now in what does this special training consist? The young

Civilian on his arrival is ordered to commence studying the languages or dialects used in the division of the Presidency to which he is attached. Certain books are appointed, the contents of which he must master to the satisfaction of the examiner, before he receives any substantive rank or can perform any official duties. Month after month must the student appear before the dread tribunal and report progress in his studies; month after month does he patiently, by the aid of Moonshee and dictionary, endeavor to reach the desired standard of excellence; month after month his progress is declared "tolerable" or "fair," till at last even the conscientious examiner is satisfied, and the name of the student appears in the *Gazette* as "qualified for the public service," permitted to put his foot on the first round of that ladder which by manifold windings conducts to the Sudder, Lieutenant Governorship, and seat in the Indian Council. Qualified for the public service—qualified to quit the examination room, and enter the cutcherry—qualified to quit the study of books, and begin that of men—qualified to abandon the do-nothingness of Calcutta life and enter upon a career of activity and usefulness in the Mofussil! Well may our young friend rejoice at such a prospect. But is the young Civilian really qualified to do all this, capable of successfully performing those duties which have been assigned him? His ability to understand and be understood by those with whom he daily mingles, is, one would imagine, a point of vital importance to be ascertained, but the framers of the Calcutta examination-scheme seem to have thought differently. The young Civilian apparently is considered either to have resided too long in the country to require a test on this point, or too short a time to enable him to pass the trial satisfactorily; the question therefore of his competency or incompetency in conversation is deferred till a future occasion, and the student is released from College, capable to give a few short orders intelligible to his bearer or khitmutgar, generally totally unable to understand or maintain a lengthened conversation. His actual knowledge of the language—the point sought to be tested and ascertained by the examination, consists in being able to translate with tolerable fluency a puerile oriental fable-book, written in a dialect which hé has rarely, if ever, occasion to use; to translate into a similarly pure and high style several easy English sentences, and to read a printed book without absolutely spelling through each word. The books selected as the test of the student's competency may have been useful in former days; at present only a man of singularly vivid imagination could point out their recommendations or advantages; and few students, we conceive, have found either the lucubrations of Asad Bakht, or the pious meditations of the owl and crow in the Ikhnan-us-Safa, of much benefit or assistance in their future career. Such then is the philological armour, equipped in which the young Civilian is sent forth to begin the battle of official life in the Judicial Courts.

The main object of this linguistic training is, we are told, (and supposed to believe,) to enable the young man at once to begin his daily work, and perform his official duties. Now there are two ways of learning a language,—either by the eye or by the ear, either by the study of books or men, either by long continued and careful analysis of the thoughts of others as written or spoken. The man who follows wholly the former plan may be an accomplished scholar, he never can become a great, seldom a good linguist; the man who adopts the latter method, may, it is granted, sometimes be deficient in the graces of diction, but he will have the advantage of understanding and making himself understood by others. Which then of these two methods would a practical man recommend to be pursued in the training of the young Civilian? His pursuits surely are, or are intended to be, more those of the man of action than of the scholar; his daily life surely requires knowledge of the language as spoken rather than as written. A deep, intricate and critical study of the language, in the circumstances in which he is placed, is not only superfluous but injurious; it wastes time, and we are convinced from experience that we are not wrong in stating that it impairs the facilities for afterwards mastering conversational idiom. The student very rarely *thinks* in the language which he studies; he is obliged first to clothe the thought with his own vernacular, and then by translation, express it in the other language; while in the case of the man who learns principally by the ear, involuntarily the idea presents itself to his mind in the language which he has thus acquired, and he is enabled to express it in the form most likely to be understood by natives of the country.

Yet despite its disadvantages, this student system is the one which the practical anti-theoretic authorities of Leadenhall Street have fixed upon to ensure their young servants going forth from their halls qualified to commence their actual duties; nay more the system has not even the merit which we tacitly assign it. To study a language by dictionary and book requires many a long year to produce any satisfactory result. What conclusion then must we come to when we find the students of Fort William College declared "qualified" in two languages in about the space of six or eight months. Students and scholars they may all be in name, and many in inclination, but the system forbids them becoming any thing better than smatterers, having a knowledge which leans more to the scholarly side yet reaches not thereto practically, sent forth to engage in their duties without the means of conveying their thoughts intelligibly to any save perhaps Pundits or Moonshees. Of what use are the "sesquipedalia verba" of the "Betalpanchabinsati," to an unkempt ryot, who knows of nought beyond his own field or village, or to the sleek half educated Mohurrir, whose pen glides but in the language of the Courts? Yet among those two classes, the ryot of the district and the Mohurrirs of the Cutcherry, is the young Magistrate supposed to pass most of his time. The sphere in which the career of the young assistant lies is generally and with rare exceptions, the Mofussil. Why is he not sent there at once, learning, like any other apprentice to a profession, his future work practically under a Magistrate or Collector, rather than wasting time and opportunities in the dank and dreary atmosphere of Calcutta. He will surely acquire more knowledge in the office of the Magistrate than in the examination room of the College; he will be daily and hourly thrown amongst the natives of the country, who understand not his tongue, and will through very helplessness intuitively learn to express his ideas in theirs. He will be "qualified"—really qualified—to begin work within half the time which the present system requires, and thus gain for himself all the sooner a position among the actual working members of the service. He will learn to read and write documents more quickly in the Mofussil than in Calcutta, and will, by mingling amongst the natives, all the sooner gain some insight into Asiatic character, an acquisition so essential and yet so difficult of attainment. Let it remain for the Magistrate to say when the young assistant is fit to be entrusted with judicial powers and to perform official duties. These officers as gentlemen will not study partiality or favoritism in the exercise of this power, nor as Magistrates will they hastily throw work into the hands of incompetent instruments who are likely to return it ill done or not done at all; and thus the Magistrate, instead of having to deal with a stranger assistant imported from Calcutta, will be able more skilfully to employ the instrument of his own making—the youth whom he has trained and whose character he has watched—in the work best suited to his abilities and capacity.

Turn we now to the second phase of our young assistant's career. He has dropped the academical denomination of student, has been enrolled among the working members of the service, and been gazetted to an appointment at a Mofussil Station. He must now leave the pleasant English society of Calcutta, and it may be banish himself for a time from the haunts of civilization. Few however regret the change except in so far as it separates them from those friends whom they hold dear; and a few sigh inconsolably for the delights which they have abandoned. "Cribbed, cabined and confined" in Calcutta, the newly fledged assistant can now reduce to practice those dreamy visions of Magisterial life which he has been forming. Here too, although under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate and officially in his charge, he first begins to realize the idea of independence, and has the opportunity first afforded him of shaping out a course of his own. His sphere of usefulness, formerly confined by regulation to "within a radius of five miles from Government House," is now extended over a district whose limits are counted by tens not units of miles, and whose inhabitants are numbered by thousands. Still life in the Mofussil is not without its disadvantages as well as its recommendations. Routine prevails there as well as in Calcutta. The occurrences that generally come under the cognizance of the resident at an out-station are frequently of the same monotonous character, and may, unprofitably employed, tend to narrow the mind and views of those who experience them. "Our station" may become the all-absorbing topic, the be-all and the end-all of life; nay it is impossible to deny that the deprivation of social privileges and solitariness which often accompany Mofussil life, have led to results on which it is painful to reflect, and have originated a class of sins, which happily are now sensibly diminished, and may gradually become extinct. Still, with all its solitariness, how universally is the Mofussil preferred to the City. How few exchange even the routine of Cutcherry for the drudgery of the Secretariat; how few abandon the solitary freedom of the out-station, for the fascinating restraints of Calcutta society.

The duties of an assistant at a Mofussil station are so well known as scarcely to require to be specified, much less enlarged on. Suffice it to say generally, that such minor cases as usually may be seen at an English Police Court, are those which daily come under his cognizance for trial and decision. He may be deputed by the Magistrate to investigate a serious case or write a report from papers furnished him; he may be sent into the interior of his district on duty, or he may retain charge of the office in the absence of the Magistrate, but as is natural, the sphere allotted for his operations is at first small and contracted. We will suppose him arrived at his station, introduced to the residents, waited on by the native officials, and eager to enter Cutcherry and commence business. The first day on which the assistant attends Cutcherry is one not easily forgotten. The report spreads amongst the officials that the new *sahib* is going to begin work—to take the first plunge in the Rubicon of business, and forthwith all the *hangers on* about Court crowd to witness his installation. Let us just glance for a moment at the scene. First of all comes the principal actor, the assistant himself, seated, not exactly on a throne of 'royal state, which far excells the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,' but on a raised platform of common wood, striving to look around with nonchalant air, putting on the "robur et triplex æs" of assurance, hurriedly calling to mind the shreds and patches of his Calcutta Bengali, but inwardly dreading the ordeal of his first case—conscious that he is being mentally weighed in the balances by every one present, and yet fruitlessly endeavouring to persuade himself that he will not be found wanting in the estimation of his self-constituted valuators—feeling for the first time in reality that the expression "qualified for the public service" is a broken reed, and the Calcutta examination a delusion and a snare. Around him, and within the favored circle of the official platform, sit or stand the sleek velvet-tongued Amlah, "much con-'demned to have an itching palm, to sell and mart their offices 'for gold," watching with interested feelings the first impressions of the assistant, who, they fondly hope, will become their future ward. Without stand the mooktyars or pleaders, legitimate descendants of Belial, skilled to make the worse appear the better reason, mentally calculating the amount of fees they may exact from unsuspecting and deluded clients, on the ground of the Sahib's falsely represented partiality or inclination in their favor; while around and throughout the Cutcherry stand "the many," an unsavoury crowd, attracted chiefly for the sake of gossip, and little caring or seeming to care what influence the new hakim may cast on their interests.

Business is commenced. A case of assault is called; the plaintiff and his witnesses step to the bar, and mumble over the solemn declaration prescribed by regulation. Depositions expressly ordered to be written down in the presence of the presiding officer, make their appearance with wonderful rapidity from behind his back, and are read or hurriedly gabbled over by the head mohurrir; a faint attempt at cross-examination is made by the unpractised assistant; the depositions are finished, and much to his surprise the case is terminated for the day. The defendant's side is not forthcoming, orders if necessary are given to summon the accused; this order is recorded—the papers signed and laid aside —and a second case, probably a *facsimile* of the first, begun, heard, and terminated at a similar stage of advancement. In due process of time, i. e. when the assistant has forgot all the particulars of the case, the defendants appear, and their answer to the charge seems as conclusively established as was the accusation of the plaintiff against them. This produces a reference to notes, or the previous papers of the case—these are looked over afresh, and the case awaits only the final award of the assistant. At first generally his decision is not given without deep and long consideration. He very likely takes the papers home with him and tries, by reading the details anew, to make up his mind as to the sentence which he shall pronounce. Sometimes he is mercifully disposed by some palliating circumstances which he fancies he can detect on the defendant's side, at other times inclined to punish from a conviction of the truth of the plaintiff's statement; wavering he remains, till at last, although with many qualms of conscience as to the justness of his award, he comes to a conclusion, and proceeds to pass sentence of acquittal or condemnation.

Such is the cutcherry life of the assistant. One day's work illustrates the work of every day, and this is the school in which he is supposed to gain the experience which will fit him to enter on and perform the arduous duties of the Magistrate. Small as is the sphere in which he is engaged, many lessons are patent to any one who wishes to read and profit by them. In an English police court a man is brought up before the Magistrate on a charge of assault, the witnesses are produced and examined, and the accused is called on for his defence. He may deny the facts. Such is rarely the case, but in many instances he is compelled by the sheer force of circumstances to admit the truth of the accusation. Such a phenomenon as the confession of an accused party in a petty case, is seldom if ever witnessed in the Bengal Courts. To judge by the nature of the cases and procedure in Court, the amount of innocence injured or malice gratified there, is indeed wonderful, painful to contemplate. Each party seems to have made good his own statement differing diametrically from that of his opponent; the amount of truth or falsehood on both sides seems equibalanced; fraud or perjury may sometimes be detected, but in small cases affording few salient points by which the consistency of a lie might be tested, to our shame be it said the decision must often be given at comparative haphazard. The story of the Judge retiring from cutcherry and determining a case in his antechamber by the highest throw of the dice, is most probably mythical, but carries nevertheless a germ of truth concealed beneath. The Bengalees, by long practice in deceit, have certainly acquired the art of simulating truth to perfection. Every false proposition is so artfully propped up on every side by lies, all resembling truth, that the whole statement, perfected in falsity, defies in most instances criticism or detection. Truth according to the old proverb lies at the bottom of a well, and assuredly our civil administrators, notwithstanding the assistance of all Regulations, Acts, Constructions, and Circular Orders, have failed to detect or reach her hiding place in the heart of the Bengali.

The constitution of the Courts no doubt tends to propagate rather than counteract the evil. We do not mean to deny that the native character is so essentially addicted to lying and deceit, that however good the Courts were, the same obstacles to justice would prevail, although to a limited and modified extent.

It has been well remarked that however well the natives of India be treated, their natural oriental duplicity can never be wholly eradicated, and the English love of truth, manliness and straightforwardness infused into their minds; they never can become, notwithstanding all exertions, "black-faced Englishmen." Naturally and hereditarily a clever and ingenious race they have degenerated into an unprincipled and cunning people. Of old, if we may judge by records, active and energetic, they have now become a by-word for indolence and effeteness; formerly practising their religion in its anciently pure and strict form, they have gradually sunk lower and lower till they have now no religion at all, or a form of one, which, scouted and rejected by all thinking members of their society, is only kept up from worldly and interested motives. Yet amid all changes in their history they have preserved their character for duplicity intact, and such seems to be the force of custom that it is often doubtful whether their natural inclinations do not lead them rather to the tortuous paths of dissimulation and falsehood than to the straightforward road of uprightness and truth. No doubt many bright examples of excellence and virtue might be pointed out as proofs of the contrary, but these are few, and from their paucity we are sorrowfully inclined to believe that they form the exception not the rule.

Knowing then the inclinations and natural propensities of the people with whom they had to deal, our administrators have devised a code of laws, and introduced a system of procedure, which panders to all their vices, without attempting to draw forth or elevate any one of those good qualities which they may have been supposed to possess. In our English law books the law is considered and represented as the instrument by which aggrieved parties are enabled to procure a certain and adequate redress for injuries. In Bengal the law, in the opinion of the great masses of the people, affords not the means to obtain redress for injury, but the easiest opportunity to inflict wrong, the great channel to gratify revenge or ruin a neighbour. One great defect in the native character is their tendency to procrastination, and want of immediate determination in execution; they possess the "suaviter in modo," but are sadly deficient in the "fortiter in re;" they invert the proverb, and say 'leave till to-morrow whatever need not be done to-day.' In this procrastinating tendency our Courts out-Herod Herod, and cause even the dilatory and delay-loving Bengalees to lament the tardiness of justice, or at all events of law. We English pride ourselves on our love of straightforward dealing, and pity the love of intricacy and tergiversation which characterise the oriental, and yet we have encircled our legal procedure by a labyrinth of forms and technicalities, which serve but to screen the offender and hide the designs of the false witness and suborner. Again a native has proverbially the reputation of having an itching palm; the "auri sacra fames" is strong within him, and our system, instead of attempting to counteract or suppress this evil tendency, by nominally asking Court officials to live respectably on pittances lower than the salaries given to menial servants virtually compels them to resort to unfair means to eke out a subsistence. A poor man, it is well known, will rather submit to an injury he has received than complain at the thanna or at the Sudder Station. He truly remarks, "I live by my 'trade, and cannot afford to absent myself and neglect business 'during the time required to prosecute my suit; I am a poor man 'and cannot spare money to fee a Mooktyar and bribe the Amlah—if I persevere in my suit, I shall get in to debt to pay these 'harpies; much better, then, suffer the loss of a few rupees from 'my enemy than be unmercifully fleeced by my seeming friends." Consequently the cases which generally come into cutcherry are either those in which the parties have secured the co-operation of the Amlah by a douceur,—cases which may be gained, or those in which they persevere without bribing these officials—cases which will generally be lost. This is a melancholy confession but none the less true for being so. The Magistrate and his subordinate officers may be active and energetic and do their duty well, but the idea sprang up of old in the native mind, and tradition has handed it down to their descendants, that the Amlah is the middleman through whom all business must be transacted, and whose good-will it is of even greater importance to secure than that of the hakim himself. No case we may safely say ever comes direct to the Magistrate or the assistant. The Sherishtadar who allows it to be placed on the roll, the Peshkar who reads, and the Mohurrir who writes, the depositions, must all first be consulted and appeased. From their houses, and with their deceitful counsel on his lips and in his memory, the complainant comes into Court, and tells his tale. To them during the progress of the case he again and again repairs, and trusts implicitly in their promises to represent his matter in such a light to the hakim, as will procure a judgment in his favor. This middleman-tendency however is not confined to the Courts alone, but obtains universally among all classes, and in all circumstances. The ryots of an Indigo factory have the same feelings towards the gomashtas, and other native subordinates whom the planter is obliged to employ, and it seems an inherent tendency in the Asiatic mind to avoid direct communication with principals and trust to the ministration of agents to attain their object.

The Amlah in our Courts are certainly a baneful institution; if we want reform there, and who speaks now of any thing but reform, we must begin with them. It is all very well to get up an agitation by a reduction of Covenanted Civil Salaries, by this expedient save annually a few thousand rupees, and then say, see we have accomplished a reform, a radical change; but this mode of procedure, as it affects only a small class and produces no perceptible amelioration of the condition of the people at large, will neither improve our Courts nor render them more popular than they are now. The great aim should be to bring justice home to every man's door; by our system we have removed it to an unapproachable distance. One of the chief causes of this evil lies, we believe, in the conduct of the native Court officials, and to their improvement should the first measures of reform be directed. We have lately seen educated young natives, graduates of the Calcutta University, promoted all at once to Deputy Magistracies and Collectorships, but education seems to be considered only applicable to, and essential for, the higher grades of officials, and to be looked upon as a qualification altogether unsuited to the subordinate Court Amlah. Such a view is certainly erroneous. We need educated men in the office as well as on the bench; the business of the Cutcherry requires as able heads to perform it as are needed to decide the cases usually brought before subordinate Deputy Magistrates and Collectors, and we feel assured, if the Courts were gradually weeded of the old half-educated bands of Amlah, and step by step filled with young educated natives, that the complaints against the character of Court officials would perceptibly diminish, and the course of justice be freed from many of those obstacles, which at present impede it. It must be evident to all who have had opportunities of observing the effect of European education on the native mind, that a higher tone is thereby imparted to the character of those who receive it, that a channel is opened into which they may direct those mental energies which they possess, instead of perverting them as is usual from lack of knowledge, and that they strive more and more to deserve the confidence, which is, as it were, intuitively placed in the educated rather than the ignorant man. It is often objected that an English education has an injurious rather than a beneficial effect on the Native mind, and in one sense the objection is valid. Smatterers will always exist in every class, and such knowledge, nourishing false ideas in the native mind, may often do more harm than is occasioned by positive ignorance, but a substantially founded education, which is now open to all and embraced by many, can never, we believe,—and experience confirms this belief—induce evil rather than good. If those young graduates of the University, who are now being sent into the Mofussil as Deputy Magistrates, were first attached to the Courts as Amlah, paid respectably, and subsequently, if advisable, promoted to the higher grades, not only would their efficiency in the latter capacity be increased tenfold from experience gained in their previous career, but as Amlah they would materially purify the character of the Mofussil Courts, and render them other than they are now, a by-word amongst those whom they were intended to serve, for inefficiency and corruption.

But not only does this evil reputation which attaches to our Mofussil Courts render their name generally hated; it prevents much good being done extra-judicially among the people. A good Magistrate does not fancy himself always seated on the bench or dispensing justice in Cutcherry. He would like sometimes to unbend, to mingle on friendly terms with all classes in his district, to hear their views and opinions as between man and man, and thus to become acquainted with the prevalent tone and spirit of his district, which he feels can never be ascertained while openly clothed in his official dignity. In law it is said the king never dies, and so to the mind of the Bengali, the Magistrate, the sovereign of the district, whether in cutcherry or out of cutcherry, is ever the same—ever surrounded by the lictors and fasces of office, ever a man more to be feared than loved, always living in an atmosphere of summonses, warrants and subpœnas, whose baneful influence must sedulously be avoided. He goes out into the interior of his district and attempts suavely to enter into conversation with some of the ryots. Sometimes they show eagerness to approach him; but this is generally the case, when, prefacing their story by the loud and vehement cry of "Dohai, Dohai," they pour forth volubly a tale of grievances and injuries sustained by them from a neighbour against whom they complain—a tale sometimes true, always exaggerated, too often feigned and false. They cannot apparently comprehend that the hakim can possibly question them without reference to his official capacity, and their fertile imagination immediately conjures up every conceivable motive but the right one for his conduct. Perhaps he may have heard of some of their former peccadilloes, the remembrance of which sticks in their throat, and he wishes to incriminate them from their own conversation; perhaps he has sinister intentions against some of their relatives, and is striving to elicit information from them against the latter; with these and a thousand other baseless *peradventures* in their minds, they immediately suspect him of some covert design to bring them into his Court, and accordingly wilily attempt to mislead him or evade his questions. Such has been found to be the result of endeavours to mingle amongst the ryots of a district. There may have been defects on the official's side in attempting to do so—no doubt such existed. He may not in all cases have been able to render his ideas intelligible to others, he may have misunderstood those of the natives themselves. Still taking this into consideration, the impression has remained, that there existed some undefined fear in the mind of those with whom he was conversing, which seemed abruptly to shut their mouths, and render them chary of giving utterance to their ideas. They seemed indeed to consider the Magistrate as a terror to evil-doers, but apparently did not see or understand the application of the second clause, that he was, "a praise and protection to them that do well."

In different circumstances no such unwillingness or repugnance is manifested. Indigo planters have been decried as oppressors, and their ryots held up as miserable specimens of suffering humanity, crushed under the despotism of their masters, and filled with no very friendly feelings towards them. It may be so—those who have supported such opinions may have had better data than we, from which to form a conclusion. All that we feel bound to say on this subject is that our experience warrants no such inference. The poor suffering ryots of an Indigo factory certainly seem much more inclined to mingle and converse with their persecutors, than to approach those who nominally stand between the oppressor and oppressed. We have often visited Factory cutcherries, and longed to be able to dispense justice with as much speed and satisfaction to all parties concerned as obtains there; we have witnessed the confidence with which the ryots approached, related their grievances, and obtained redress—a confidence strangely and strongly contrasted with the repugnance with which official endeavours in similar cases were encountered, and the thought arose in our minds that there must be some hidden agency at work which has produced this coldness between the great masses of the people and their legal protectors. The cause, we have stated above, we believe to lie in the fact that the natives, having either personally experienced the hardships of our Courts or heard of them by report, and having naturally a tendency to look upon officials of all classes as in some way or other the originators of those evils, gradually have arrived at the conclusion that intercourse with the latter may more prudently be avoided than courted, should be shunned rather than encouraged.

Unfavourable however as have been our first impressions of the Courts hitherto, we are by no means inclined to side with those who take a pride in cavilling at all institutions which are not framed exactly in accordance with their views, and who maintain that our present system is no better than were the native Courts of old. Our Courts, we grant, are not pure, but their corruption, springs not, as we have remarked, entirely from the defects of their constitution, but from an inherent perversion of the native mind, which is not a creation of yesterday. In olden times, as is well known, Judges as well as Amlah were corrupt; were a sufficient inducement held out, the presiding officer could be gained over, equally with his satellites. This abuse we can safely say we have rendered obsolete. The native officials, i. e. the lower officers of Court, are still notoriously venal, the bar is a by-word for rapacity and unscrupulousness, but the purity of the bench is seldom impugned. Granting all this, and allowing credit for the innovations and improvements we have introduced with our system, we do not consider that any valid excuse for the present condition of the Courts has been established. We would not wilfully or unduly disparage, still less do we feel inclined to "damn with faint praise." We must remember that we live in the 19th and not the 17th or 18th century, in times when knowledge and enlightenment profess to be far advanced. Is it not then beneath the dignity of our Government to measure what we have done for the benefit of India by any such standard as those praters about olden times propose? Should we not rather look to the future than to the past, rather resolutely contemplate what it is our duty to do, than look back with placid and passive self-satisfaction on what others, our inferiors, have failed to perform?

Our assistant, so far as we have hitherto seen him, has been employed in nothing higher than the decision of petty cases at a Mofussil Station. He has taken the first plunge in the Rubicon, but he has not yet reached the opposite shore. Two ordeals are impending over his head, which he must pass through ere he can ascend another step on the ladder of promotion, and exchange the name of Assistant for that of Magistrate. These are the so-called semi-annual Central Committee Examinations, directed by a board of examiners in Calcutta and presided over by a committee in the Mofussil, having as their professed object, to test the progress which subordinate officers are making towards attaining a thorough knowledge of their duties. Let us suppose our assistant located at one of the minor stations of a Division. The summons issued by the Commissioner arrives, ordering him to attend at head quarters for the purpose of undergoing the examination. Forthwith Beaufort's Digest, and Ricketts' Cutcherry Guide come into great request, and are consulted by the candidate for "special powers" with an assiduity by no means common in previous months. He seeks to store his memory as he best can with facts from those useful hand-books, and tries to make up for past dilatoriness by vigorous though temporary exertion. At last the fated day arrives when Beaufort and Ricketts must be consigned to the book-shelf, and the last preparations for departure completed. Amid the hearty good wishes of his fellow residents he sets out upon his journey, and on arriving at his destination finds probably that the usually dull and formal head quarters of the Division have been enlivened by the arrival of several other youngsters from the surrounding districts, who, although nominally on other and graver thoughts intent, still contrive to kill dull care, and spend the time agreeably and cheerfully. Perhaps a pig-sticking or tiger-shooting party is organized; the lively spirits of the party. join, enjoy their sport, and return all the better for the excitement, and none the less fitted to brave the terror of the examination room. At last work is begun. Our young friend enters the examination room, finds the most potent, grave and worthy signors, the examiners, arrayed in dignity before him, takes the place assigned, and commences studying the paper containing questions in the Foujdarry department, which is handed to him. He mentally invokes the aid of Beaufort, sets to work to answer the questions to the best of his ability, finishes the paper, and hands it back to the examiner. A similar set of questions on subjects connected with the Revenue Department of his duties, calls forth in like manner his knowledge of Ricketts.

Then comes, to the European, the severest portion of the ordeal—testing his knowledge of the vernacular language of his district. Suppose him a denizen of Lower Bengal. He must translate a tolerably difficult passage of English into Bengali, must read with comparative fluency copies of official documents, and converse with sufficient ease and intelligence both to understand and be understood by the native with whom he is ordered to converse. A couple of cases, such as ordinarily come under his cognizance, are then read over to test his acquaintance with the forms of office and his capability to estimate the value of conflicting evidence, he is required to write an ordinary rubacarry on each of these, and then his trials for the time are ended. The examination is closed, the papers of the various candidates collected, valued, and transmitted to the Calcutta Board;

the examiners look mysteriously grave when asked what verdict they have returned, and the young hopefuls disperse to their several stations with as much rapidity as they arrived, there to wait in suspense till the final award is promulgated. Such meetings are looked forward to with pleasure by all. The thought of the examination does not seem to enter much into the minds of the candidates, and certainly does not impair their spirits. The thought of leaving the routine of office for a time, and meeting again those friends from whose society the stern "rules for absence" debar them for at least the next six months; the prospect of making new acquaintances as well as reviving old friendships,—all tend to make the young assistants regard these examinational *réunions* as some of the pleasantest episodes in their introductory career.

Looked at in a practical point of view we cannot consider that these examinations fulfil the purpose for which they were instituted. They are doubtless better and more practical in their tendency than the ludicrous initiatory farce in Calcutta, but as a test for discovering the working capabilities of the assistant they are, we think, a failure. These capabilities can surely be better judged of by the officer who apportions him his duties and sees that he performs them, than by a committee of strangers, who can only find out whether he is intellectually qualified for those duties, and who trust in a great measure to the report of the Magistrate as to the actual amount of work done by the assistant and the manner in which it has been performed. The object of promoting the assistant at this stage of his career, is that, by taking cognizance of more serious cases than he has yet tried, he may efficiently relieve the Magistrate of some of the details of his office, and enable the latter to devote more time to important duties. Is not then the Magistrate the best judge as to whether the unpassed assistant is capable to relieve him of some portion of his duties, or will prove, if entrusted with such power, a burden rather than a relief? Let the Magistrate as in former times have the option of recommending his assistants for promotion, and we feel convinced that not only would the possession of this power increase the care and watchfulness of Magistrates over their assistants, but would rouse the latter by increased zeal and diligence to show themselves really of use to their superiors and thus deserve promotion. We are ourselves aware of several instances in which assistants have been efficient and hard working officers, yet have repeatedly failed to pass the required examination. They have been valued by the Magistrate, but found wanting by the examiner; and being thus remanded to inferior work, the details of which they had long ago mastered, have conceived a repugnance to their duties which many years have not sufficed to eradicate, and which might have been counteracted, nay altogether avoided, by well-timed promotion founded on the basis of actual usefulness rather than mere amount of knowledge.

Let us suppose then this examination ordeal successfully passed by the young assistant. We behold him now gradually emerging from the limited sphere to which he was previously confined, and entering upon a line of more varied duties. His powers are now materially increased, the tedious and interminable repetition of "marpeet" cases no longer solely falls on his ear, he begins to look forward to the weightier matters of the law, and to decide more interesting and important cases. He is now alternately engaged in deciding the particulars of an affray, or puzzled by the intricacies of a land-dispute; his collectorate powers, which formerly were *nil*, enable him now to decide the so-called *summary* (Heaven save the mark!) suits, and he feels that Magisterial life is beginning in earnest. He has now got free from the leading-strings of law and is eager to exercise his newly acquired authority. Sometimes like the newly-fledged bird he may linger ere commencing his new career, distrustful of his own strength, but he generally proceeds with an alacrity which custom afterwards subdues, to prove the reality of his new powers. Woe to the culprit who, overtaken by Nemesis in an evil hour, comes before our newly empowered assistant! He has come before a Judge as unsparing as Minus or Rhadamanthus of old, and if he be found guilty, will find that he has to drink a full cup of retributive justice.

The months pass quickly away. The young officer's experience is increasing day by day, but the path is not yet clear before him. Another barrier still remains to be overcome, ere he can feel himself free from the trammels of his apprenticeship. The second trial before the examination committee still grimly overshadows, and opposes a bar to, his future progress. The same little episode at the Sudder Station which we have mentioned, again occurs. The same scene, which we have above described, is re-enacted, the only difference in the present case being that the young, specially-empowered assistant, aims at the "higher grade," and plays for the stake of full powers. The test is necessarily severer than was the first; the knowledge of principles, which was all that was necessary in the first examination, must now be supplemented by an accurate aquaintance with details; proficiency in a second language is also insisted on, the assistant's knowledge of office work is tested by his decisions in intricate and complicated cases, and he is not declared passed unless he fully satisfies the examiners of his thorough competency in all these various subjects. The short period which elapses between the actual examination and the publication of its results, is a period of anxious suspense to the candidate. Former examinations and their results were matter, if not of indifference, at least of comparative unimportance. Former successes, he felt, had only cleared but half his road, and but paved the way for new trials. Now however, this last obstacle once surmounted, the path lies clear before him. No examinations will have henceforth any terrors for him, no cramming of Acts and Regulations will strain his memory or ruffle his temper, Beaufort and Ricketts will henceforth be referred to as guides, not studied as text books; in short he will be enabled to plunge freely into Magisterial life without let or hindrance except what may proceed from his own incapacity to pursue his future career. No wonder then that a repulse, an unfavourable issue, should be more severely felt by one who has so nearly achieved his end, than by one who has just commenced and felt the first excitement of the struggle. Rarely does success attend the first attempt; in fact no 'full powers' can be granted to any assistant unless he has been exercising 'special' powers for one year previously. A year elapses, and unless our young friend be of the "multum agendo nihil agens" class, the expiration of that term sees him vested with the full powers of Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, qualified to perform the functions of a Magistrate, but unattached to any particular station.

Here, properly speaking, terminates the career of the assistant. That line he will soon drop, and subside into "our Joint," or receive an Acting Magistracy. Thither we do not presume to go over his career. We have viewed his progress *ab ovo*, the purport of the present Article prevents us going on *ad mala*; but between the two states of Assistant and Magistrate is a middle grade, in which our assistant is frequently found previous to his final or permanent promotion, viz., in charge of a Subdivision. In large districts where the influence of the Magistrate residing at the Sudder Station is not sufficiently diffused over the length and breadth of his Zillah, small outposts, embracing two or three Thannas, have been formed in the interior of the district, the duties of which are assigned to either Deputy Collectors, or not less frequently to Assistants, vested either with 'special' or 'full' powers. Posted to one of those minor stations, our young friend enters upon an entirely new sphere of duty. Accustomed previously, as a subordinate, merely to witness without being allowed to participate in the performance of the duties of Magistrate at the Sudder Station, he now finds himself in a Magisterial microcosm of his own, he has become the responsible head of an office, abandoned the mild soubriquet of *chota sahib*, and assumed the *imposing* title of *hakim*. The salaam of Court officials, always obsequious, becomes lower than ever; cases are now no longer made over to him by the Magistrate for report, but complaints are prepared directly before him; and he now first learns the pleasures of managing and having independent charge of a district. But along with the pleasures, come also the cares of independence; difficulties start up where to his unaccustomed eye all seemed plain and smooth before. The office contributes its share of impediments in the shape of accounts, statements, returns and reports, which, unless our friend's tastes incline to the Financial or Accountant General's department, he finds neither instructive nor agreeable. He is frequently plunged into embarrassments by the wity Amlah, simply to try his mettle, and enable them to exhibit their own skill; and doubtless amid all this labyrinth of work and intrigue the hired subdivisional officer sometimes sighs for the careless, irresponsible post of assistant, which he has quitted. Still he perseveres. Many an askance look passes between his Amlah on the promulgation by the Sahib of some anti-regulation order, which grates harshly on their ears; many a subdued hint do they quietly make pointing out a way of relief from some maze of confusion, in whose windings our young friend may have become entangled in cutcherry. Not unfrequently comes a letter from head-quarters criticising his proceedings, and tacitly conveying censure under the garb of "demanding an explanation." But all such difficulties daunt not the young aspirant for promotion, and manfully encountered, only serve to guide his inexperience, and perfect his training for future usefulness. Soon the way becomes plain. Those accounts and statements, formerly submitted 'longo intervallo' and often without particular attention to accuracy, soon, by practice, cease to bear that appearance of intricacy and confusion which they first presented; demands for explanations become few and far between; and by the time the assistant leaves the training school, he is prepared to encounter the more multifarious duties of the Magistrate without fear or embarrassment.

But apart from its worth as a training-school, the Subdivision is by no means destitute of the amenities of life. Subdivisional stations there are doubtless—and we have had experience of a few—appointment to which is viewed in the light of punishment rather than promotion; "remote, unfriendly, melancholy, slow"—in the hot weather a furnace, in the rainy season a swamp, without any apparent advantages natural or otherwise, to recommend them as permanent stations for Europeans. Still Government has not universally displayed such obliquity of vision, and to give it the credit which is justly due of having always consulted for the welfare of its servants, we admit that such purgatorial stations are the exception nor the rule, and subdivisional life in general forms no unpleasant episode in the assistant's career.

Fancy our friend removed from the social circle at the Sudder Station and established in solitary grandeur in his Mofussil home. The change is at first not a pleasant one. No social walks or rides, no enlivening games at racket or cricket, relieve now the monotony of morn and even. Time doubtless hangs often heavy on his hands, and he is in danger of falling a victim to the horrors of ennui. Still the Subdivision, although apparently a hermitage, possesses many external resources for rendering solitude bearable. Planted generally in closer proximity to the Mofussil residents' abodes than is the Sudder Station, it affords to the assistant frequent opportunities of driving dull care away by neighbourly visits amongst the surrounding Indigo planters and merchants. Enjoined by regulation "to be as much as possible on the move," and "to render himself accessible to all classes of people," our assistant finds but little difficulty in reconciling his tastes with his duty. He is essentially a bird of passage. At one time we meet him at the confines of his district diligently doing "cutcherry on horse-back," at another snugly quartered in some neighbouring factory, whence sallying forth he performs his official duties in his tent or budgerow. At a third we find him out on Collectorate duty, his tent curiously and by a strange coincidence pitched in a spot where game is abundant, and where amid severer toil the rifle or fowling piece may not remain unused in its case. Buffalo may be found and pursued, as well as boundaries marked out on the churs where he is engaged; a leopard may be roused amid the jungle surrounding a village whose limits he is defining; in the morning our friend may be seen laboriously wading through swamps in pursuit of the shrill-toned snipe, in the evening cautiously approaching the plover on the banks of an adjoining jheel, untired by cutcherry, and combining pleasurable excitement with severer and sterner duties. Many of the happiest days of an assistant's life are spent at the Subdivision; independence pleases, the roving life delights him. The hospitality of surrounding residents tends to compensate for the sociability of the Sudder Station of which he has been deprived, and it is not without feelings of regret that our friend receives his promotion, and abandons the place where his knowledge of duty first began, to enter upon the duties of Magistrate at a regular station.

So far as we have hitherto gone in our sketch, we have considered only the official portion of the assistant's life; we have viewed him in cutcherry, or in the Mofussil at work and performing the daily duties of his position. We do not however mean to insinuate,—indeed so inveterate are the prejudices of the profanum vulgus that we fear our insinuations would meet the same fate as the predictions of Cassandra of old—we do not insinuate that the life of the young civilian at a Mofussil station is one altogether of work, and continual devotion to duty. He is not presented to our view always encircled by Amlah, nor does the cutcherry constantly diffuse its dingy air around him. Now and then in our experience we have met with a rara avis, who finds apparently his home in the cutcherry rather than the bungalow, who never seems happy unless adjudicating cases, peering into worm-eaten records, examining or signing multifarious documents, casting up or detecting flaws in accounts, whose whole talk is of this *roobacarry* or that 'circular order,' and whose *tout ensemble* and physiognomy bear an expression as sallow and musty as the records over which he delights to pore. Such, however, is not the general character of the assistant. However much he may enjoy performing duty in the Mofussil, the sedentary cutcherry life in the Sudder Station possesses for him no peculiar charms, the close of office he finds rather a relief than otherwise. The record room with all its paraphernalia is his abhorrence, and is only visited on such high occasions as the arrival of Judge or Commissioner, on their usual tour of inspection. 'Nec semper arcum tendit Apollo,' is his motto, and he finds regulation cutcherry hours ample time to gratify his taste for legal lore, or improve his acquaintance with Mofussil justice.

Among the other residents of the station our assistant occupies a distinct position. He is considered by all a social Mark Tapley warranted to remain '*jolly*' under all circumstances, and expected to make himself 'generally useful' on all occasions calculated to promote the sociability of the station. The Magistrate's family may not be on good terms with that of the Judge. The 'Chutneys' may pooh-pooh the idea of such people as the 'Mangoes' being in society. Such trifles trouble not our assistant, he turns a deaf ear to their mutual recrimination and petty scandals, and pursues the even tenor of his way without mixing in such inglorious contentions. Various duties seem to be considered as special perquisites of an assistant's position. Is there a Book Club at our station? The assistant, having recently arrived from Calcutta, is presumed *au fait* and familiar with all the latest arrivals of new and interesting books; he is forthwith elected a Member of the Book Club Committee *nem con*, and shortly after, as an additional mark of confidence, complimented by induction into the office of Secretary. He has lately undergone a series of examinations in the metropolis, and his services are at once considered indispensable in the Local Committee of Public Instruction, where, converted into an examiner, he shows his zeal in the educational department of the public service by diligently 'visiting' and 'inspecting' a Bengali school. His "taste for accounts" is insidiously inquired into and tested, visions of comfortable berths or the secretariat float before his eyes, but alas for the vanity of human wishes! his training must be initiated by taking charge of our mutton club or our station-book accounts. On the occurrence of any demonstration or festive occasion our friend's services are urgently in request; in short his name is taken in its literal acceptation under all circumstances, and he is, nolens volens, converted into a social martyr, and dubbed permanent coadjutor and assistant in promoting the sociability of 'our station.'

The history of one day's life at a Mofussil station generally embodies the experience of every day, and the modus vivendi of the assistant presents no peculiar or different characteristics from that of the other residents. A rapid glance will suffice for our purpose. In the morning our friend is no sluggard, no inveterate votary of Morpheus, but a true believer in the old proverb 'anent' early rising and its healthful consequences. Gladly escaping from night punkahs, mosquitoes, mosquito curtains et hoc genus omne, he, nothing loth, prepares to brace his nerves for the remainder of the day by a good gallop on his favorite stud, or an invigorating and freshening walk. Generally fond of horse flesh, he may turn his taste to some use in his morning rides; he may inspect a road, or investigate a case at a distance, or in default of any such opportunity of showing his zeal for the public service, he may, in a rattling run with his dogs after a jackal, or in a quiet canter with a friend, find excitement and amusement more congenial to his tastes, and equally conducive to health. 'Chota Hazri' on his return is discussed with a relish which only those who follow our friend's example can know; top boots and riding costume are doffed, a négligé attire assumed, the soothing pipe or cheroot diffuses its fragrant smoke around, the contents of the dâk bag examined, and, the morning meal over, the assistant prepares for cutcherry. During the day he is invisible to all but the denizens of his Court, and at four o'clock re-appears again in civilized society. With what a feeling of relief does he hear the last case called, and the welcome words 'kachari hogaya' pronounced! With hasty review and quickened step he abandons ryots, amlahs, mooktyars, and repairs to his own bungalow there to concoct measures for spending the evening. Does he adjourn from cutcherry to the study, and there in converse with the mighty dead strive to pass the time till the lengthening shadows betoken the approach of evening's dark successor, nigh We may certainly conceive of an assistant in whom the desire of learning, the sacred fire, has not been quenched by interminable examinations; we may conceive of him dwelling apart, eschewing the sports of the field, and walking, like the Usher in Eugene Aram, a solitary man. Far be it from us to disparage the love of learning, which can successfully withstand the uselessness and inertia produced by an Indian climate; still we doubt whether to the great majority of young assistants, the culture of the Muses, the glories of Sanskrit, or the beauties of Persian, possess so much charm as a good game at racket, cricket or quoits. The climate, his duties, position, and all, militate against the probability of our assistant becoming one of the literati of the country. Fatigued during the day with cutcherry, his eyes dimmed with perusing documents, and the monotonous chant of the Sheristadar still ringing in his ears, it is little to be wondered at if our friend, eschewing the grave pleasures of the study, dons his cricketing costume, and repairs with the other residents to "the ground." We were always an enthusiastic cricketer, and although during our sojourn here we have often sighed to see again a match at Lord's, we must admit that a scratch match at an Indian station affords much more field for amusement, although science be ignored. The very severity of the exercise enhances its pleasure, and although certain prejudiced individuals who, we are sure, never handled a bat, hint seemingly at the folly of making a toil of a pleasure, we still remain of opinion that such manly sports moderately indulged are preferable to overworking the brain, and thus playing into the hands of our enemy, the climate, by impairing our physical ability to withstand its attacks.

In the racket court, or cricket ground, our assistant is not a mere idle spectator, but an eager and willing player. He directs the ball skilfully, wields the bat dexterously; no longer obliged to twist his throat in vain attempts to pronounce the gutteral and nasal Bengali, he vociferates lustily in his mother tongue; his official inertia has disappeared as if by magic, and as we look at his eager attitude, watching every movement of the player's arm, every twist of the ball or turn of the bat, we almost fail to recognize our cutcherry-tired friend. Cricket over, our assistant having sacrificed to the graces, joins the social party assembled on the *bund*, which usually serves as the *Mall* in a Mofussil station, or again mounting his stud enjoys a canter with a friend, till warned by the dispersion of the assembled company that the day is drawing to a close, he turns his horse's head homewards, and there, alone or with some favored *chums*, enacts the last scene of his experience for the day.

Such is, in general, the life of the assistant at a Mofussil Station. Here we leave him. We have seen a novice gradually ascending the ladder of promotion, we have viewed him at work in his cutcherry or on duty in the Mofussil ; and here, leaving him amid the quiet of the Sudder Station, reposing after his labors, we conclude our sketch. May he not rest contented with the knowledge he has gained in the outset of his career, but may the first experience of his apprenticeship serve to guide and direct him amid the intricacy and complicity of his future duties.

ART. IV.—1. *Punjaub Reports.*
2. CUNNINGHAM'S *Sikhs.*
3. *Unpublished Oriental Manuscripts.*

MANY years ago, when the *Calcutta Review* was still young and we were so also, when the Sikhs were our deadliest enemies, and the Sepoy of Oudh and Bhojpore our sword and shield, we forwarded a contribution on "The Countries betwixt the Sutlej and the Jumna," the most Easterly provinces of the Sikh nation. Driven onwards by a wind from the East, we settled in that fair province betwixt the Beas and the Sutlej and recorded our impressions in a contribution under the name of "The Jhelundhur Doab." Ten years have elapsed since then, and wrought a wondrous change in our position. Like the seven sleepers, we rub our eyes as if awaking from a dream, for we find that our friends and foes have changed places, and that we are holding the Punjaub with the assistance of Sikhs against those who helped us to conquer it.

By a mere chance, by the fancy of a great man, by a fatality of circumstances, we find ourselves again among a people whom we loved so well, and in a position to study the character of the residents, and visit the great cities of that rich and unrivalled tract which lies betwixt the Chenab and the Beas, the original Sikh land, the cradle of the faith, the nursery of the chivalry of the followers of the Guru. This tract, containing three millions of men and more than five thousand villages, from the commencement of our rule until the present year composed the great Lahore Division. But now a Jeroboam has sent away two tribes from the skirts of Rehoboam, the ancient limits have ceased to exist, and the sentences which we now string together are a panegyric of one that has departed.

Under the Punjaub system of Government the limits of a Commission, or what in France would be called a Prefecture or Department, are necessarily more narrow than in the Bombay Presidency, where a Commission comprises one-half, and under the Agra Government one-fifth, of the whole Presidency, for the union of the Judicial and Executive in one office renders it necessary. The Lahore Division was ever the smallest in area, but it was populous, rich, studded with villages, and inhabited by a martial population; in wealth and population it was about one-fourth of the Punjaub, and in the piping days of peace which succeeded the decadence of Runjeet Singh's upstart dynasty, the people increased and multiplied, cultivation extended, towns expanded, all the affairs of mankind trebled and quadrupled, the burden on one man's shoulders of controlling all became intolerable, and one of the last acts of the Court of Directors was to order the sub-division.

But in truth it was a glorious country, sloping down from the everlasting snow-capped mountains to the frowning desert, intersected by vast rivers, rich in corn and sugar and oil, revelling in plenty, overflowing with population, proud of its royal cities and its numberless villages, proud of its stalwart and sturdy people, who were at the same time great in arms and agriculture, with hands, like Cincinnatus, good for the sword or the plough. They were no effete race with only the faint tradition of the actions of their remote ancestors: within the memory of man they had had a living faith, a vivid nationality, and an independent kingdom. Fortune was against them, for they came into collision with a race, not more brave, but more perfectly furnished with the appliances of war; but they submitted not abjectly, nor without a struggle.

The great city of Lahore had from time immemorial been the seat of Empire. It was no obscure conglomeration of huts, scattered here and there under palm-trees, with a row of thatched shops, such as suffices for a town and the head quarters of a station in the jungle of Bengal. It was a great city before Mahmood crossed the Indus, it had became greater under the Mahomedans. It is still girt with red brick walls, gateways, and fortifications presenting, with its one hundred thousand inhabitants and lofty houses, the appearance of old Rome, or one of the mediæval free cities of the German Empire. Tradition has it, that the twin sons of the great Rama, sovereign of Ayodya, Kusa and Labo founded two cities, and called them after their names Kussooa and Lahore; in that case Alexander must have stood within her walls. To the end of last century the city was vaguely known in Europe as "Lahore of the Great Mogul," never visited by European, but connected with Delhi by a royal road, marked at intervals by lofty Kos Minars, and magnificent serais.

On the side of the city, overhanging the river Ravee, is the royal fortress, built in all the stateliness of Agra and Delhi, a palace and an arsenal, with the "Deewan Am" for public, and "Deewan Khass" for private reception, ranges of apartments for the seraglio, bastions and gateways decorated in the ornate style of the Imperial period; and from the highest point is commanded a sweet prospect of the Ravee, winding through the rich and verdant low lands, with the lofty minarets of the tomb of Jehangheer at Shahderuh. But in truth the modern city covers but a tithe of the space occupied by the homes and gardens, tombs and mosques of the ancient city, and for five miles on the road towards the Shalimar gardens lie scattered the ruined dome

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and crumbling arch, which had been raised by some proud but unknown Mahomedan, to mark his empty state, or record a tale of idle love.

Such is Lahore—a city with a pedigree of centuries, one of the memorial cities of the world. Within thirty miles has sprung up in the last century a new city, the child of religion and commerce, exceeding Lahore in population, rivalling her in splendour, and holding a position in the commercial Republic of India, which Lahore never attained; in spite of the distance of twelve hundred miles from the sea, corresponding direct with Paris and London, the seat of a manufacture peculiar to herself, except to that happy valley of which she is the entrepot; having relations of exchange with every city of note in the whole Peninsula, and enjoying with but a limited number the honour of being a "Mart." Such is Amritsur, the child of the Sikh faith, which has thriven amidst the decadence of empire, the confusion of civil war, the assaults of foreign invasion; to whom every event appears to bring some advantage, for the fall of the nationality and religion of the Sikhs hurt her not, the sack of Delhi has brought her hundreds of fresh citizens, and the opening out of new lines of road brings her new commerce, and promises a boundless extension. Within one year the Railway will connect her with Lahore, and another decade will see her connected with an iron chain with Delhi on the Jumna, and Mooltan on the waters which unite in the Indus.

Let us now take a survey of those provinces, of which these cities are the twin capitals and markets. From Amritsur the lofty ranges of the Himalaya are visible at a distance of eighty miles, but, if we travel northwards, the grandeur of the scenery develops itself at every stage, and at any part on the line of thirty miles from the mountains the scene is one which words cannot describe. All the grandest views of Alpine scenery in Europe dwindle into nothing, for here on a clear day after rain we have before our eyes an extent of eternal snow, reaching from Peer Pingal, the entrance of the valley of Cashmeer, to the distant snowy ranges in the kingdom of Busahir behind Simlah. Range towering above range, of varying altitude and broken outline, rising up sometimes in sheer precipice to sixteen thousand feet, and cutting the horizon with a broad even ridge: at other points, where the rivers at the time of the great primæval cataclysm have forced themselves through in deep channels, we look, as it were, into the bowels of the mountain kingdom, through transverse ranges, as far as solitary snow-capped peaks, the position of which wearies the intellect to imagine. Still it is something to think that only fifteen years ago the quiet and calculating Briton bought, and sold, those vast mountains for a sum which appears paltry. As far as the Ravee we retained some thousand square miles under our own rule, because they were there, and from the Ravee up to Bokhara and Yarkund, regions unknown to the Surveyor and never trodden by the feet of men who make maps, we handed over to the uncontrolled rule of a successful intriguer on the condition that he paid the lordly tribute of five goats, which has since been commuted into three pairs of long Cashmeer shawls for Her Gracious Majesty. The majestic mountains look on contemptuously as they are thus passed from hand to hand, for they may defy all the powers of the earth to extract one Rupee from their surface, or to cross over their unapproachable heights.

Enthroned on one of the lower ranges in the mountain, betwixt the Ravee and the Chenab, is the hill town and fortress of Jummoo, which the craft and fortune of one man have converted into the capital of a kingdom large enough in area to swallow up the narrow limits of many a European Potentate. When the Rebellion of 1857 was at its worst, ere Delhi had fallen, when the wisest were pondering which side should be taken, the crafty old fox had to obey a messenger who brooks no answer, and who cannot be outwitted; and, as his army descended to lend doubtful assistance to the assaulters of Delhi, the old Raja felt his kingdom depart from him; all his schemes, his deceits, his secret murders, his cruelties, his unlimited and scarcely appreciable wretchedness did not save our honourable ally, and the sceptre passed into the hand of one born in the purple, one who has never known the hard experiences of life. We saw him last winter in all the bravery of his Court, his elephants with silver howdas, his troops, guns, and all the external ceremonials. The youth sat in his father's hall in the silver chair of state, and around him and behind him were the pillars of his state, the nobles of his clan, distinguished by the heron's plumes in their turbans. He himself, in the splendour of his appearance, the nobility of his look, the dignity of his manner, seemed not unworthy of the place, and by his side sat his only son still a child, the heir of his throne. At sunset, as the bells of the temples sounded for the evening sacrifice, he rose from his seat, and stood till the solemn moments had passed. Some remarked that on this occasion, as on all, in his rich girdle he wore an English double-barrelled pistol of the simplest manufacture, and no doubt the most approved make: the wonder ceases, when we hear that a few days later his life was attempted, and one of the intended assassins was his own half-brother, who stood on this occasion respectfully behind his chair, and was yet in league with his first cousin, the only other male but one of the family. Such are native dynasties, whether founded on long hereditary right, or built up by the talents and crimes of one individual. The sovereignty of Cashmeer may to-morrow be again in the market, and is a source of weakness, instead of strength, to the great Government which sold five millions of men for so many bags of silver to create it.

But let the spectator turn his back on the mountains, and look out on the wide territory spread before him: let him transport himself to the sacred heights of Tricotra, and, sharpening his sight by imagination, grasp in the whole of the tract which it is our object in these lines to describe. No such kingdom met the enraptured gaze of the prophet from the top of Mount Pisgah: no such promised land fell into the possession of the followers of Moses, as this which just one hundred years ago was partitioned among the twelve Misuls, or tribes, of the Khalsa, the followers of Guru Govind. From the mountains to the distant desert slopes down the rich and fertile land, teeming with villages and towns, with men and cattle, with cereals, oils and saccharines, with dyes and cottons. From the mountains, supplied from the eternal fountains of snow flow forth the Vipasa, the Airavati and the Chandra Bhaga, into which a hundred streams, not known to fame, drain their over-abundant waters. Well may the ignorant rustic strive to conciliate the favour, or appease the wrath of these river gods; well may he offer up at the shrine of Noah to whom he blindly attributes power over inundations, for his cattle and his homestead are at the capricious mercy of the river, which one year causes him to laugh and sing while he contemplates the fatness of his land, at another carries away his home, his oxen, his groves and his acres, and scatters them miles along his silvery course, while the owner appeals to all his gods in vain.

Within a line of forty miles from the mountains is such richness of soil, such cultivation, both in highlands along the dorsal ridges of the tracts betwixt the rivers, and in the lowlands within the affluence of their waters, as the rest of India may equal, but not surpass. A sturdy and strong race have made the most of their opportunities, have by wells compelled the earth to give out water from her bowels, and let it percolate along the surface. And in the country betwixt the Beas and Ravee art has lent her assistance, and as by the process of ages since the day when the Ravee first issued from the mountains, her bed has deepened under the attrition of the current, and her waters now flow so far below the surface as to be useless for irrigation, the skill of the engineer has not been wanting to seal up her mouth, to direct her course into new channels. Flung, like a silver necklace strung with pearls, from mountains to desert, winds the beauteous Huslee—strong without rage, full without overflowing, deep and rapidly rushing, overhung with foliage and trees like the Jordan, fringed with luxuriant crops, and beautiful peeps of truly English scenery. Gardens spring up along its course, groves planted on its banks look green, their leaves do not wither, nor do their fruits in due season fail. But like scenes that are brightest, like beauty that is fairest, it perishes this year, and gives way to the giant limbs, and broad, lazy, but regulated flow of the new canal. Bridged, fettered, regulated, the wild waters of the Ravee are subdued, and made to answer like a horse to the bridle, to go whither they are told, to be stored up where they are ordered, to keep an even depth, to be doled out, like grain, by the measure, and to carry burdens like a pack horse. A bridled stream is the greatest triumph of man, for no longer can it with capricious course eat away villages and overwhelm the ripening harvest, no longer waste its fertilizing waters and perplex and irritate the husbandman. A Canal is a greater triumph than a Railway, as one of the great natural and all but living features of the country is subdued and brought under control.

In the second belt of country, ranging from forty to eighty or a hundred miles from the hills, is the struggle betwixt the sturdy soil and sturdier cultivator. In vain saltpetre crops out of the uninviting surface, and renders brackish all the wells; in vain rich crops of reeds, of wild grass, of stunted copse encumber the surface, as the spontaneous gifts of the earth. The husbandman wages unequal and yet not unsuccessful war with decreasing fertility. What science might do has never been tried, but the man and his stock and his miserable implements do wonders. All the weary watches of the night the oxen revolve round the well; all the weary day the surface is scratched with plough, stamped by cattle, sparsely manured, and miserably weeded; and yet year after year comes the glad harvest, population increases, and grain is so cheap that the complaint is of abundance not of scarcity. With the opening canal new regions will come under the plough, new villages spring into existence.

Not ungrateful is life in scenes such as these amidst a manly and contented population. For eight months in the year the Tent is the proper home of him, who loves his duties and his people. Thus he comes to know, and be known of them: thus personal influence, and local knowledge, give him a power not to be won by bribes, or upheld by bayonets. The notables of the neighbourhood meet their friend and ruler on his morning march; greybeards throng round his unguarded door with presents of the best fruits of the land, or a little sugar, spices and almonds, according to the fashion of their country, and are never so happy as when allowed to seat themselves on the carpet, and talk over old times and new events, the promise of the harvest, the last orders of the rulers. From his fort comes down with diminished state the representative of the old feudatories, who are now gradually being absorbed. He no doubt regrets the time when murders and plunder were more fashionable, and feels himself out of place in the new order of things, and in a few more years his race will have passed away, like that of the wolves and the tigers. Often the morning march is varied by the crossing of some stream, or the wading of a sudden torrent, or by some adventure by flood and field. Storms occasionally beat round our canvass home at night; black care, tied up in the Postman's wallet behind the horseman, finds us out daily, however obscure and distant from the house of cities may be our retreat. Still in spite of the hard riding at sunrise and sunset, and the hard work during the brief winter days, happy and peaceful are the hours spent in camp too often alone, in the North of India.

But to the South extends another and stranger belt of country, "the Bar," the great solitary desert jungle which occupies the vast spaces betwixt the rivers of the Punjaub. Our guide takes us to the top of a lofty tower, and, spreading out his hands, announces that this sombre forest extends unbroken and unvaried above one hundred and fifty miles to Mooltan. We look over a sea of jungle and grass tufts—grass enough to feed all the cattle in the world—we wonder what object the Creator had in view, when he left such vast expanses of trees which bear no fruit, and are so beautiful in outline. Far off we can trace the silvery line of the rivers, fringed with trees and cultivation. Here no human habitation; no animal save the fox, the deer, the partridge shares the empire with countless herds of cattle, sheep, and camels; here the camel seems to be at home, and we catch glimpses of him enjoying himself, which he certainly does not do elsewhere. Broad roads traverse the waste, and at stated intervals are the serais, the wells, the storehouses, the trough for cattle and the police station.

Along this road ply conveyances peculiar to the country, and the incipient civilization and long trains of camels, laden with military stores from England, and merchandize, relieved at stages of forty miles; the bullock train, which keeps faithfully to its mile an hour, whether laden with packages or soldiers, for of late troops have been forwarded up by this mode of carriage, six soldiers crushed into a cart, and rolling and jolting all the weary day and weary night, except where the halt is sounded at fixed stages for refreshment. Still more eligible, more fast, and more dangerous as a conveyance, is the truck, which is drawn by two horses, and dashes along when once the horses start, abandoning the road or pretence of road, and taking the easiest course among the brushwood; on the truck is fastened a litter with canvass sides, and in the litter are stowed away ladies and children and invalids, who, if they have good nerves and good luck, arrive safe at their destination. But for speed, for delight, and for danger, in this wild track, give us a seat by the driver in the mail-cart: strong, springy, highwheeled, sufficiently weighted with official correspondence and overland letters, this vehicle is dragged by two horses, one being fastened outside the shafts after the manner of the Grecian chariot, or the outrigger in the Russian sledge. Away—Away:—hold hard by the iron bar, and gird your loins tight, and you will enjoy all the pleasure of being run away with, without being deprived of the danger, as you are in the railroads, ten miles an hour skimming along the roads—oh such roads, with such heavenward jolts, in spite of the straw which is liberally strewed over the ruts, as if all the females along the line were lying in. You hear peculiar phraseology, and have strange companions, and hear for the first time that a Hindoo will not blow a Mahomedan bugle. But stranger still are the horses: will they start, or will they not?—that is the question. You have over and over again the same dumb shew, the same proportion of deceit, the same amount of force, applied to get these strange beasts into motion. The coaxing is tried first;—"Mera Jan" My life, "Mera Bahadur," My fine fellow: gradually the seductive line verges into the authoritative, and at last, when Jehu's patience is exhausted, a boundless flow of stable abuse pours out, frightful to hear, and comprehending in one condemnation the recusant nag's ancestors in the remotest degree, and all his female relations. It is an interesting study of very indifferent horse flesh. As the monthly nurse remarked, "their tempers are born with them," for some go off like lambs; some stand out for a few minutes, as a point of honour; some spin round with the cart; in vain the wheels are moved behind, and their forelegs pulled onwards with ropes, in vain they are patted, kicked and stabbed, but they generally go at last, and we suppose they die at last, but, though we often along the road meet the dead body of a camel, (for that is their proper burial ground,) we never remember coming on a dead mail-cart horse.

Sometimes the ruins are passed by of an ancient city—streets and houses still to be traced, destroyed on some former invasion or period of destruction which recur frequently in India. The wretched huts of the modern village have been built from the vast debris, and are huddled round the protecting [illegible], or have shrunk into the old serai, with the gates closed at night, for there are strange necessities and strange people in these wastes. Bitter are the waters that have to be drunk. Or during the night you come suddenly on the line of march of a European Regiment—the advance guard of camels, and suttlers, and baggage cattle, and an army of servants; at length you hear the heavy tramp, you see the dark column, and distinguish the occasional glistening of a bayonet in the torchlight, and make out the officers at the head, and you draw aside to let pass in a cloud of dust those thirsty, foot-sore Britons. And nowhere down the line does the faithful milestone desert the traveller, and the still more faithful telegraph pole, which raises its head as a protest against the absence of civilization, and the guide points out wonderingly two furrows turned up, —the one is the stamp of the Iron Horse, and the other the line of the Canal, for in a few years both Canal and Rail will run side by side through this waste. A slight geological subsidence of a few feet would change all into fertility, and even now, as a branch of the river is neared, a bright Oasis gleams out, and the grateful sound of the revolving wheel tells of the earth being forced by sturdy man to yield its abundance.

Such are the tracts of which we try to offer a faint description; they should be seen in their fertility and in their barren solitude to be appreciated. And so situated are they on the threshold of India, so narrow is the space betwixt mountain and desert, that all the invaders of India must have thronged through it. The darkness of night has closed over the period when the Arian races advanced from the great cradle of nations, the alluvial plains of Mesopotamia, but they must have threaded the defiles of Affghanistan, they must have lifted their eyes in rapture to the Chumba mountains, and perhaps thought with regret of their old Armenian and Caucasian snows; they must have crossed by raft, or skin, or by ford, one and all of the great Five Rivers, contending perhaps at each stage with the rude aborigines. Thus came the Brahmins, the Kathæi or Khutree, the Getæ or Juts, bringing with them the old ante-Mosaic traditions, and the cherished pre-diluvian gods, which had cost the world one Deluge. There were brave men no doubt before Alexander, but we know nothing about them, so they may as well not have existed: but when Alexander raised the curtain, he found in these regions a highly civilized people. He came, he saw, and he conquered, but somewhere on the East of the river Hyphasis he paused, and there must have been erected the pillars with the original of the famous inscription,

"EGO ALEXANDER HUC PERVENI."

When centuries had effaced the memory of the visit of the strange Western conqueror, there came a new invader. Great events had taken place in that thousand years. Rome had risen and fallen: the religion of Christ had been superseded in the East by the creed of Mahomet; and the time had come when India must be introduced into the comity of nations, though for China there still remained another thousand years of jealous isolation. Far up in the interior of the celestial empire, in those tracts where the great rivers leave the mountains, there may be vast plains, and ancient cities, and great populations with strange languages, customs, and religions, of which we still know nothing, but from the day that the first lances of Mahmood gleamed in the passes of Peshawur, we have a flood of light thrown upon the country betwixt the Chenab and the Beas, and Lahore became the capital of Northern India. Dynasty after dynasty ruled there, and new settlers appropriated the soil. We know nothing of the process under which land changed hands; the cry of the despoiled never reaches us. We know nothing of the cause by which the new faith was propagated, how in each village younger sons, or unsuccessful litigants, were tempted to abandon the faith of their ancestors and for love of men adopt the new idea. The bitter feelings, the domestic feuds, which accompanied these events, have been forgotten, but the fact remains, and Hindoo and Mahomedan share together their inheritance without grudge, a standing comment on the monstrous absurdity of introducing under a Christian Government the old disinheriting Brahminical laws. Cities and towns were built, their names were changed, and, when the time came, they dwindled away, and their materials were made use of to build other towns: the Mahomedans pulled down temples, and built mosques, and with retributive justice at a later period the Hindus pulled down mosques wherewith to rebuild temples: the Palace and Fort, the Garden and the proud Tomb sprung up, hereafter to be converted to strange uses, as Forts, Zenanas, and English Churches, but the memory of the builder was soon forgotten. Nothing is permanent in the East. Still the country flourished, poured forth its annual tributes of the kindly gifts of the earth, was ever the prey of the strongest, for the fatal gift of her beauty rendered her ever desirable, and her physical position rendered her always defenceless, ever at the mercy of her powerful neighbours at Cabul and Delhi, ever oscillating on the see-saw of alternate dominion towards the North-West and South-East, occupying the same position as Palestine betwixt Egypt and Assyria, and Lombardy betwixt Austria and France. Let politicians say what they like, let them talk of the blessings of national independence, and descant on the miseries of a foreign, and of course a bad, Government, and the advantage[illegible]f a good one, these things are not felt so keenly or appreciated so fully by the people in their villages, as the little tyrannies of the petty land-owner, and the good-natured fatherly kindness of the local Government. Lahore may have been, and has been, for centuries the centre of intrigue: heads may have fallen like poppies, houses may have been plundered, and females, decked yesterday in silks and jewels the plunder of provinces, may have been turned out in rags; but far away—far away in the peaceful provinces the long Indian day has worn itself out quietly and happily to the unconscious peasant, with no thought beyond his petty cares and vulgar joys. So long as his local ruler dwelling in the neighbouring castle, so long as the money-lender of the adjoining market, were not unusually disagreeable, what mattered it to him—the hewer of wood and drawer of water, who rose and who fell at Delhi or Cabul? The blast of the triumphant trumpet, the echo of the funeral wail, reached him not. The cattle came home lowing from the pasture ground, as the shades of evening fell; without fail his meal was prepared; the revolving month brought round to him in due succession the annual festivals and the half-yearly harvests, glad season of rejoicing, for which he did not forget to trim a lamp on the steps of the old temple, and to worship with offerings of butter the Lares and Penates, as his fathers had done before him. His children grew up strong and hale; some took service, and fell in some famous victory, but the old man neither knew why it was fought, or what good came of it to the country; his only marks of time were some wedding or some birth, the only reminders of age were the grey hairs in his beard. As his physical strength failed him, he abandoned the duties of the field and the forest to younger hands without repining; he had fed his whelps when he was strong and they *must feed him now.* He settled down in the corner of the hut, and looked calmly forward to the time when he would be reduced to ashes on the funeral pile, without any feeling of shame for evil actions, of regret for mis-spent days, unconscious of ever having committed any sin, and fearless and careless of any future judgment. This life had been one of hardships to him, and the future might be so also; he could not help it, *and did not much care.* Thus since the world began, many millions have worked out their destinies; if but little better in intellect than the beasts that perish, at least not so debased by the consciousness of crime,—persisted in in spite of knowledge, unabandoned in spite of warning, as the more civilized portion of mankind.

But, as time rolled on, it appeared that a greater destiny was prepared for this tract. It was to be the theatre of a new nationality, and the cradle of a new religion. Within these narrow confines would be born one of those gifted spirits, who are destined to teach millions a new mode of groping after God, if haply they may find him. There was a man—we dare not say—sent from God, but on whom so large a portion of the divine afflatus had fallen, that to him the great gift of welding the hearts of men, of developing a new idea, was conceded. He stood on the confines of a new dispensation, and recognized his position; he mounted a high tower in his mind, and looked out on the spiritual state of his countrymen, and beheld one half sunk in the sloth and degradation of a ceremonial worship, and the other half, possessed indeed by a great spiritual truth, but blinded by fanaticism and false zeal. The name of this man was Nanuk. Humble was his position, butter and honey were his words, he preached peace, and love, and mutual concession; he taught, that men were the sons of one father, and he laughed to scorn the show of ceremonials; he was as meek as Aaron, as full of wisdom as the Author of Ecclesiastes, he sought to bring the world into subjection by the influence of his mild doctrines. But after him came another Prophet, with a sword-like Gideon's, who wrote his words in flame, and rivalled in the intensity of *feeling*, and bitterness of vengeance, the prophet kings of the Maccabees. If Nanuk was the Moses, Govind was the Joshua of the new people.

Both have left written legacies, known in their language as "the book," which grey-headed men still chaunt in the gate-way of the castle, or the adytum of the temple, accompanied by the twang of rude barbytons. The elder prophet arrived at one of those eras, when the ancient religion of the people was being exposed to a severe trial in the presence of a propagandist and dominant rival. The Hindu is essentially a quietist, and the sublime doctrines which form the substratum of that faith which the Arians had introduced into India, had, after the expulsion of the Buddhists by sheer force, degenerated into gross and sensual form. In vain from time to time had risen up schools under great masters with the noble design of *internal* reform: religious equality had been preached, it had been proposed to level caste by faith, the vulgar tongue had been licensed as a vehicle of religious thought, images had been denounced, but the founders of the new sects had not cared to make social improvement an object, or to connect propagandism with a national feeling; they had in them too much of the ascetic, and too little of the practical element. At a certain stage all internal reforms are hopeless; *they go too far, or not far enough*; it is necessary to return to the original fountain, and draw a new inspiration from t[illegible]t source of ideas. The presence of Mahomedanism w[illegible] fact; the ignorant people could no longer be imposed upon that Brahmanism was a necessity of existence. On the contrary the power no longer existed to punish heretics with worldly penalties, and the feeling of the people had outstripped the stereotyped form. They understood as little what they heard, as the peasantry of England do the dogmas of the Athanasian Creed, or the anathemas of the Commination; a bull-headed conservatism prevented the priesthood from anticipating the intellectual storm; but, as the appearance of Mahomet took place at the time of the deep degradation of the Greek Church, and as Luther protested against the errors of the Roman, so stood forth at this time Nanuk. His influence spread irresistibly on a people not open to conviction in argument, and dull to appeals to the conscience; it maintained and will mantain its place, until a new fermenting take place of the theological Idea, and he be superseded by a new picture of the Divinity, believed in as blindly, and laid down as positively, as any of its predecessors, and the foolish multitude in their foolish heart cease to care for the doctrines and tenets of Nanuk.

And one hundred years later, when the second prophet appeared, there arose among the agricultural population of this country a wondrous yearning for political liberty, a wondrous desire on the part of the poor to appropriate the wealth of the rich, a wondrous feeling that freebooter and sovereign were of the same or kindred origin. This led hundreds to abandon the plough and take to the road, which in those days led them to palaces instead of prisons. A halo then encircled the petty, as it still does the imperial, robber: the hireling page of the historian was all that was required to make them great, for their ambition was only bounded by what they could lay hold of, their valour was only limited by their tenacity of life. The foolish fellow, who robbed in the jungle, would atone his guilt on the gallows: the noble creature, who sacked a city, would create a principality, and his descendants would be honoured by the British Government, and styled " Ancestral Fief-holders."

" Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema."

The life of Nanuk is so intimately connected with the provinces which lie betwixt the Chenab and Beas that we must briefly detail it. There he was born, and there he died; there he formed his school; there dwell his descendants and followers, and the very name by which they distinguish their nationality, is that of being his " Sikhs," or disciples. The proper name by which the country ought to be known is " Sikhland." Many a shrine has sprung up to mark the spots which he visited during his mortal pilgrimage. His tenets have been gradually debased, and his own personal importance has been magnified. Hero-worship has converted the teacher into a god: the chronicles which are faithfully read and prodigally adorned with paintings, the walls of the temples on which every act of his life is depicted, the oral legends which are handed down from father to son, the feeling of the people—all have declared him to have been an emanation of the Deity, sent down by the Creator to take the form of man, when sin was ripe in the world. He has been invested with the gift of miracles and other divine attributes, and is supposed even now to have the power of conferring blessings. To none of these did he lay claim; he asserted no divine mission, he sought to found no new polity, he admitted all foregoing teachers, he only taught his disciples the result of his own experiences, exhorted to moral virtues, and recommended practical excellence as preferable to profitless asceticism.

We have carefully perused those chronicles, only in late times accessible to Europeans; we have listened to the treasured words which fell from the teacher's lips, we have visited with a reverend feeling the place where he was born, where he lived, and died; we have sought in easy conversation with the people to catch the living feeling, the popular sentiment. We wished to gather the mystery of the origin of this belief, for Nanuk is not, like Rama, or Buddha, or Krishna, a fabulous individual, round whom the lapse of centuries has thrown a mythical halo; he is not, like Mahomet, or the true Christ, the denizen of a far country, whose doctrines have been translated among strange people in strange languages. He was a contemporary of our earliest reformers, he lived and died among his own people; his descendants are still among us; the forms of life have in no way changed since he completed his mission. Painful feelings are forced upon us as we think of such things, feelings such as arise on the perusal of the life of a modern Roman Catholic Saint—a St. Theresa or a St. Francis, for the people who believe these fables are of ourselves, of the nineteenth century, understanding fairly all the range of human science and appliances, but in this matter *blind*; for a lying spirit has beguiled men, otherwise sensible and shrewd, to believe that Nanuk raised the dead to life, healed the sick, flew through the air, walked the sea, blessed and cursed, and had power over the elements. Not that they saw it themselves, but they had tradition handed down orally, and in Scripture collected by his immediate followers from those who accompanied him in his travels—men poor and illiterate, with no object to lie, and no claim to power. We turn away with a sickening feeling, for these things are believed of millions; they were not done in a corner. This is a portion of that divine gift of faith, which forms the basis of all religions: these fables, though of modern date, have unhappily gained such credence, that the Sikhs believe them dogmatically, and will die for their truth; the Hindoos believe them historically; the Mahomedans even admit the facts; and, when we try to raise the veil, we find that the man in whom they believe, was good, virtuous, chaste, free from passion, pride, or avarice, worthy of our admiration as one of the lovers of mankind.

To the South-West of the city of Lahore in the Sub-division Shuruckpore, in the extreme corner of the district where the jungly Bar adjoins on the domains of agriculture and civilization, stood, as it stands now, the little village of Tulwundie. With the neighbouring villages it belonged to a wild tribe of Mahomedans, who had immigrated from the countries beyond the Sutlej, the Bhuttees, whose tastes were for cattle-rearing and cattle-lifting, and whose habits were nomadic, a contrast to the Hindoo Juts, who were gregarious, and agricultural, and not friendly to the new comers. The village was thus on the confines of the forest, and the field and the debateable land of two races and two religions. In this village and in the house of one Kaloo, the village accountant, a member of the Bedee tribe of the great Khutree caste, in the year of our Lord 1469, was born a male child. Prodigies attended him from the first: on entering the world he looked round and smiled: the nurse stated that at the moment, she heard sounds resembling the cries of salutation and welcome with which a great man is received on his arrival. Signs of greatness, of wisdom, and of bounty, displayed themselves early: his mother in a dream beheld the gods worshipping and praising him: at the age of five he distributed among Fuqueers all the property that he could lay hold of: the spot is still shown where he was born, and close by another favoured shrine marks the scene of the sports of his childhood. Lands are set apart by the British Government for the maintenance of these, and many other similar institutions. As the child grew up, he acquired learning without any effort, and argued with, and convinced, his teachers, but nothing would induce him to attend to the duties of life, and his father was too poor to maintain him in idleness. While in charge of cattle, he allowed them to injure a neighbour's field, but, when complaint was made, lo! the injury had been miraculously remedied. On another occasion he fell asleep, and, as the day advanced, and the rays of the sun fell upon him, a deadly Cobra spread its hood over his head, and passers by were awe-struck at the sight of him, as he slept on

"Non sine Diis animosus infans"

On another occasion, when similarly asleep, the boughs of a tree were miraculously deflected from their natural position to screen him from the heat. The spots where all these wonders took place are shown, and all the villagers, including Rai Bholar, the Mahomedan lord of the soil, were convinced of the coming greatness of the lad, and tried to shelter him from the anger of his father, who took a more material view of his son's conduct. At length at the age of sixteen Kaloo sent his son out on a trading expedition with a companion from the same village, and the sum of forty Rupees. On their road in the jungle they met a company of mendicants and, entering into conversation, young Nanuk found that these men had no occasion for houses, or clothes, or luxuries; that they were free from the cares as well as the joys of life. They refused his offers of money as being useless to them, and so worked on his excitable nature that he invested the whole of his capital in food and fed the party: he returned to his village, and hid himself under the boughs of a large tree which is still venerated. Discovered by his exasperated father, he urged that he had been directed to do a good business, to realize a good profit, and he maintained *that in laying up treasures in heaven he had done so.* The spot is still known by the name of the "Profitable Investment." It must be remembered that mendicants then, as now, abounded in the land, and that there was much real worth, as well as odious deceit, in the profession. It was, and it is still, the only outlet for the irregular youth: they had no sea, no colonies, no India, where angry parents could exile their prodigal children. When then a young man was too truthful to swallow the conventional lies of the home circle, too catholic-minded to keep within the narrow groove of the domestic dogma, there was nothing for him but to strip off his clothes, and join a troop of mendicants who so far differed from the religious orders of Rome, that they were really free, and were a standing protest against the tyranny of the regular clergy, the Brahmins.

It so happened that a sister of Nanuk's had married a corn-dealer at Sooltanpore in the Jhelundhur Doab, and to her Kaloo consigned his scape-grace son. At that city resided Nuwab Dowlut Khan Lodhee, a relation of the reigning family of Delhi, and himself a man of great power, though he fell a few years later before the rising power of the Emperor Baber. Nanuk, by the interest of his brother-in-law, was employed as comptroller of the stores of the Nuwaub's household; so boundless were his charities that he was accused to his master of wasting his goods, but, when the accounts were taken, a large surplus came out in his favour, a practical illustration that the store of the charitable man is indeed blessed. At this tim [illegible] he earnest solicitations of his family, he married, and two sons were born to him.

The leaven however within him had now fermented, and civilized life became intolerable. He felt it his duty, his calling, to cast off all the ties of family, of kindred, all links of habit, and start on his heaven-inspired mission of preaching. In vain did his relations remonstrate; his father and father-in-law never would, or could, realize the necessity, and, when he actually prepared to take the fatal step, they appealed to the Nuwaub for his assistance. It appeared that Nanuk had passed three whole days with the water up to his neck in the neighbouring stream of the Beyn, and had thence proceeded to take up his abode in the jungles, abandoning the habitations of men. The spot is still shown where he entered and left the stream, and the credulous chronicler narrates how he visited, during his immersion, the god who presided over the waters. When the Nuwaub summoned him, he replied that he knew no earthly master, that he was the servant of God: he was persuaded however to return to the city, and, finding that he was shaken as a Hindu, the Nuwaub fondly hoped to make him a Mahomedan, and persuaded him to accompany him to the mosque.

Here occurred a memorable scene, and a lesson was read by the young devotee, which applies to all nations and all religions. When the long line of Mahomedans knelt down and prayed, Nanuk stood up in silence: when the Nuwaub remonstrated with him, he said, "O Nuwaub, you were not praying, your thoughts were wandering, and you were at Candahar buying a horse." The Mahomedan noble, struck with awe, confessed that it was so: not so the wily Cawjee, who challenged Nanuk to convict him. Nanuk composedly replied;—"You, O Cawjee, were 'thinking of your daughter, who has just been brought to bed, 'and fearing lest your colt should fall down the open well." The conscience-stricken Cawjee could not hold up his head, and Nanuk was allowed to retire amidst the applause both of Hindus and Mahomedans.

His companions in his forest life were Bala, a Hindoo Jut of his own village, who was with him from his childhood to his death and assisted to compose the marvellous chronicles of his life, and Murdhana, a Mahomedan musician who played on that fantastically shaped instrument which is called a "Rubaub." Strange stories are told of this instrument which was brought down from celestial regions, and which refused to give utterance to any other cadence but the praise of God, the Almighty, the Creator *alone*. When the strings of the instrument were sounded, forth burst the sounds

"Tu hi Narayun kar kirtar : Nanuk banduh tera"
"Thou art God the Creator : Nanuk is thy slave."

Hearing this Nanuk used to fall into a trance, regardless of all human things, and remain whole days wrapt in meditation of God, while the unfortunate musician, who was exceedingly weak in the matter of fleshly wants, was exposed to fatigue and exhausted by hunger. When he spoke, he is represented as always enclosing his meaning in brief and sententious rhymes, which were treasured up by his disciples, and incorporated in the sacred volume.

He now commenced his wanderings. That they extended all over India is probable ; that he visited Mecca in Arabia is certain ; but the vast mass of rubbish which his chroniclers have heaped together on the subject of these travels, the wonders of the countries which he visited, and the wonders which he himself performed, pass all belief. In the Punjaub and adjoining countries, we find the teacher getting over the ground by the use of those vulgar and familiar modes of conveyance, the legs, but when he visited the lofty mountains, the pole star, and other constellations, he took to his wings ; and when he visited Arabia, he wished himself there, and saved himself the trouble of moving by directing Mecca to come to him. We may divide his travels into three classes. I. Those in the Punjaub, where we can follow him clearly. II. Those in Hindostan and Central Asia, where we can trace his course generally. III. Those in Space, where it is hopeless, but still not unprofitable, to follow him, as we can thence acquire a measure of the geographical knowledge and reasoning powers of the people who believe the facts recorded, as gospel.

He is described as visiting his home at Talwundie several times, as attending at the great festival of Uchul near Buttala, as lodging under a tree, and near a tank at Sealkote, where his memory is still cherished. On one occasion he went to Pak Pultun *on the Sutlej* to the South, and on another to Hussunabdul, not far from Attock on the Indus, at which place he has left the impression of his hand in a piece of marble. He repeatedly returned to Sooltanpore to visit his sister Nanukee, to whom he was tenderly attached, and, when old age came upon him, he built a retreat for himself on the right bank of the Ravee, and named the place Kirtarpur ; there he died, and the place has been swept away by the stream, but over against it has sprung up the town called after him "Deruh Baba Nanuk," where the great mass of his descendants still reside.

He more than once visited the large and famous city of Eminabad, half way betwixt Lahore and Wuzeerabad, and a shrine to this day called Roree Sahib, marks the spot where he slept on a bed of gravel. He lodged with the poor always, and when food was sent to him by the rich Governor, he declined to taste it, as being purchased by deeds of tyranny and oppression. While lodging there the Emperor Baber attacked and sacked the town, in his famous invasion of India. He was seized with others, and forced to carry burdens and grind grain. Popular report has it that the burdens stood suspended a foot in the air above his head, and that the millstones went round of themselves: at any rate his appearance and language attracted the attention of the Emperor, who had a friendly interview with him, and was gratified by a prediction that his empire would last seven generations, which in effect it did. While conversing with the Emperor, servants brought him a plate of Bhung, an intoxicating drug in which the Tartars indulged. The Guru declined the offer, stating that his Bhung was to take the name of God, with the drinking of which he was always in a state of intoxication.

As regards the second portion of his travels, we have every well known city and country in India, known by report or alluded to in the sacred books of the Hindus, brought into use. Every Mahomedan country, the names of which were familiar from the description of travellers, is introduced, such as Sinde, Cabul, Khurrund, Room, (Asia Minor), and Arabia, but the mention of all is so vague that no profit is derived from the enumeration. That he visited Mecca and Medina was both possible and probable, considering the numbers who used in those days to flock in pilgrimage, and in fact do so now. What happened at Mecca is characteristic: that he defeated the Moolas in argument would be expected, considering that his disciples were the narrators, but he exposed the fact that the sacred Kaabuh was only a black stone and had once been a Lingum of the Hindoo god Siva, and that the Mahomedans worshiped idols. There is no doubt that it is a remnant of the ancient pre-Mahomedan worship of Arabia, and utterly unconnected with the unitarian and iconoclast doctrines of the Prophet. The Guru slept with his feet turned towards the temple, and, on being reproved for it, as a disrespect to God to turn his feet towards him, he asked in which direction he could turn his feet without finding God. This is the spiritual version of the story, but the vulgar legend is, that whichever way his feet were dragged, the temple followed him, and at last the minaretts got loose from their foundation, and so the Moolas let him alone. They asked him whether he respected God and the Prophet: he replied that God had sent many prophets to instruct men in the right way, those who obeyed the orders went to heaven, and the others to hell; that Hindus and Mahomedans all came from the same five elements, did not differ in their actions or words, and that people who fought about mere words had lost their way. At Medina the tomb of Mahomet bowed to him.

He visited Muttra, Benares, Juggurnauth, Lanka, and Hurdwar. The mildest stories are told about the inhabitants, but every thing that happened, conduced to the honour of the Guru. Those who believed in him received blessings, and those who opposed him were brought to their senses. The doctrine of Metempsychosis is introduced to give variety to the tale, and we find that Nanuk was one of the Actors of the heroic period, and a great many monsters and giants found an end to their penance on his arrival, and went off to Swurga. This is a lame adaptation of the machinery of the Ramayuna. Bala and Murdhana accompanied him in all these wanderings, but the latter was always getting into trouble. He is the low comedy Actor of the Drama, always hungry, getting into the power of magicians and monsters, and rendering the interference of the Guru necessary to save him from being swallowed up, or release him from the form of a goat.

They walked on the sea without difficulty. This was convenient for the purpose of visiting the islands within the limited knowledge of the compiler's geography. Yet they had ships at that time, for on one occasion when Nanuk was at home, his mother sent a female servant to call him to his meal, for he was asleep: the maid touched his foot, and her eyes were opened, and she became aware that the Guru, though present in person, was far away in the act of saving the ship of one of his devotees which was in a storm in the Indian Ocean. This is a grand conception, and one day, when conversing with a descendant of the Guru on this subject, he informed us *that he had the power himself*, only the devotee must have faith, and the relief would be granted: we *had not that faith* so we had no visible illustration of the power.

They came to a city of gold where no prices were required for any articles, workmen asked for no pay? Murdhana was stuffed gratuitously with sweatmeats: there was no crime, no merchants; all the people including the King were virtuous, their only fault being that they were rather conceited. They came to another city where people acted just in the contrary way to the rest of mankind, wept at births, and laughed at funerals. He took the opportunity of attacking the Brahmins on all occasions: at the Kurukhetra at Thanesur he cooked animal food just at the critical moment of an eclipse, with a view of scandalizing them; at Hurdwar he openly called on the people to beware of these Scribes and Pharisees. He nobly filled the part of a periodical protest of truth and common sense against the untruth and folly of the age. He accused a Pundit of having improper thoughts in his mind, while repeating his prayers: he told the Brahmins that all ritual observances were vain, so long as the *heart was not pure:* when they stood up, and looked towards the East, and poured out water to their ancestors, he mockingly stood up, and poured out water looking to the West: when they asked him his reason, he remarked that he was watering his field in the Punjaub: when they urged that the water would not reach so far, he asked how they then expected *that their water would reach to the other world.*

A thief met him, and the Guru remonstrated with him on his way of living. He pleaded the necessity of supporting his family. "Will they," said the Guru, "agree to share the penalty of your misdeeds in a future state"? They all declined, and assured the thief that he alone would be responsible, upon which he abandoned his dishonest profession, and became a disciple of the Guru.

On another occasion he stopped by the ashes of a funeral pile, and sent a follower to get a light. The eyes of this man were opened, and, as he approached the pile, he beheld the angels of death dragging off the person who had been burnt to hell, and beating and tormenting him. As he returned from the pile, he found these same angels of death changed into palanqueen bearers, and carrying off this same man in all the pomp and comfort of Indian wealth. He inquired the reason, and he found that the party was an atrocious sinner, had well deserved hell and torments, but Nanuk's gaze had fallen on his pile; God had forgiven him his sins, and he was now going off by palanqueen dâk to Heaven. It is difficult to say whether this story is more quaint or solemn; there is a vast amount of spiritual truth enveloped in fanciful oriental dress. In many instances also strangers, convinced by his words, asked "what shall we do to be saved?" The answer was—"Worship Narayun."

The third portion of the travels of Nanuk is a strange mixture of Hindu Cosmology as drawn from the Puranas, combined with a knowledge of the Himalaya Mountains, which are always before the eyes of the natives of these regions, and a touch of the sectarian views of the Sikh denomination. The snowy ranges in their unapproachable height and beauty, tinted with roseate hues under the glow of an evening sunset, do present a region worthy to be considered the dwelling place of the immortals. When once the idea had been formed, each peak would have its own deity, and the chronicler, plunging into ethereal space, could very much have his own way as regards gods, and mountain tops, concerning which very little was known with certainty by the vulgar. At an earlier date the changes would have been rung upon the earlier deities of old Hinduism, but even in this mass of rubbish we find signs of progress of the human intellect, for, when Nanuk and his two companions flew up to these heights, where there was nothing but snow and where the birds could not reach, they found seated there amidst his disciples, the great sectarian teacher Gonicknauth, who had immediately preceded Nanuk in the work of freeing the Hindu intellect. This downward step of theogony can only be illustrated to European notions by supposing a Protestant Heaven ruled over by Luther and Cramner, or a Low Church Mt. Hermon occupied by Wesley and Robert Hall. Of course in this truth-loving narrative every other Guru, or Faquir, must be placed in a position of inferiority: their arguments are made futile, their miracles ridiculous: all tried to make Nanuk their disciple, like Pharaoh's magicians all strive in vain to rival the miracles of Moses. Here however again the dogma of theological schools peeps out, shewing that the intellect had gained a step, for the superiority of Nanuk was not conceded even by the chronicler from some *innate* Divinity, as Krishna, or from *brute* power, as Siva, but from the gift of *a more excellent understanding and a deeper knowledge of things unknown.* Gonicknauth and his followers in vain submitted the new comer to a rigid examination, formularized into questions. Nanuk passed the highest standard, resisted all their blandishments, outargued all their arguments, proved himself to be perfect, and compelled them to give way.

Murdhana remarked that he could see no sun. Nanuk informed him that that luminary was far below them: he then explained to him in detail the position of the celestial bodies. They passed on from peak to peak, and found eremites living on fruits, and worshipping God: they saw wonderful animals, and especially tigers, who were suffering from hunger on account of crime; the Guru received honour from all, for in this strange narrative animals are invested with caste, customs, and modes of thinking, nor were they considered unfit objects of divine illumination, or of becoming disciples.

At length in their upward flight they reached Dhru, or the Pole Star. The Bhugut, or Saint, who was seated alone in that solitary height, told them that only one person had been there before Nanuk—that was Kubeer, the greatest of the modern teachers, who had in fact shewn the way to the reformation of Nanuk. At that point Nanuk left his two followers, and proceeded alone to the residence of the Almighty, which was in sight from this place, and they beheld Nanuk enter the palace gates, and stand before the throne of Narayun, over whose head Kubeer, the only other person present, was waving a Chouric. The lord of the universe asked him whether the work, for which he was sent into the world, was done—viz., the reformation of mankind. Nanuk replied that he had instructed many sinners in Jumbodwipa or India, but that he had all the rest of the world to go to. Narayun smiled, and was pleased, and the teacher returned.

Think not that ought of impiety is meant in this narrative; it is a type of the school to which Nanuk belonged. The old Hindu Ascetic of the heroic age was a moral Titan, who attempted to scale heaven by *heaping* works upon works, and making the vulgar gods tremble for their *sensual* supremacy. These Munees ate so fully of the forbidden tree of Knowledge, that the gods feared lest they should become one of *them*, and so they were expelled from Paradise: or they tried to erect a tower which would reach to heaven, and so dissension was sown in their camp, and they were scattered; they piled Pelion on Ossa, and they were subdued by lightning. But the modern Hindu teacher taught that heaven was to be won by purity, by knowledge and faith, and on the path that leads thither he stationed the different teachers and their schools in the degree in which they possessed those attributes, while a passionless but refined deity superintended the work, incapable of jealousy as he was unapproachable in dignity.

At length, when old age had dimmed his eye and whitened his hair, Nanuk settled down in the midst of his disciples at Kirtarpore on the banks of the Ravee, as poor, as simple, as benevolent, as when fifty years before he had abandoned his home and the ordinary ways of men. His primary object had been to reconcile Mahomedans to Hindus, and form a united religion. Here he had failed, but he had formed in the bosom of Hinduism a sect which was destined to take root, though the oppressions of the Mahomedans gave it a development far different from the intentions of the founder. He was determined to avoid the snare of an hereditary priesthood, and specially excluded his two sons from the succession to his office, laying hands on one of his disciples, of a weak disposition like his own, and giving him the name of Angad, or his own flesh. The anecdotes connected with this event are worth recording. When the mother remonstrated against the supersession of her sons, the Guru made no reply: at that moment a cat flung a dead mouse at his feet, the Guru directed his sons to remove it; they drew back in all the pride of ceremonial purity, but Angad, who was of the same caste, at once obeyed the orders of his spiritual teacher, who turned to his wife, and gravely asked which was his real son. On another occasion he found himself with his disciples in a jungle, and they stumbled on a corpse. "Whoever is my disciple," said the Guru, "let him eat of that body." All drew back in horror but Angad, who, lifting up the sheet to obey the order, found only sweet provisions. Nanuk blessed him, and told him that he would be above all, and gave him all power and wisdom, and enjoined his disciples to obey him, and they did so, and Angad is the second of the teachers or kings of the Sikhs.

Soon after one of his disciples met in the jungle a heavenly messenger, who sent word by him to Nanuk that he must come away. He prepared his own funeral pile, spread the sacred Kusa grass, and sat down. Round him were assembled all his disciples, and crowds of the minor deities, the spirits of just men made perfect, eremites, saints, and holy men of promiscuous repute, assembled to witness the solemn ceremony of the teacher putting off the mortal coil, and being absorbed into the great essence of Divinity. He gave advice to all, told them that death was inevitable, but that they should take care that their end might be, like his, happy. All wept, but his sons were still absent. As the sun rose, the Guru placed his sheet over his face, and, while the Pundits chaunted hymns on the uncertainty and shortness of life, and the deities sung out "Victory," he appeared to expire. At that moment his sons came in, and, thinking that he was really dead, fell at his feet in an agony of penitence, craved pardon, and one hour's delay. The Guru had sufficient strength to look up, and bless them, and then his spirit passed away. This took place in the year 1539 A. D.

Many Mahomedans were present, and declared that they would bury him as their co-religionist: the Hindus however prepared to burn him, and a great disturbance was apprehended, when, happening to look under the sheet, they found the body gone, having been mysteriously removed. The two factions divided the sheet, and one-half was buried and the other burnt. The Ravee in its summer floods has swept away all trace of both the tomb and the cenotaph, but the most profound veneration still attaches itself to every record, however trifling, of the great teacher. Scattered over the country are shrines where his shoes, or his staff, or his couch, are religiously preserved: his words have been collected into a volume, and three hundred years, which have elapsed since his death, have only sanctified the memory of his mild virtues, though the object of his Mission entirely failed, and a more intense hatred sprung up in this part of India betwixt Hindu and Mahomedan than elsewhere. Of his two sons one founded the monastic institution of the Oodasees, whose converts are rich and of high estimation throughout the Punjaub, and are not without their religious and secular advantages. The other son is the ancestor of that presumptuous and worthless race, the Bedees, who, trading on the great name of this ancestor, put all the disciples under contribution with the object of supporting their own useless selves, while their hands have been dyed for centuries with the blood of their female children, and the sweet names of daughter, sister, and aunt are unknown among them. It is hard to say the descendants of which son have most entirely set at nought the precepts of their ancestor, for while the Oodasees seek virtue by shunning the duties and pains of life, the wicked Bedees cloke their abominable sin under the garb of hereditary sanctity, and try to draw to themselves from the simple people that homage which is due only to God.

We have stated that Nanuk was contemporary with Baber, the founder of the great Mogul dynasty. Angad succeeded him in his spiritual rule, and died in 1552, transmitting his staff to his disciple Umur Dass, who reigned till 1574, and to him succeeded in peace Ram Dass, who founded the great city of Amritsur, or Ram Dasspore, his predecessors having dwelt in political obscurity at Khudoor and Goindwal on the Beas. To Ram Dass in 1581 succeeded the fifth king, Arjun, who was imprisoned at Lahore by the local Governor, and died in 1606. These were the great days of the Mogul dynasty; to Baber had succeeded Humayun, and to him Akhbur and Shahjehan. Lahore had become the residence of Jehangheer, who, occupied in his splendor and cares of state, thought little of the disciples of the Nanuk, as he made his annual progress along the Imperial Road, still marked by the ruined serai, and the obelisk telling the Imperial Koss, to the passes of Bhimbur, Pinjal and the happy valley of Cashmere. On his road thither Jehangheer died, and his body is buried at Shahduruh over against Lahore on the banks of the Ravee. Under Aurungzeb began the reign of religious persecution, and, as the vigour of the Mahomedan Empire relaxed, the Mahrattas in the South and the Sikhs in the North began to raise the standard of revolt, and the sacred tank at Amritsur became the centre of a religious and national movement, at the head of which was Hurgovind, the sixth king or Guru. His son Tegh Bahadur, the ninth king, was mercilessly beheaded at Delhi in 1675, an act never forgiven or forgotten by the Sikhs, and never thoroughly expiated till 1857, when the Sikhs plundered Delhi under English guidance, and put an end to the Mogul dynasty. Prophecies were current on this subject, and the general belief was, that under a sovereign named Duleep the Khalsa was to take Delhi. Somehow or other the thread of prophecy was hopelessly entangled, for when the Emperor asked the dying Guru what he was looking at so steadfastly: "I see," said he, "the Lal Kurties, who are on their road to destroy your *palace.*"

To Aurungzeb succeeded Bahadur Shah, and he met Govind the son and successor of Tegh Bahadur face to face, spared his life, and let him return to his country to be the tenth, the last, and the greatest prophet and king. Sad was now the state of these provinces amidst invasion, anarchy, and misrule. Sovereigns too weak to rule, a people too strong to submit; religious intolerance; national revenge, hounded on by a deep sense of wrong, and the unnatural energy of a new religious organization. From the Chenab to the Sutlej, and beyond that river to the Jumna, the great heart of the people vibrated under a temporary madness: they saw their last prophet abandon his country in despair, his wife and his four sons being murdered, and lay down his weary life on the banks of the Godavery in 1708. No one succeeded to him; the great office of teacher, or spiritual king, of which Nanuk was the first, ended in Govind; he came to restore peace to the world, but his descendants had become a sword. As if the fall of an Empire and the intestine struggles of races, religions, and provinces, were not enough, foreign invasion was now added. The countries beyond the Indus poured forth her centennial swarm of locusts, and these unhappy Provinces became the theatre of war betwixt the Affghan, the Persian, and the satraps of India, and the distant Mahratta mingled in the strife, crossed the Beas, and occupied Lahore.

No historian has recorded the miseries of those periods. Rich countries situated on the highway of nations are particularly liable to be thus victimized. Such was Judæa in the struggles of ancient days; such are Belgium, the Danubian provinces, and Lombardy, in modern times. The battle of Paniput had the effect of clearing the atmosphere by exhausting both parties, and the grandeur and extent of the contest then carried on on these plains may be imagined, when it is recorded that the survivors of that great battle of the world retired to Candahar, and Poonah respectively, and it so happened that in the year 1759, precisely one hundred years ago, the inhabitants of the countries betwixt the Chenab and the Sutlej found, when the dust of the storm cleared away, that the combatants had retired on both sides, and that they were free. That year 1816, according to their reckoning, was a wonderful year: they would like to renew the events of that year on its centenary: they have the wish, the daring, and the hope, if we give them the opportunity. It was then that they assembled their solemn Council at the tank of Amritsur, and proceeded to partition the vacant country among the twelve camps, and tribes, into which they were divided. They had been the cultivators and owners of the soil; they had taken to arms, and they now settled down as Lords and petty Chiefs, but not generally in their own immediate neighbourhood, and it often happened that a petty shareholder in one of the Maiyha villages was the feudal Chieftain at the same time of a large tract of country, but he still fondly cherished his ancestral property and village title. The Raja of Nabha still calls himself Chowdry. So exposed to their mercy was the country, when the Mahomedans fell back on either side to Delhi and Peshawur, that single horsemen spread far and wide to take nominal possession of as many villages as possible by flinging a belt or a turban into each, and then passing on to annex more.

There is no doubt, however, that rude as was the Government, and uncertain the tenure of power, the country recovered itself. Villages were again restored, population increased; the curse of the foreign conqueror, and the tramp of large armies, were removed; the Chiefs were too weak to be very tyrannical, and their general sympathies were with their subjects, from whom they were but little removed in education or feeling: they had no foreign support to back them up, on the contrary they had jealous and unscrupulous neighbours who were ready to absorb them. Nearly half a century passed away in this way, when the great Absorber came in the person of Runjeet Singh, who, like the ogre in the story-book, deliberately ate all his petty neighbours one by one. If the Chief had no children, he declared himself the heir; if he had a daughter, he made himself son-in-law; if he had intestine quarrels with his children, his brethren, or his wives, Runjeet Singh appeared as Mediator; if his neighbours were strong, or of the Mahomedan religion, he deliberately attacked them till they gave in, if they were weak and helpless, he pensioned them. Different causes however gave one and the same result, and by A. D. 1820 they became his subjects, and their territories became his. Still it was all in the name of the great Sikh nation, and the people felt themselves exalted in his aggrandizement. But with his death the great unwelded mass fell to pieces. As it happened to Judæa which was so many years the prey of her neighbours, the Assyrian and the Egyptian, a great and stern people of whom they had known nothing, dwelling like the Romans in countries far beyond the seas, came suddenly on the stage, and worked out the mighty programme which had two thousand years before been sketched by Alexander.

The rule of the stranger has been gentle on this country; as we heard a citizen remark, they scarcely felt that they were ruled, for they miss the scorpion rod and the arbitrary impost. They do indeed regret that oxen are slaughtered, and child-murder punished. Memory does gild with a romantic halo the good old time of raids and plunder, but as yet they have borne these calamities without rebellion, and, if we continue to be strong, they may continue to bear. The country fell into the hands of a particular school who, if they erred, always erred in favour of the people—a school greater in politics than in finance, for with one hand they alienated broad-cast the sources of revenue to keep up a bastard aristocracy and a degraded priesthood, and with the other drew on the revenues of India with a lavish and reckless expenditure. For a period of transition this may have been a wise policy, and it has enabled us to weather the storm; but for a permanency, which but for the stern interference of the head of the Government of India it would have been, it meant bankruptcy. This was foreseen by that one man whose name has become a household world, and he protested in time. Not that he cared not for the people, not that his heart was not tender to the wants and woes of the millions. There was something in the brawny shoulders, and rough manners, and independent bearing of the Sikh peasantry, that was congenial to him. If the doctrine of transmigration were still believed, we might believe that he had been in some former state, or would be in some future, a Jut yeoman. But he felt that after all money is the sinew of the state, and, if one quarter of the land tax is alienated in perpetuity, and another quarter granted away in pensions, insolvency must follow. How that wonderful feeling of sympathy for the Jagheerdar, the Inamdar, and the Pensioner ever came into existence, is to us a marvel. It would not be popular in England to pay taxes to support others in idleness, nor, if an assignment had been made for the support of the family of one who had done good service, (as for instance the Duke of Marlborough, who receives a pension from the Post Office,) would the people of England tolerate that, on the extinction of his line, he should adopt others, or will away the State Revenue. Yet this is the real truth of that great grievance which so vexes Western and Southern India, which by early gathering in our harvest in the North we have practically solved.

The extent of land still alienated for life, or lives, in the tract under description, is still enormous. Death has been busy, and proved our best ally. The rapacious Deewan, who fattened on the land, has gone to his account; he never rendered a true one in this world: the wily scribe, who aped the name, and appearence of poverty while he rolled in wealth, is now poor indeed: the plunderers of provinces, the haughty dissipated noble, the bloodstained soldier of fortune, the perjured Rajah, the slayers of their sovereigns and their own flesh and blood for their ambitious purposes, have all passed away. Their likenesses still hang round the walls of the museum at Lahore, decked with earrings and the insignia of barbaric pomp, but their place knows them no more. One old man of the Court of Runjeet

Sing remains—an adventurer from the British provinces, who by ways fair and foul, raised himself to greatness, and sold the Sikh Army to the English at Ferozshuhr, for which achievement he is handed down as a traitor in the legendary ballads of the people. So entirely has the scene changed in fifteen years, that those who have known the country for that period start when they think of it. It seems like the turning of a Kaleidoscope since that brilliant Court, glittering in jewels and silks, stained with every crime human and inhuman, devoid of public or private virtue and decency, held here its butterfly pomp, ere the strong wind from the West swept them away.

The last days of these provinces have been marked by most unsuccessful mutiny, and most prodigious massacre. Mutiny appears to be indigenous in the soil, from the days that Alexander's soldiers mutinied because they wished to return to Macedon and Thessaly, to this present hour, when Britons, forgetting their duty, jeopardize an Empire. At Meean Meer, Mooltan, and Sealkote in our last troubles mutinies took place, which were met so promptly and punished so terribly, that future historians will draw their breath for a while, ere they accept as facts, what we know to be such. From Sealkote the mutineers were hurrying across the Ravee and the Beas, intending to compel other regiments to join them, when they were met at Trimmoo Ghaut on the former river by a force which must have appeared to them to have sprung from the ground. They had forded the stream in the morning, but after the battle the river fought against them, for it had swollen since morning, and hundreds were carried away. No quarter was given, and for several days after, shooting parties were told off each evening to dispose of the fugitives captured during the day. A darker tragedy followed next month, when a regiment mutinied, and broke away from Mean Meer. They were met on the Ravee captured and destroyed: their destruction saved hundreds of lives, and was a stern sad necessity, the occurrence of which we must ever regret, but, when the precise position of British affairs in the Punjaub is considered, there were but two alternatives—to exterminate them, or to submit to be exterminated ourselves. Let those who from a distance judge harshly, consider the position. We who, long after passions have calmed, have stood upon the mound which marks the grave of the Mutineers, have arrived at the deep conviction that it was a merciful disposition of Providence *that their career should end there.*

Of the century of Sikh rule there are three Memorials, which will enable us to form a judgment as to the manner of men who preceded us in the empire of those Provinces. All are falling into decay, and we trust that in a few years they will have passed away. A few lines on each may not be an inappropriate conclusion. They are the Pension List, the Jagheerdar, and the Temple at Amritsur.

This has always to us been a wonder to contemplate the liberality, the lavish, with which the Anglo-Indian Government provided for the refuse, the degraded members and followers of former dynasties, and the niggardliness shown towards their own servants and public works. Millions have been spent on the most worthless of men : the adoptive father of Nana Sahib drew more than two millions, and his precious cousin in the Banda district drew two millions beside. It may be urged that these pensions were hastily granted for great public objects at a time when we were not so strong, and that the grants, though upheld, were disapproved of. But, when the Punjaub was annexed after fair fight, and when already financial difficulties were looming in the distance, the same prodigality marked our policy. We succeeded to a system of the most degraded and dissolute kind, and there was no necessity to provide for the attendants of such a Court. But the following are the kind of persons whose precious existence is provided for without fail by the paternal Government, while it is borrowing millions, and retrenching the salaries of its own servants ;—Palanquin Bearers, Chowree wavers, Furashes, umbrella carriers, families of deceased umbrella carriers, keepers of chairs, families of deceased waterpot carriers, barbers, cooks, wives and daughters of deceased cooks, commandants of cooks, falconers, *ghunta pandies*, family of the late Maharaja's nurse, tomfools, Rebabee fiddlers, painters, dogkeepers, sweepers, archers, double and triple wives of deceased Moonshees, slave girls, aged courtezans described as favourite concubines of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, the daughter of another and the sister of a third equally disreputable, and unblushingly described as such ; relations of the mistress of General Allard ; every kind of priest, fuqueer, saint, Guru, Brahmin, fortune teller, of many of whom the pedigrees have to be preserved, some according to the flesh, as a furash or waterpot carrier or cook may be supposed to perpetuate his race in the flesh ; others by the spirit, as the saintly folk in the end of the list continue their race by the imposition of hands.

But the particular pension list of the family of the late Maharaja is something appalling. He appears to have had above twenty Ranees : some of them were good enough to ascend the funeral pile in his company, some were comforted in his absence. They belong to all castes and districts, and when at Lahore they dwelt in little pigeon holes round the famous tower called the "Sumun Burj." Attached to each were slave girls without number, poor wretched females, who were sold from their homes in their youth, and had no relations or social position. Twice has the cruel fate of the female slaves of India been forced on our notice—once in the Punjaub when an attempt was made to distribute the slaves in their respective villages, if their friends would take them back. Eight wretched old women were thus consigned to us, not in any way realizing the ideal of the "slave of the Harem," but on inquiry in their villages they had been forgotten, there was no one to receive them, and the paternal Government has to cherish them from its own resources. On another occasion in Central India a mother and her daughter had escaped from the walls of the palace of a Nuwaub, and sought our protection. Their names were demanded and their parentage: the elder female had had a father, but as to her daughter she stated calmly that she was a slave, and uncertain as to the precise parentage of her child; it was born in the Nuwaub's house. Still sympathy is felt by some for these royal and noble families, as they topple over and their impure interiors are exposed, and in maintaining such establishments as these, more than forty thousand pounds sterling per annum are expended yearly at Lahore. Now that the salaries of the General, and the Judge, and the Staff Officer are being clipped, is it too much to suggest to the financiers of India that the assignments and allowances of the families of cooks might bear reconsideration? At any rate let the lavish hand for the future be stayed; let us be just before we are generous.

The Jagheerdar is a remnant of a former age, a specimen caught alive of a former geological period. He may have been useful, and a source of strength to former Governments: he is not so to the British Government, for his very existence is an anachronism; he feels that he is an absorbing element, and that the grave is gaping for him. We have known them during the time of their Empire, when fine feathers made them fine birds: we have known them during the period of their absorbing process, and in prosperity and adversity to our minds they are the lowest type of that genus, which has usurped to itself in most countries the privilege of preying on the labours of others. Utterly devoid of public feeling, of care for anybody but themselves, rude, unlettered, low in mind, in acts, and habits, the drones of society, their extinction will be hailed by the people and by the Government. About them cluster the priest, the bawd, the dancer, the musician, the general panderer to the passions: these worthies gather round their sensuous lord to extract money from his fears, his passions, and his gross delights. Ever hostile in heart to the great Government under whose shadow he exists, his ears prick up and his eyes brighten when he hears of disaster, true or invented. But visit him in his rural home, in his rude plenty, amidst his retainers, his cattle and the garnered stores of his past harvests, listen to his hearty welcome in the gateway, his professions of devotion, and his patriarchal manner—but that we knew his antecedents we might carry away the impression that he was the most charming of old men, and wonder at the rude assault made by narrow-minded politicians at the last of the Barons. Strange to say the middle classes of England supply the most determined champions of the pseudo-aristocracy of the East.

But the great Temple will ever stand forth as the most remarkable Monument of the Sikh people. In the heart of the city of Amritsur is the famous tank, from which the name is derived, and here centre all the national pride and religious fervour of the people. In the early struggles with the Mahomedans this sacred spot was more than once defiled by the slaughter of oxen in the hopes of putting down the nascent faith, but to no purpose, for no sooner had the storm blown over, than the waters were again consecrated, and again the faithful assembled. Thither the tribes went up, year after year, on their solemn feast days in the spring and the autumn; there they took council in the hour of affliction, and there they gathered and divided their spoils when triumphant. A vast city has sprung up round about, and commerce, here as elsewhere, has waited as the handmaid of religion. The Sikh dwelling in villages, on the occasion of his annual pilgrimage, purchased those rude luxuries at the fair, and the excitement of pleasure and sight-seeing, the freedom from restraint, and the novelty of the journey, soon added that powerful zest to what was originally a duty as a pilgrimage. When Runjeet Singh had converted the great commonwealth into an Empire, and centered in himself all the wealth and power of the nation, he affected the deepest religious feelings, and the greatest enthusiasm for the holy place. In the centre of the tank rose a gorgeous temple of marble, the roof and minarets being encased in gilded metal: marble pavements, fresco paintings, added to the splendour of the scene, and round the outer circle sprung up a succession of stately buildings for the accommodation of the Sovereign and his Court. The establishment of no noble was complete who had not his "bhoonga" at Amritsur.

The sight from the roof of the royal bhoonga is one of the most imposing in the world. The worship of the heathen lies before us in all its glory. We have stood on the tower of Fort Antonia at Jerusalem, and tried to conjure up the appearance of the Courts of the Lord's House in the days of the splendour of the Jewish hierarchy. From the roof of the ruined Parthenon we have looked over the inclosure of the Acropolis. But for neither of these ancient temples, nor for the great fane of Diana at Ephesus, can we imagine a more venerable, a more brilliant appearance, either the time when the Passover, or the great Panathenaic festival, gathered the thousands of worshippers within their portals. It is a strange, and solemn scene:—lofty minarets stand as sentinels on one side; the umbrageous foliage of trees sets off the white radiance of the marble and the masonry; the rich gilding of the domes is reflected in the waters; pigeons without number fly over the open space; and from below comes up a hum of men and women, bathing and praying, or reverently making the threefold circle of the sanctuary, from the interior of which comes forth the murmur of priests, chaunting the sacred volume to the accompaniment of stringed instruments.

No European shoe is allowed to violate the sacred threshold; the visitor must either do so barefooted, or encase his feet in slippers prepared for the purpose. Not a quarter of a century ago Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, reverently laid bags of silver as an offering of the British Government on the holy of holies. When the country was occupied, the profoundest respect was shewn to the Temple and all connected with it, and even to this day its affairs are superintended by British officials, who take heed that the revenues set apart for the repairs of the building are properly expended, and that the offerings of cakes, and cash, are fairly distributed among the tribes of hungry attendants, who have gathered round like vultures. These people appear to have acquired an hereditary right, but their conduct and bearing is that of the sons of Eli, and, ceasing to care for their religious character, or for popular influence, they vex the local Courts with their petty squabbles for a fractional share of the offerings; and into these nauseous details, into their disposition of unhallowed things, to which the double meaning of "Anathema" applies, the servants of a Christian Government are constrained to enter. Strange names, and strange offices, thus became familiar. We have a body of Grunthees, or readers of the sacred Grunth, corresponding with the Prebends of a Cathedral, except that the principle of hereditary succession has rendered much knowledge of the contents of the volume unnecessary. Beneath them come a most disreputable body of acolytes, or Minor Canons, who ought to perform the service of the Temple as the ministering Levites, but who have adopted secular habits, become money-lenders, extortioners, and give to the title of Poojaree anything but the odour of sanctity. Beneath them come the choir, or singing men, known as Ragees, who sing hymns and chaunt the text of the sacred volumes in a manner unintelligible to the understanding, and unpleasing to the hearing. These are all Sikhs, and may at least have the credit of believing what they practise, but there is a fourth body, who are composed entirely of Mahomedans, and who still are not ashamed to lend their vocal powers to the service of the heathen. These compose the orchestra, and extract inharmonious sounds by sweeping the strings of fat-bellied barbytons, called Rubabs, whence they are called Rubabees. These men claim to themselves the honour of being descended from that Murdhana who accompanied Nanuk in his travels. Like their ancestor, they are a hungry lot.

Such is the great Temple of the Sikhs, protected and endowed by the paternal Government, the centre of the hopes and aspirations of a great people, and which may some day prove the rallying point of our enemies. Leave it to itself and withdraw from it the patronage of the State, resume the lands set aside for the support of the brotherhood of Grunthees, Poojarees, Ragees, and Rubabees, and the splendour of the institution will pass away. The gilded dome will lose its lustre, the marble walls will fall out of repair, the great Temple, with its assigned revenues and its stately establishments, will no longer be a snare for the vulgar, who are ever deceived by outward show. To act thus would be to act impartially, and in accordance with the true principles of non-interference. No necessities of State policy appear to justify the contrary policy, nor do those necessities exist.

ART. V.—1. *The Story of Cawnpore.* By CAPT. MOWBRAY THOMSON, *Bengal Army. One of the only two Survivors from the Cawnpore Garrison.* London: Richard Bentley. 1859.

2. *Letters from Futtyghur by the Lady of an Officer of Engineers.*

3. *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow, written for the perusal of Friends at Home.* London. 1858.

4. *Day by Day at Lucknow: a Journal of the Siege of Lucknow.* By MRS. CASE. London. 1858.

5. *The Timely Retreat, or a Year in Bengal, before the Mutinies.* By TWO SISTERS. London: Richard Bentley. 1858.

WE have often thought it a pity that women are not more systematically trained to the exercise of courage and presence of mind. The youngest boy is exhorted to behave "like a man" as soon as he is out of petticoats, and is, at least by his father, shamed out of showing cowardice, and taught to look upon all manifestations of fear as disgraceful; but his little sister is generally petted and condoled with if she shrieks and cries equally at the sight of a frog or of a mad bull. True, there is a difference of organization. A woman in general knows nothing of "the stormy play, the joy of strife," nor of that bounding of the spirit at the approach of conflict as if it were eager to plunge into its natural element. The girl's eyes fill with tears of pity at the sight of a fight; the boy's eyes flash, and his cheeks flush with eagerness to join the fray, though neither of them know anything of its merits.

Combativeness is decidedly more largely developed in the male half of creation, and right and fit it is that it should be so. Far from implanting it in woman, we hold that it is a sign of barbarism when the women of a nation forget the tenderness of their sex and their natural offices of peacemakers and comforters, and become the promoters of vengeance and the stirrers up of strife. The women of Afghanistan will drink the blood of the murderer of their kinsfolk; the women of Spain will watch every incident of a bull fight, the gored and bleeding horses, the tortured bull, the wounds and deadly jeopardy of the men, with unflinching eye and uncompassionate heart; but that there is a possible medium between unfeminine hardness and downright cowardice, is shewn every day by the calm heroism of some of the most gentle of women. We maintain that calmness and presence of mind in danger might be rendered much more general by education. The little girl should be taught that it is as shameful for her to scream at a spider, to weep with fear in a boat, to betray unreasonable fear where there is no danger, or be guilty of unreasonable conduct when the danger is real, as it is for her brother.

If she cannot help, she should at least not hinder the measures necessary to be taken in the hour of peril. A child of either sex can be trained to obedience under all circumstances, to sit still if the horses run away, or the boat ships a wave; and the woman so trained will be very unlikely to incur the guilt and disgrace of failing in the wife's first duty of being a help-meet to her husband under all circumstances.

How many women have brought destruction on the man they best loved, by embarrassing him by their fears in time of danger. Has the sword arm never been mastered, not by the enemy but by the frantic or fainting wife or sister; has the boat never foundered because all the ladies started from their seats as it heeled over? How many a fair rider has been taken up a cripple or a corpse who would have ridden home in safety and thankfulness, had she kept her seat two minutes longer. Has no wife or mother had to endure the life-long reproaches of him whom she held back in the path of duty because it was also the path of danger? And is not this disgraceful? Is not cowardice of this kind as worthy of reprobation as that of him who forsakes his colors in the day of battle? It is not *fear* that is disgraceful—that is common alike for man and woman, and though the latter, with her more lively imagination, more sensitive organization and more anxious temperament, probably feels it with an intensity of which few men are capable, yet the bravest of men are not insensible to it. The lad who in his first action, pale as death with the drops standing on his brow, marches straight up to the enemy's battery, will tell you in after years that he then felt fear clutching at his heart; but honor and duty are dearer to him than life, the thought of failing in the hour of trial never enters his mind; and if his sister had been trained from infancy as he has been, to see that honor and duty require her too to suppress the voluntary manifestation of fear, to keep herself calm and quiet, ready to obey the first direction, and, what is harder, able to wait quietly when there is nothing to be done—requiring no attention, demanding no care, leaving the men of the party to act as freely as if she were not present and recalling her presence only when she can render assistance, she too would crush back her fear into her heart, and would do her duty as gallantly as himself.

It is not pretty, it is not interesting to be troublesome. We never knew a man admire sobs and shrieks, wringing of hands, agonizing fears, fainting or even the most passionate anxiety for his own safety, especially if he had to carry a woman who ought to have walked, or if he had to attend to her, instead of to the business before him. To show how much in this respect may be done by education, we need not refer to Spartan mothers, or *to the brave* German women immortalized by Tacitus.

Livingstone relates of some African tribe that the women are trained to repress all outward manifestation of fear or pain. A mother will say to her little girl;—"You are a woman, and women never cry." But though much may be done by education, every thing can be done by the will, nerved by a sense of duty. We have seen cases of women recovered from hysterics by the actual presence of imminent danger; they knew it was now a matter of life and death, recovered their senses and the use of their limbs, and behaved with perfect propriety till the crisis was over. One young lady, who had the habit, which she declared she could not help, of sorrowing on the slightest surprize or accident, was not only silent, but showed remarkable control over others, while the house she was in was filled with rebels thirsting for the blood of herself and her friends. We constantly hear of acts of the real heroine performed by women under the impulse of feeling strong enough to overpower all thought of personal danger. Perhaps one of the most remarkable instances was that of a lady who suddenly saw a tiger gazing at the carriage in which her children were sitting. Quietly and steadily she passed between the animal and the carriage, shut the doors of it, and returned in safety. Maternal love gave her this presence of mind, and we maintain that, if cultivated, other motives would be found able to do so.

If this training to self-command and courage be requisite for every woman, it is essential for the wife of a soldier; and we all know that the inculcation of the most anti-military precepts never yet sufficed to secure our daughters from that contingency. Still less will it do so now, when the soldier has been replaced in his proper position in public estimation. Before the Crimean campaign the army was looked down upon as more ornamental than useful. Young officers were often boys fit for nothing else, or eldest sons who entered with the intention of spending a few years pleasantly and leaving the so-called "service" when they married, but without an idea of devoting their lives to it as a profession. To talk of military matters was voted "shop," the uniform was doffed whenever it was practicable, a rich man's son generally sold out or exchanged when the Regiment was ordered to a disagreeable station. The Crimea afforded more than one example of men incapable of bearing hardship, and who were not ashamed to leave their comrades in the midst of one of the most trying campaigns of modern times, and of wives and mothers who hailed the return of dear Arthur or dear Augustus unwounded and unscathed, as if it was the most unreasonable thing in the world for any one to expect men "brought up as they had been" to endure bad food, bad lodging and the inclemency of the weather like common soldiers. In too many cases the old maxim, "*noblesse* oblige," was forgotten, and instead of being interpreted to mean that a gentleman should prove himself superior in "blood and bone" to his followers, that he should be the hardest in hardship and the foremost in fight, it was taken to imply that he was more tender and delicate than his neighbours, and must sleep soft and fare well. Truly the trenches before Sebastopol were no place for those who must needs wear purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day, and so they went home again. But while some failed, many were ennobled and purified by the trial. Many a garrison idler who went out to the Crimea, returned a tried and gallant soldier. The nation recognized the nobleness of her army; she saw in the soldier the man who devotes his life and his life-blood that his countrymen may dwell in peace under their own vines and their own fig trees, that his countrywomen may lay their children to rest without a thought of danger, that his land may claim the glorious appellation of

"The inviolate island of the sage and free."

War was seen to be no pageant but a stern and dreadful reality, the soldier no trifler but a self-devoted warrior. The nation awoke to this perception; it thrilled "the stout heart of England's Queen," and she expressed the feeling of her people in giving vent to her own generous emotions and queenly sympathies. That red tunic which it pleased Her Majesty to wear, and which was made a subject of mirth by the light-minded foreigner, only marked her desire to identify herself with "her beloved troops," and to show herself the Head of the Army as she is the Head of the Nation.

The hurricane which has swept over India has deepened and strengthened this feeling. There is no father in Great Britain who is not now proud to have a son in the army; there is no man who does not raise his head, when he thinks of his brotherhood with the hundreds of heroes who have been made known by these terrible events, and with those noble women whose conduct has been such, that, to use Lord Palmerston's words, it will be henceforward praise enough for any man to say he has "shown the courage of an Englishwoman."

Captain Mowbray Thompson speaks of a young and very attractive woman, whose attached husband had sent her down the country *for safety*, and who, long after she had been caught (as it appeared by mere accident,) and perished in the storm at Cawnpore, continued to address letters to her and congratulate himself on her "being safe in Calcutta."

"Two or three days after the arrival of the tidings from Delhi of the massacre which had been perpetrated in the old city of the Moguls, Mrs. Fraser, the wife of an officer in the 27th Native Infantry, reached our cantonments, *having travelled* dâk from that scene of bloodshed and revolt. The native driver who had taken her up in the precincts of the city, brought her faithfully to the end of her hazardous journey of 266 miles. The exposure which she had undergone was evident from a bullet that had pierced the carriage. Her flight from Delhi was but the beginning of the sorrows of this unfortunate lady, though she deserves rather to be commemorated for her virtues than her sufferings. During the horrors of the siege she won the admiration of all our party by her indefatigable attentions to the wounded. Neither danger nor fatigue seemed to have power to suspend her ministry of mercy. Even on the fatal morning of embarkation, although she had escaped to the boats with scarcely any clothing upon her, in the thickest of the deadly volleys poured upon us from the banks, she appeared alike indifferent to danger and to her own scanty covering; while with perfect equanimity and imperturbed fortitude she was entirely occupied in the attempt to soothe and relieve the agonized sufferers around her, whose wounds scarcely made their condition worse than her own. Such rare heroism deserves a far higher tribute than this simple record from my pen; but I feel a mournful satisfaction in publishing a fact which a more experienced scribe would have depicted in language more worthy of the subject, though not with admiration or regret deeper or more sincere than that which I feel. Mrs. Fraser was one of the party recaptured from the boats, and is reported to have died from fever before the terrific butchery that immediately preceded General Havelock's recapture of Cawnpore."

We find three ladies taking refuge at the Flagstaff Tower at Delhi, and immediately setting to work with a Sergeant's wife to ease the sufferings of poor Colonel Ripley, laying him on "a nice soft rezai," and bathing his temples with lavender water—one of the party, Mrs. Westwood, afterwards driving her friends in a buggy in the midst of the mutineers. Mrs. Wagentreiber, wife of the Editor of the *Delhi Gazette,* drove the carriage containing her children, thus leaving her husband at liberty to fight his way with his revolvers. He is said to have shot four men dead and wounded many more. At Jhansi, young Mrs. Skene, a mere girl of two and twenty, but worthy of being a soldier's daughter and a soldier's wife, loaded for her husband and Captain Gordon as long as they were able to fire. The latter was shot through the head; whether, as was first reported, the young wife fell by the hand of him who loved her best, is uncertain, but they and their infant children lie in a bloody grave. The mutineers on leaving the house heard the baby, sole survivor of this hapless family, crying, went back, and murdered it also. At Cawnpore Captain Thomson relates that at the most trying period of the defence "our heroic sisters did not all give themselves up to despair even yet; they handed round the ammunition, encouraged the men to the utmost, and in their tender solicitude and unremitting attention to the wounded, though all smeared with powder and covered with dirt, they were more to be admired then, than they had often been in far different costume, when arrayed for the glittering ball-room."

The miseries to which women are exposed in war, and the danger of a man being diverted from his duty by anxiety for the safety of those dependant on him, have rendered it a question whether soldiers should marry. The gallant Major Hodson writes on this subject.

> "Brigadier Grant, like dear Sir Henry Lawrence (though both married men themselves) says, that soldiers have no business to marry; under the idea that anxiety for their wives' welfare and safety, often induces men to hesitate to run risks which they would otherwise cheerfully undergo. I, on a less selfish principle, question very much whether men have any right to expose their wives to such misery and anxiety as during the last few months have fallen to the lot of so many; and yet it seems hard to say that soldiers, who have so much to endure at times for the sake of others and of their common country, should be denied the happiness of married life, because times of danger will sometimes occur, and certain I am, that the love of a noble-hearted woman nerves our arm to daring and honor. Happy however, is the woman whose husband is not a soldier."

Now that so many of our women have added fresh lustre to their country's name by patient courage and endurance, let none other undertake the duties of a soldier's wife unless she feels capable of doing likewise, unless she can *in every case* consider her husband's duty as paramount to all other considerations, and encourage him to do it without a thought of his safety or of *herself*. A soldier is self-consecrated to his country, he has pledged himself to risk life and limb for the common weal, he is not only bound to do so by the general laws of honor, but he has publicly professed his willingness to do so; just as all men are bound to obey the law of God, but one who professes to be a Christian is doubly bound to do so, having confessed his consciousness of the obligation and vowed to fulfil it. We have the highest authority for likening the Christian life to that of the soldier. There is, first, *self-devotion*;—"Because He laid down His life for us, we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." Secondly, *self-denial*;—"Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Thirdly, *Readiness to obey*;—"No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier." A soldier must be ready to march at a moment's notice whithersoever his Commander orders. His life is thus an outward picture of the Christian character, and no woman should marry a soldier unless she feels sure that she will not hold him back from danger or duty; and many have nobly fulfilled this condition under circumstances of the most appalling nature.

Many of our readers may have seen those touching letters from the lady of an Officer of Engineers in Futtehgurh. They may have wondered at the young wife, not yet three years married, writing to her beloved father and family with death staring her in the face;—

> "Ere you get this we shall be delivered one way or another. Should we

be cut to pieces you have, my precious parents, the knowledge that we go to be with Jesus, and can picture us happier and holier than in this distant land; therefore why should you grieve for us."...

We are quite prepared for the worst, and feel that "to depart and be with Christ is far better." The flesh a little revolts from cold-blooded assassination, but God can make it bear up."

"I hope my precious family, you will not alarm yourselves about us; we are in God's hands and feel very happy, *indeed we do*."

After more than a week's suspense the poor young mother—then in the condition of all others to render her weak, nervous and incapable of flight—cannot restrain her anxiety for her eldest child;—" I often wish our dear Mary was now in England, 'but God can take care of her too, or He will save her from 'troubles to come by removing her to Himself." Was there ever anything more touching than her expression of gratitude at being in the midst of this peril with her husband? *I am so thankful I came out to India to be a comfort to beloved John*, and a companion to one who has so given his heart to the Lord."

"And circumstances in which we have been placed during our sojourn in India have made the promises of God's Word so sweet and the consolations of religion so unspeakably great, besides endearing us to one another in a degree and way which a quiet English home might not have done."

Truly, though we would not have women exposed to danger, and that from considerations of more importance than mere life, though often even the best of wives may be a clog on her husband, yet on this path to martyrdom we cannot but say;—" Hap-'py John Monckton to have such a wife as this by thy side!"

They shared the fate of the martyred American Missionaries of Futtehghur, being shot at Cawnpore. On the 12th June shortly after the siege had commenced, Dhokal Parshad, a converted Brahman of the highest character who accompanied them, perished with them, with his wife and four little children.

Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the 'Indian' fields, that thence may grow
A thousand-fold!

There are few more touching pictures than that of the bereaved widows at Lucknow seeking consolation, not in the indulgence of grief, but in active service in the hospitals. One of these, when for a time prevented from continuing her labor of love among the sick and wounded, is described as passing her days in a complete state of prostration and apathy, stretched in her easy chair, dumb and indifferent to everything around her, and as starting up with new life and vigor directly she was allowed to resume her beloved work. And little less admirable was the behaviour of another Chaplain's wife, whose spirits were sustained by her husband's preservation, and who, when forbidden to go backwards and forwards from the Residency to the Hospital "under fire each time," did indeed try to make herself useful acting as house-maid, "keeping the rooms tidy and clean," nursing the sick and wounded in the house, making flannel shirts for officers, a black dress for a newly made widow, acting as nurse to her friend's children, washing cups and saucers, cooking for invalids, and yet keeping a place in her affections for her "dear dog Bustle."

Those who gazed on the mournful ceremony of the reception of the ladies from Lucknow ('the Lucknow Heroines' as they were somewhat inappropriately styled) must remember the feeling of deep sympathy which pervaded every heart and every countenance. To some this sympathy was most justly due. It was enough to make the heart bleed to think of that delicate, fragile, newly-made widow, wandering in the jungle with her young children, lured onwards day by day by the hope of meeting with her husband, and so manifestly protected by the good hand of Him in whom she trusted, that when, on falling in with a party of rebel sowars she thought her hour was come, and taking one infant in her arms and the other by the hand, she went towards them and only prayed that they would kill without torturing her and her children, even these inhuman men were awed, answered 'why should we kill you,' and left her unmolested. And so with the young mother watching for the arrival of her husband with Havelock's force, that she might show him his firstborn in the "clean frock she had saved" throughout the misery of the siege for this joyful occasion, and after two days of first joyful, then anxious expectation hearing that he had been shot down as he entered the Residency, and then losing her boy after she had got him safe to Calcutta. But it is humbling to reflect that some of the Lucknow ladies have since been polking to the tune of "The Relief of Lucknow." The fact is, great trials do not alter the character; they only manifest and to a certain degree modify it. Some fancy that all who have gone through a certain amount of suffering or danger, must necessarily be thereby so ennobled and purified as to be henceforward incapable of the ordinary weaknesses of humanity, and they are not only grieved but astonished to hear of petty jealousies, little meannesses and spiteful gossiping among those who passed through some great ordeal together. It is taken for granted that a husband must be devotedly attached to a wife who has shared his captivity, that a widow must be heart-broken for the loss of a husband who was treacherously murdered, that one who has been severed by sudden and violent death from the one best loved, can never recover cheerfulness or open her heart to a fresh affection.

But the plain fact is that just as "cowards die many times before their deaths," because sensitive in the extreme to bodily fear, so some endure untold agonies of grief, horror, shame, and indignation from events which leave others almost untouched. And the finest natures are those most capable of suffering. The patriot's heart swells with irrepressible indignation when the craven tamely submits to the degradation of his country; the soldier burns with noble rage, when the clown in office serenely smiles; one heart is broken like a Venice glass, when another is of too coarse a material to be injured.

And so all are not heroes or heroines, who have passed through trial. Though all have been exposed to the same pitiless tempest, one will droop and die under the nearest hedge, another will wing its way aloft like the eagle, and a third will flirt the rain drops off its wings, and twitter and chirp as merrily as if nothing had happened. And so we cannot boast that all or even most of the ladies in India are like the Christian heroines and martyrs of Cawnpore and Lucknow.

"The Timely Retreat" gives a graphic picture of a class which we hope is not large. After skimming through the book, for to read it would be impossible, no one image of India or its inhabitants remains on the mind but an indistinct vision of a pair of fast young ladies in scarlet flannel jackets, each with fifty thin dresses from Paris, who appear to have come to India for the sake of teaching gentlemen to dance and ladies to dress, but whose purely personal adventures were scarcely worth presenting to the world. Take out the names of the places, and there is nothing to indicate the country they were in, or the state of the people. Indeed it is not likely they could have learnt much of either the character or the condition of the Natives from a brother who had so cordial a disgust for the natives to whom he had to administer justice. It never seems to have entered into the heads of those young ladies (we do not like to use so serious a term as minds) that there was anything to be learnt in India—anything to be done beyond "office work," parties and picnicing—or any better motive for coming than "a lark." There is nothing to show that they ever remembered that they were professedly Christians in a heathen land. They appear to have come and gone without knowledge of natives beyond their servants, and this although they belonged to our Indian family, i. e., one which for more than one generation has succeeded in realizing a competence in India and in returning from it as ignorant of its inhabitants, their feelings, thoughts, condition and progress as the day on which they landed. This is a feat which some people contrive to perform and of which they are proud. The gulf between Europeans and Natives is little understood at home. It is supposed that every one "who has been in Calcutta" knows India, and the most baseless assertions are listened to with respect, because no one supposes it possible that a man can spend the best part of his life in a country who never has had one hour's confidential communication with an independent native, that he should have risen to be a Sudder Judge or a Member of Council and have been in the habit of legislating for races of whose customs he was ignorant, whose prejudices he attributed to the wrong causes, and, of whose names, titles, sects, habits he had only the most superficial knowlege. Half our blunders in India are to be attributed to our ignorance. One Civilian lays down the law regarding the Rohillas of the Dakhan, believing them to be Hindustanees from Rohilkund; another talks of a Mahommedan of rank as a "Rajah"; few know the difference between the two great Mahommedan sects. Some persons maintain that Europeans and Natives cannot have friendly intercourse together, except by the former adopting in some degree the manners of the latter; and as this is granted on all hands to be undesirable, the severance between the two classes is pronounced a *necessary evil.*

This however is far from being the case. Hundreds of Officers, some Civilians, and even a few ladies can testify that a European who commands the respect of the natives and who treats them with the courtesy due to his own character as a Christian gentleman, may enjoy nearly as unconstrained intercourse with them as with any other foreigners. He cannot eat with them, but he can ride, hunt, and talk with them. True, there is a certain degree of fatigue to be incurred and of patience to be exercised in the interchange of visits with natives. This must ever be the case where there is little congeniality of ideas, but we were not sent into this world to please ourselves; and any European and still more a Christian who is not capable of the small self-denial requisite for kindly intercourse with natives, he who will not give up a certain portion of his time to listening to their complaints, learning their opinions, studying their feelings and character, and entertaining them in friendly conversation, or even to those ceremonial observances to which Easterns attach so much weight, is not fit for any post of authority among them. A powerful enemy has been often made, deep disgust has been created, by the neglect of some mark of courtesy towards a native by a man in power, who never thought about the matter or "could not be bothered with the man." Not even substantial benefits will efface the evil impression made by the brusque and haughty demeanor, and carelessness of the feelings and prejudices of others, so common to our countrymen.

They too often say as an excuse for some slight—"Oh it's only a native." It would be much more reasonable to say—"it's only an Englishman," for the native weighs every word and gesture, and often feels mortified at an omission which an

Englishman would never notice. They are pre-eminently a ceremonious, and we are an unceremonious people, and if we are to do them good we must not shock their customs or prejudices. This is far different from yielding to them as the Government of India has so generally done in matters of right and wrong. Neutrality between the Gospel and Heathenism—that is neutrality between Truth and Falsehood, is neutrality between God and the devil. It is an impossibility. We have no desire to share the fate of those rebel angels who took no part in the struggle between light and darkness,

"Ma per se foro,"

but cared for themselves alone. Lord Stanley has grossly libelled our Gracious Queen in the interpretation he has endeavoured to affix upon her Proclamation. Her Majesty say she "firmly relies *on the truth of Christianity*, and acknowledges with gratitude the solace of religion." She is therefore not neutral, she professes herself a Christian and her Government a Christian Government; but Christianity teaches toleration. He who sends his rain upon the evil and the good "allows the tares and the wheat to grow together *until the harvest*," but the wheat manifests itself to be wheat and the tares to be tares. Lord Stanley and his followers in this country would forbid the wheat-stalk to bear grain lest it should give umbrage to the tares.

Let Christians have as full and perfect freedom as Mahommedans and Hindoos, we ask no more. Let each one of us acknowledge with our Queen THE TRUTH *of Christianity* in our acts as well as in words, and let us "enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law," let *us* "not be interfered with" any more than we should be in England. What is lawful at Home where perfect toleration is enjoyed, is lawful in India where it is a new thing. Our Queen never proclaimed NEUTRALITY. She proclaimed TOLERATION. The difference is unspeakable. I know that two and two make four, and I shall teach this to all who come in my way. If you choose to maintain that two and two make six, you are free to do so, you may propagate the opinion and shall live and die unmolested. This is toleration, but neutrality would require us to maintain that *two and two make five!*

One other subject cannot but be touched upon in speaking of intercourse with natives, and that is the necessity of the most scrupulous care on the part of our Ladies that their good should not be evil spoken of. Few things make so strong an impression on the native mind as the sight of a Christian lady—moving freely among men, yet maintaining perfect propriety and modesty of demeanor. He can appreciate sense, judgment and capability of any kind, but it is new to him to find them in women. A native cannot enter into Wordsworth's description of

> A perfect woman nobly planned
> To warn, to counsel, to command,

and the respect paid to women in Europe generally appears to him, as in the case of Lutfullah, as wonderful and unreasonable. Every Englishwoman should consider that it is part of her mission in India to raise the native idea of her sex, and to do this she must most carefully abstain from whatever tends to lower it whether in dress or demeanor. The fashionable style of evening dress will ever be a scandal to natives. Is it too much to expect our ladies to protect themselves from misconstruction by some addition to their gala costume? Again dancing is looked upon as not only scandalous but menial. An English lady who respects herself, will never dance before a native; we would say, will never dance in India. It was but the other day that the Mahommedans of Bombay, in petitioning Government for the removal of their Kazi, complained above all that he is in the "habit of attending nautch parties and witnessing the dancing of immodest women," conduct which, in a person holding the high religious and judicial position of a Kazi, they allege to be *very sinful.* Surely what is sinful for a Mahommedan Judge cannot be decorous for a European lady.

Then again the freedom of conversation and friendship which is innocent with a right-minded Christian gentleman, is most inexpedient and blameworthy with a man who neither fears God nor honors woman, and yet English ladies will often run after a self-styled distinguished foreigner, careless alike of his morals and his position among his own people. Captain Thomson, in describing the career of the ci-devant Khitmutgar, Azimullah of Cawnpoor, speaks of the folly of some ladies (not to call it by a worse name) in mild but significant terms.

> "I can easily imagine that the bare mention of his name will have power sufficient to cause some trepidation and alarm to a few of my fair readers; but I will betray no confidences. Read on, my lady, no names shall be divulged, only should some unpleasant recollections of our hero's fascination be called to mind, let them serve as a warning against the too confiding disposition which once betrayed you into a hasty admiration of this swarthy adventurer. Azimoolah was originally a khitmutghar (waiter at table) in some Anglo-Indian family; profiting by the opportunity thus afforded him, he acquired a thorough acquaintance with the English and French languages, so as to be able to read and converse fluently, and write accurately in them both. He afterwards became a pupil, and subsequently a teacher, in the Cawnpore government school, and from the last-named position he was selected to become the vakeel, or prime agent, of the Nana. On account of his numerous qualifications he was deputed to visit England, and press upon the authorities in Leadenhall Street the application for the continuance of Bajee Rao's pension. Azimoolah accordingly reached London

> in the season of 1854. Passing himself off as an Indian prince, and being thoroughly furnished with ways and means, and having withal a most presentable contour, he obtained admission to distinguished society. In addition to the political business which he had in hand, he was at one time prosecuting a suit of his own of a more delicate character ; but, happily for our fair countrywoman who was the object of his attentions, her friends interfered and saved her from becoming an item in the harem of this Mahommedan polygamist. Foiled in all his attempts to obtain the pension for his employer, he returned to India *viâ* France ; and report says that he there renewed his endeavours to form an European alliance for his own individual benefit. I believe that Azimoolah took the way of Constantinople also on his homeward route. Howbeit this was just at the time when prospects were gloomy in the Crimea, and the opinion was actively promulgated throughout the continental nations that the struggle with Russia had crippled the resources, and humbled the high crest of England ; and by some it was thought she would henceforth be scarcely able to hold her own against bolder and abler hands. Doubtless the wish was father to the thought. It is matter of notoriety that such vaticinations as these were at the period in question current from Calais to Cairo, and it is not unlikely that the poor comfort Azimoolah could give the Nana, in reporting on his unsuccessful journey, would be in some measure compensated for, by the tidings that the Feringhees were ruined, and that one decisive blow would destroy their yoke in the East. I believe that the mutiny had its origin in the diffusion of such statements at Delhi, Lucknow, and other teeming cities in India. Subtle, intriguing, politic, unscrupulous, and bloodthirsty, sleek and wary as a tiger, this man betrayed no animosity to us until the outburst of the mutiny, and then he became the presiding genius in the assault on Cawnpore. I regret that his name does not appear, as it certainly ought to have done, upon the list of outlaws published by the Governor-General ; for this Azimoolah was the actual murderer of our sisters and their babes. When Havelock's men cleared out Bithoor, they found most expressive traces of the success he had obtained in his ambitious pursuit of distinction in England, in the shape of letters from titled ladies couched in the terms of most courteous friendship. Little could they have suspected the true character of their honoured correspondent. Will Azimoolah betray his master into the hands of Lord Clyde, and, as the finishing stroke of his desperate cunning, pocket the reward of ten thousand pounds ? That would be no unparalleled climax to a career so thoroughly Asiatic as his. Will he ever again be seen in London drawing-rooms, or cantering on Brighton Downs, the centre of an admiring bevy of English damsels ? That would hardly comport with the most latitudinarian notions of propriety. Then let us point the moral, by warning Belgravia to be careful ere she adorns the drawing-room with Asiatic guests."

And again Captain Thomson says ;—

> " All accounts agree in the statement, that the fêted, honoured guest of the London season of 1854, was the prime instigator in the most foul and bloody massacre of 1857."

But Captain Thomson's book deserves a fuller notice than any other at the head of this Article. The " Story of Cawnpore" as it is the most recent, so it is one of the most interesting of the contributions to the history of the Mutiny, unequalled in this respect save by Edwards' Personal Adventures. We confess that we have no heart to criticise a work like this. Its literary faults, such as beginning with the story of a bear-hunt in Cuttack, can be excused, when we consider the sad and tender interest that the writer must now attach to every scene connected with a lost friend and comrade. The heroic writer possesses one quality which is a sure index of a generous mind—a capability for hearty admiration of merit in others. The warm-hearted tribute he pays not only to his comrades but to the natives who were faithful to the ladies, to the gallant Civil Engineers, to the poor coachmaker, and to the stout-hearted Private's wife, awakens our liveliest sympathy not only with them but with himself. One person alone seems to have flinched under this fiery trial. The rest proved themselves a band of heroes, unequalled by those who fell at Thermopylæ, unsurpassed even by the defenders of Londonderry or Saragossa. But the heroism, the patience, the suffering fill us with stern admiration, not with astonishment. We have a Spartan mother-country who expects everything from her children, and is rarely disappointed; but the blunders of those in authority were astounding. There was first the *neglect of warnings.*

> "Day after day news came of the growth of the storm. Etawah and Allygurh, both towns between Delhi and Cawnpore, were plundered, and the insurgents were reported as *en route* for Cawnpore. The sergeant-major's wife of the 53d, an Eurasian by birth, went marketing to the native Bazaar, when she was accosted by a sepoy out of regimental dress,—"You will none of you come here much oftener; you will not be alive another week." She reported her story at head-quarters, but it was thought advisable to discredit the tale. Several of us at this period endeavoured to persuade the ladies to leave the station and retreat to Calcutta for safety; but they unanimously declined to remove so long as General Wheeler retained his family with him."

This obstinate refusal to take warning was, however, by no means peculiar to Sir Hugh Wheeler, but in this case this sad stupidity involved hundreds of helpless women and children in ruin.

The next great mistake was the choice of an utterly untenable position. The reason why, if a place of refuge was necessary, the best was not chosen, has never been given. Why Sir Hugh Wheeler, who appears to have begun his preparations, such as they were, on the 21st May, sixteen days before he entered the entrenchments, did not prepare to hold the Magazine, is incomprehensible. If it could not be held why was it not blown up, instead of being left to supply the mutineers with the very arms and ammunition which they used against us? "Thirty boat-loads of shot and shell that were lying in the canal fell into their hands, and the profusion of the material of war which they obtained from the cantonments (where one magazine alone contained 200,000 lbs. of gunpowder, besides innumerable cartridges and percussion caps) furnished them with supplies amply 'sufficient for a campaign." Even the arrangements contemplated were not carried out. "The General gave 'orders to lay in supplies for twenty-five days. Dall, ghee, 'salt, rice, tea, sugar, rum, malt liquor, and hermetically 'sealed provisions were ordered; but peas and flour formed 'the bulk of the food obtained. Either in consequence of the 'defection of the native agents who supplied the Commissariat, 'or because Sir Hugh Wheeler had only arranged for the support 'of the military at the station, the stock was ridiculously insuffi'cient." Surely in far less than sixteen days an ample store of provisions could have been laid in, but in more than one instance men in authority have preferred running the certain danger of being unprepared and unprovisioned, to the possible risk of exciting suspicion?

Then comes the most wonderful mistake of all—that of firing into men whose loyalty neither then nor since there was any reason to doubt.

"An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st Native Infantry also bolted, leaving their Officers untouched upon the parade ground. The 56th Native Infantry followed the next morning. The 53d remained, till, by some error of the General, they were fired into. I am at an utter loss to account for this proceeding. The men were peacefully occupied in their lines, cooking; no signs of mutiny had appeared amidst their ranks, they had refused all the solicitations of the deserters to accompany them, and seemed quite steadfast, when Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command, and they were literally driven from us by nine-pounders. The only signal that had preceded this step was the calling in to the intrenchments of the native officers of the regiment. The whole of them cast in their lot with us, besides a hundred and fifty privates, most of them belonging to the Grenadier company. The detachment of the 53rd posted at the treasury held their ground against the rebels about four hours. We could hear their musketry in the distance, but were not allowed to attempt their relief. The faithful little band that had joined our desperate fortunes was ordered to occupy the military hospital, about six hundred yards to the east of our position, and they held it for nine days, when, in consequence of its being set on fire, they were compelled to evacuate. They applied for admission to the intrenchments, but were told that we had not food sufficient to allow of an increase to our number. Major Hillersdon gave them a few rupees each, together with a certificate of their fidelity. Had it been possible to have received these men, they would have constituted a powerful addition to our force, just as the few gallant remnants of the native regiments at Lucknow did throughout the second edition of the Cawnpore Siege, as it was enacted in the Oude capital. It ought never to be forgotten, that although the influences of this mutiny spread with all the impetuosity of a torrent which sweeps everything less stable than the mountains before it, there were amongst the sepoy regiments not a few who proved faithful to their salt, and who deserve surely as much gratitude as the revolters have obtained execration. And amongst these honourable exceptions I, for one, shall always rank the native commissioned, and non-commissioned officers, and a few privates, of the now extinct 53rd regiment of Native Infantry."

Captain Thomson speaks of Sir Hugh Wheeler as "determined, self-possessed and fearless," and he was all these, yet we know that he took no active part in the defence. He is said never but once to have gone out to the defences. It must be remembered he was 75 years old. The real leader was Captain Moore of H. M.'s 32d, whom Thomson speaks of as the life and soul of the defence.

When the General in command had done his worst, when upwards of one thousand Europeans, among whom were only three hundred trained soldiers, were crowded within those wretched entrenchments, then began that heroic defence, that depth of suffering, that silent endurance which ended in wholesale massacre, and has made the word Cawnpore a sound alike of pride and anguish to all but the coldest hearts and meanest spirits to the latest days of British history.

During 21 days with scarcely any food, with no water but what was purchased at the price of blood, with no rest, surrounded by overwhelming numbers, with no intermission of attack, reduced to feed on a stray horse or dog, within relief, each man fought till he fell—most of the trained men having seven and eight muskets each. "All through ‘this first weary day the shrieks of the women and children ‘were terrific; as often as the balls struck the walls ‘of the barracks their wailings were heart-rending, but after ‘the initiation of that first day, they had learnt silence, ‘and never uttered a sound except when groaning from the ‘horrible mutilations they had to endure." Can any thing more vividly pourtray the horrors they underwent, than this silent strong patience on the part of the women!

Private and General shared alike; there was no hesitation in fulfilling the most hazardous duty; fifty-five Artillerymen out of the fifty-nine perished in the batteries. Two pickets of sixteen men each held two unroofed barracks, and daily cleared the other barracks of the mutinous hordes who occupied them. "Three or four mothers had to undergo the sufferings of maternity ‘in a crisis that left none of that hope and joy which ‘compensate the hour of agony." Several persons became imbecile or raving mad. "And yet, looking back upon the horrible ‘straits to which the women were driven, the maintenance ‘of modesty and delicate feeling by them to the last, is one of ‘the greatest marvels of the heart-rending memories of those ‘twenty-one days."

At last when half rations for only four days remained, they agreed to depart. Captain Moore, who had not been very long in the country, could not appreciate the extent of native deceit and treachery. He received three hostages, and it is not clear why these *men* were not secured and forced on board the boats with the remnant of the heroic garrison. Then came the massacre, the glorious charge of the thirteen, and the rescue of the four survivors; but for these we must refer to the volume itself.

The loyal and hospitable Dirigbijah Sing has received some adequate acknowledgment of his services. But have Mowbray Thomson and Lieut. Delafosse received the Victoria Cross? What promotion or reward has been theirs? The Story of Cawnpore is incomplete until we know this.

Other horrors were taking place outside the trenches at Cawnpore during the siege. On the 8th of June a lady and child, of whom not even the names were known, were seized and brought before the Nana and killed by his order. On the 10th, in the words of a native diary, "one lady, one grown up young lady ' and three children were coming along in a carriage from the ' West, and on the road some one had killed the lady's husband, ' but not considering it proper to kill women and children, had ' allowed them to escape. However the troopers of the 2nd ' Cavalry caught them, and the Nana ordered them to be killed ' at once; although the lady begged the Nana to spare her life, ' this disgraceful man would not hearken to her. At that time ' the sun was very hot and the lady said "take me to the shade," ' but *no one listened*; on four sides the children were catching ' hold of their mother's gown and saying,—"Mamma come to the ' bungalow and give me some bread and water." At length ' having tied them hand to hand and made them stand upon ' the plain, they were shot down by pistol bullets." Another poor lady, the wife of a merchant who had for four or five days been hiding in the grass, came out on the 11th of June, and "the ' writer of this journal having gone in person, saw the head of ' that lady cut off and presented as a nuzir."

Before his lamented death General Neill wrote that, having strong reason to believe that the Nawab of Furruckabad (whom we have just escorted to Aden!) had several English ladies in captivity, he threatened him with retaliation on his own women if a hair of their heads were touched—and that for this he was rebuked! He also mentioned that a mass of evidence had been collected regarding the victims of Cawnpore. Where is this evidence, and how is it that it has not yet been published?

Our French neighbours, who have been watching every turn and phase of the mutiny with the most lively, if not always the most friendly, interest, appear to have been struck not only with the heroism, but with the absence of all bravado and ostentation which has characterized the sufferers. The *Constitutionnel* pays the following tribute to their memory. "If anything *could* soften the bitterness of the sad news from India 'it is assuredly the spectacle presented by the gallant victims to the rebellion. The dignity of the British character, and the admirable strength of the Anglo-Saxon race 'which has performed so great a rôle in the history of the world, 'shine forth with splendor. Amongst the officers were many 'young men ... who have wiped away all faults by the firmness '*free from any ostentation* which they have exhibited. In the 'midst of torments, on the brink of the grave, they have displayed that modest courage which characterizes the man ennobled 'by Christian civilization. A nation which loses such sons must 'doubtless bewail their martyrdom, but *it has the right to be 'proud of them.*"

Another trait must appear equally remarkable to them, and that is the open confession of faith made by so many, not only of the women, but of the military. Old Generals, men in the flower of their age, young lads entering into life, are not ashamed to profess their faith in Christ, and their trust in their Father which is in Heaven. Not only two forlorn ladies, languishing for months in the hands of their captors, are cheered by a passage in Isaiah; not only does the Missionary's wife profess her willingness to die if her death may but be more useful than her life to the cause of God; but the soldier going into action tells his wife that "his whole trust is in God and that he com'mits himself to his merciful hands," and the wife adds "Love 'to God alone gives peace that cannot be taken away."* Two Civilians high in office hiding for months in the jungles of Oude, read the Scriptures together daily with their family, and gather strength for the perilous venture on the river. We find a grey-headed officer, rescued with his wife and daughter after great hardships, adding to the narrative of their escape this testimony. "Throughout this severe trial I have found the promise fulfilled to me and my family,—"As thy day is so shall thy strength be."" Imagine the amazement of a French official on finding such words at the end of a despatch! We have all heard of young Cheek encouraging the Native Missionary to hold fast his faith.

Before the remnant of the heroic garrison of Cawnpore were massacred, "Capt. Seppings asked to be allowed to read prayers. 'This poor indulgence was given;—they shook hands with one 'another, and the sepoys fired upon them." Previous to this, during the uninterrupted conflict in the trenches; "the Station-Chaplain, 'the Rev. Mr. Moncrieff, was most indefatigable in the perfor'mance of his ministry of mercy with the wounded and the dy'ing. Public worship in any combined form was quite out of

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* Letter from Lahore.

'the question, but this devoted clergyman went from post to 'post reading prayers while we stood to arms. Short and inter- 'rupted as these services were, they proved an invaluable privi- 'lege." A young Officer of two or three years' standing wrote, when expecting his Regiment to mutiny;—" I went to the guard. They 'made me lie down which I did and fell asleep (after a tiresome 'march.) On awaking, a havildar was fanning me, and a lot of 'sepoys all round looking at me as if I was a baby. I have lit- 'tle time to attend to prayer, but I assure you nothing can give 'comfort in a case like this but an assured hope of being God's— 'and then 'Who can harm us?' " A week after, the corps was disarmed and the young Christian volunteered to accompany the Siege Train to Delhi. The day before he was killed he wrote;—" I hope, please God, to see you all again, and 'relate my adventures, but, if not, I hope there will not be a 'sorrowful face in the family, as we must all die, and it does not 'matter who goes to heaven first." The next day he was *there*. A letter from Kolapore relates that when the 27th Regt. Bombay N. I. mutinied and murdered three of their officers, with much danger and difficulty all the other Europeans in the place reached the Residency, and " their first act on arriving was to kneel down and thank God for their safety."

So long as we have Christian Officers as well as Christian women we do not fear for India. One consideration forces itself on our minds in reading every narrative of the Rebellion, and that is how great have been the results from inadequate means, how small the results where the material for producing them has been abundant. The first turn of the tide was under the gallant Neill. He saved Benares and Allahabad. Then Havelock was led on from victory to victory against overwhelming odds; and even when reinforced by Outram the troops who saved Lucknow were utterly disproportioned to the work they performed. Delhi was taken by a force no larger than that which first sat down before its walls; and nothing comparable to these exploits has been done by the powerful armies and siege trains which subsequently took the field, as if to make it manifest to all that it is " not by might nor by power," but God alone who hath given us the victory.

ART. VI.—1. *General Regulations of the Madras Army.* Adjutant General's Office, Fort Saint George.

2. *Standing Orders for the Native Infantry of the Madras Army.* Adjutant General's Office, Fort Saint George.

3. *General Orders of the Madras Army, from* 1800 *to* 1859.

A PERIOD will come, when the local and personal events of the Revolt in India will merge into the general outline of what has occurred, when the historian may look on years subsequent as well as years antecedent to the outbreak, and when deductions from this scrutiny will be so obvious, that the folks of those days will wonder at the present difficulty we have in indicating our past fault, and deciding on our future course. At such a time one startling anomaly will attract their attention more vividly, we may safely suppose, than it has apparently done in these existing times. They will see that under one Government there existed a gigantic Army; that one portion, revolting, threatened to subvert our rule in India, but that other portions not only failed to sympathize with the mutineers, but readily and resolutely encountered them in the cause of loyalty and good faith. More than this, they will find a scale of disaffection strangely graduated, from the entire Revolt of Bengal—to the partial mutinies of Bombay—and so to the perfect staunchness of Madras. They will doubtless investigate the causes of this variation in the temper and disposition of our troops, and draw valuable results from this judicious comparison. But the most superficial observer will acknowledge it is strange that the public now-a-days, in England and in India, have looked with such stolid apathy on what is really and truly one of the most pregnant occurrences in the mutiny. Although it has been impossible entirely to overlook the wide difference between the conduct of our military subjects in the North and those in the South of India, still the safety which has resulted from this, is simply acquiesced in as a fact, the causes of which we cannot remember to have seen discussed in any of the numerous publications on Indian affairs. We find in most writers an utter silence as to Madras and Bombay; and while the course pursued by the late Government has been professedly treated of in its general aspect, we have in reality too readily concluded that exceptional evil consequences may be held to vitiate the whole. There is a manifest unfairness in this sweeping mode of treating our late troubles in India. It is more safe, and more just, to balance the success with the failure, and not, while reforming the bad, allow the good portions of our system to be overlaid.

It is obvious that a terrible outburst against us, as the late Revolt has proved to be, indicates a fault on our side, but how much more does persistent loyalty, in the midst of such a Rebellion, argue sound principles of Government on the part of that power against which its subjects will not rebel. The awful tragedies which appalled the public in its first sudden surprise, and the brilliant chivalry which lighted up even these days of gloom, have been succeeded by so many stirring events, that the peace and tranquillity peculiar to certain portions of the country have created no question, and indeed barely attracted notice. We suspect it is even now imperfectly known, that in 1857 and 1858 there were Zillahs where revenue was peacefully collected, and the usual routine administration never interfered with; and that these were more numerous than the districts in which our treasuries were plundered, and the Magistrate's gate-posts turned into a gallows; that there were Regiments where mutiny was unknown, and that these outnumbered the scoundrels who crowned their faithlessness with the massacre of their officers; that there were stations where entrenchments and loaded revolvers were equally unnecessary, and that these were as many as those in which every one armed to the teeth, and "being besieged," became the normal condition of all Europeans.

We remember the telegrams that went home, mail after mail, during our time of trouble. They led off with a fresh string of mutinies, and their usual accompaniments of assassination and bloodshed. Then came a notice of some small force struggling against hosts of rebels. As time wore on, there came to be mention of sieges and campaigns, and instead of the question of defeat or victory, it was of the thoroughness or not of our success. But from first to last, one single line concluded the messages; appearing, in its isolated character, to have been added as an afterthought. Unpretending and yet momentous, a very postscript in position and importance, the sentence ran thus—

———"Madras remains tranquil."

The public shuddered as they read of the extermination which pursued us in upper Bengal. They flushed with honest pride, at the dauntless front maintained against overwhelming numbers. Their hearts beat high, in watching the bull-dog tenacity with which we clung to Delhi, or the stern struggle which gained us Lucknow. And the three words at the end, with all that flowed from them, were probably enough overlooked.

They did not know that in extent the country thus at peace exceeded the districts in revolt, and that in it, during the last few years, Nagpoor, Travancore and the Carnatic had "lapsed," while in its very centre lay Hyderabad, a hot-bed of fanaticism and turmoil, from which we had, only two years before, appropriated territory yeilding an annual revenue of half a million of pounds sterling. We suspect they were ignorant that to hold this extent of country—twelve hundred miles long by four hundred broad—we had but three European Regiments!

Of a certainty, the good folks at home had forced on them an acquaintance with Indian matters, which under ordinary circumstances they would never have acquired. But when we think of the medium through which this knowledge has been gained, we fear there are slight grounds for congratulation. We may be sure that for one who studied the standard works which treat of India as a whole, there have been hundreds who have taken their lessons on Eastern Affairs from "The Siege of Delhi," "The Defence of Lucknow," "My Campaign against the Rebels," or some equally warlike publication, suggestive of the most deadly antagonism between the Native and Briton; and pourtraying the one chivalrous and brave, the other cowardly, treacherous, and bloodthirsty. An introduction like this would distort any future study; but taken as the sole instruction regarding India, it is likely to be productive of serious mischief. One of the first lessons the late Revolt should have taught us is, that in India there are many distinctive classes; in progress, in customs, and in their feelings toward our Government—most widely different. No partial study of the people of a certain faith, or locality, or status, can ever lead to a just appreciation of native character as a whole. Nor can data taken from one class form a sound basis for general legislation. Each must be accepted with its own peculiar qualifications and capabilities; and we should not attempt to bring all under laws, which however admirable in themselves, or when applied to a single nation, are quite unsuited and cruelly unjust when forced on masses of inhabitants, so entirely and essentially divided as are the natives of India.

There are few who have not had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the constitution and management of the late Bengal Army. It attained an unenviable notoriety, and people naturally desired to know something of the troops who threatened to subvert our Indian Empire. Hence they have been freely and fully described. We cannot doubt however, that many will be glad to hear something of that Army, which during the late crisis has remained respectful to superiors, obedient under discipline, and faithful to Government. We purpose then to describe a Regiment of Madras Native Infantry; the men we have, and their characteristics; whence we get them, and what we think of them. Their thoughts of us are surely best shewn by their conduct during the last two years. They were fairly submitted to a trial of no ordinary severity. They passed through it scatheless, a result for which they and we may be heartily thankful. We intend to take an individual corps, actually as it stands, and by entering pretty minutely into its organization, we shall be able to give a better idea of the men than could be obtained from a mere generalizing account of the whole Army.

The latest orders regarding the composition of the Madras Infantry are dated 3rd December 1857, by which it is directed that recruits shall be entertained, as far as possible, in the following proportions.

¼ Tamulians of various castes, inhabitants of the Carnatic and Ceded Districts.

¼ Telingas and other Hindoo castes from the Northern Circars.

¼ Mussulmans from various parts.

¼ Natives of lower caste, or without recognized caste.

Subsequently a Circular was issued, stating that on account of the difficulty experienced in procuring Tamulians in sufficient numbers, permission was granted to enlist them and Telingas indiscriminately.

Probably none of the Regiments, however, are of these proportions, the order having been out for only a year and a half, and the men entertained during this period being the only men who have been taken at these ratios. We will now therefore give the actual composition of one of the Regiments, in which the sub-divisions into men of different castes and localities will be more fully shown. It is in fact the return sent in every month to Head-quarters, from which the authorities may at any time know the proportions maintained throughout the Army.

Distribution of castes in the — Regiment of Madras Native Infantry—1st July 1859.

Castes.	Native Officers.	Havildars.	Drum and Fife Major.	Drummers.	Naiques.	Privates. Privates.	Privates. Of these are Lance Naiques.
Christians, (Native,) ...	...	2	...	8	4	53	2
Mussulmans, ...	12	19	...	...	16	248	10
Hindoostanees, ...	...	2	...	...	5	26	1
Mahrattas, ...	...	3	...	...	2	9	1
Telingas or Gentoos, ...	4	19	...	...	25	452	17
Tamul, ...	4	13	...	...	7	102	3
Other (low) Castes, ...	...	2	...	...	1	77	...
Europeans, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indo-Briton, ...	...	1	2	8	...	7	...
Total, ...	20	61	2	16	60	974	34

From the above it will be seen that THE CHRISTIANS are proportionately weak in numbers, and indeed from the fifty-three Privates, there should be deducted thirteen who are Musicians, and with the seven Indo-Briton Privates make up the complement of the Band. It follows then that there are only forty-six Christians of all ranks, actually under arms and doing duty as soldiers. The number is undoubtedly small, and yet we believe it greater than the average of this class in the ranks of the Native Regiments. These men are, with two exceptions, Roman Catholics. They go in fact by the name of "*Romauns*" as frequently as that of Christians; and some of their customs not a little belie the Catholicism which should attach to their faith. They are none of them late converts to Christianity, but the sons of Christian parents, and almost all from the neighbourhood of the town of Madras. Their natural language, therefore, is Tamul; and the few who can speak English, do so from associating with the Indo-Briton bandsmen, or from having been in the service of some European before entering the Regiment, but not from education. It seems difficult to understand how so few Christians are found to enter the Army, when we know that in the Southern portions of the Madras Presidency, they are counted by hundreds of thousands. If we consider *thirty* as the average in each Regiment, it follows that there are only one thousand five hundred and sixty Native Christians in the ranks of the Madras Army. While Government has never held out to them any particular inducement, no scruple has ever been made to receive them. When in our military service, their position among their Hindoo or Mahomedan brother soldiers, is not allowed to be depreciated in any way; nor do Commanding Officers hesitate to apportion to them, whatever advantages smartness and good conduct entitle every Sepoy to expect. Still the fact remains that there is great difficulty in getting this class of men; and we can offer no satisfactory explanation why it should be so.

In a Regiment of Infantry the proportion of
Havildars to strength is as 1 to 16⅔.
Naiques to strength is as 1 to 16¾.
Lance Naiques to strength is as 1 to 28½.

Whereas in the Battalion from which we take our examples the proportion of
Christian Havildars to Christian strength is as 1 to 18½.
Christian Naiques to Christian strength is as 1 to 9¼.
Christian Lance Naiques to Christian strength is as 1 to 18½.

It will be thus seen they have their full share in the non-commissioned grades. It is true there is no Christian native officer, but this is simply from no opportunity having occurred of making one. We now have however a Havildar very near the top of the list; and being in every way deserving of his Commission, he will be recommended and no doubt will receive it. Their official status being in no way inferior to the others, it remains to consider their social standing. And we very confidently assert that such of them as from their habits and conduct deserve to be respected, hold a position in no way affected by their being Christians. Their intercourse with all in the Regiment is free and unrestricted; and it does not appear that there is any wish to avoid them, or treat them slightingly. They cannot sit down to a meal in the house of a Hindoo, nor of course can they intermarry; but in every other of the amenities of life, they join with their comrades on a perfect equality. They affect no peculiarity of dress, and have about them no distinguishing mark of any kind, by which they could be identified. The system of caste has not yet lost its hold over them; for instance, they will eat with Pariahs, be these Christians or not; but they will not eat with a Chumber (worker in leather,) or with a Pullar (a very low caste from Southern India,) even though they be Christians. Thus the Havildar we have mentioned as being near his Commission, is a Pullar-Christian, and though he worships with his brother Christians, he eats alone.

We remember a drummer—a Native Christian—coming to us, and complaining that all the Christians had refused him fire and water because he was accused of having taken water from the drinking vessel of a Chumber—a shoemaker. We sent for the head-man, an old Musician who reads prayers in the absence of the priest, and generally represents the Native Christians when occasion requires. We asked for an explanation of this unchristian proceeding; reminding him that with us all were equal, and such distinctions disregarded. This was acknowledged, as well as that it was opposed to the Catholicism of their adopted creed; but it was the custom and "what could he do!" So the drummer had to undergo three cuts on the hand from a rattan, make an offering of three candles to the altar, and three Rupees to the deliberative assembly; on which he was pronounced a "Romaun" again.

We have said that our Christian Sepoys were Roman Catholics with two exceptions, and these two men are Protestants. One of them became so in a way that deserves notice. It happened thus. When the Regiment was in Burmah, he, being *then* a Pariah, fell in love with a Karen girl. It is pretty generally known that these Karens are a race entirely distinct from the Burmese, belonging to a period probably anterior to the latter people, and peculiar in this respect that they have no natural religion. It is amongst them the American Missionaries have made such wonderful proselytizing successes. So much indeed have the Missionaries identified themselves with the interests of the Karens, that even such of them as are not Christians, are accustomed to look on the Missionaries as their protectors and referees.

The girl in this case was not a Christian, but before involving herself with the Sepoy, she prudently took counsel of the Missionary who was at the station. It is hard to say whether the Pariah considered it a descent to a Karen marriage, or the Karen objected to the Pariah ceremony, but the Missionary suggested an advance for both, by making them Christians, when they could marry on equal terms. The Sepoy and the girl at once entered his congregation, and were married according to the forms of the Church. When the Regiment returned to India the wife accompanied her husband, and they now both worship with the Protestant Missionary converts. However slight the man's preparation for the adoption of Christianity may have been, he is now entering willingly and earnestly into an enquiry into the truths of his faith; and though strangely brought about, his conversion promises to result most satisfactorily. Being of excellent character he has been promoted to Lance Naique, and it was but yesterday he came up for examination with the English school, when he read his lesson and was found to be progressing very well. It may be remarked that his becoming a Christian attracted not the slightest notice in the corps. The other exceptional case is that of a man who until the last six months was a Roman Catholic, but who has gradually withdrawn himself from them and joined the Lance Naique just referred to, in his attendance on the Protestant Missionary Church. The only parties who resented this, were the "Romauns" themselves. The ordinary Pariahs (to which class he belongs by descent) made no difference in their intercourse with him, but he was kept at a distance by his late co-religionists, who were directed to have nothing to do with him. At the Station from which we write, there are Lines for two Regiments, and these are in immediate contiguity. Exactly between them on elevated ground stands the Roman Catholic Chapel. The door is right in front of the main guard of one of the Barracks, within a very few yards of it, so close that the Sepoys on duty can see and hear every portion of the service. It is open all day long, and the coming and going of worshippers never ceases.

But with all this publicity of the most prominent and ostentatious kind, there has never been an act on the part of Hindoo or Mahomedan, which could be construed as one of intolerance or resentment. There is this to be remembered in judging of the question, that our Christians are by extraction (however remote that may be) Pariahs, and are therefore originally of a class between whom and the real Hindoos there exists a wide separation. The Mahomedan of the Deccan has caught the infection too; for, though he will eat from the hands of a Soodra—the lowest caste in the Hindoo scale, he will not eat food cooked by a Pariah. The Christian element in our Military Institutions, and its future position and capabilities, are deserving of the closest attention and study; but involve too many considerations to be casually discussed here.

We would merely add, that their presence in the Regiment, even in their present small numbers, is sufficient to frustrate secret combination; and that in case of any mischief breeding, they might be depended on as a body of observation; and, should the storm burst, as one of antagonism to the disturbers of the peace.

The MAHOMEDANS constitute one-fourth of the total strength of the corps, and have a high proportion in the commissioned and non-commissioned grades. This is accounted for from the numbers of this class having been much greater formerly in the Regiment than now. There is indeed a gradually increasing difficulty in obtaining Mahomedans in the Madras

Presidency, proportioned we believe to the general lessening of this element of the population.

The old men in the corps are many of them relations of the employés and officers of the Mahomedan Governments which existed in the Deccan. But now-a-days our recruits are mainly connections of soldiers in our own service. Bangalore, Arcot, Trichinopoly and Madras, are the principal places from which our men are drawn; and it would appear that the Mahomedan Military classes are condensing on these localities more thoroughly every year. From some of the towns which were outlying dependencies of Hyderabad, viz., Nellore, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and Chicacole, all on or near the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula, we get men occasionally, but in no great numbers. On the Western Coast the Lubbays and Moplahs, both Mahomedan sects, are numerous, but are rarely induced to enter our service.

We may be supposed to have overlooked another recruiting field of considerable apparent capability, Hyderabad. The country, it need hardly be remarked, is not Mahomedan, but the city itself is, to one's heart's content. Prudent Commanding Officers however have an inveterate dislike to Thakur-wallahs, city-men, of any description; and it will be easily understood that the objection is peculiarly strong to those from Hyderabad. The place is a hot-bed of turmoil, fanaticism, and debauchery. It is unsafe for a European to enter the gates. The spirit of the inhabitants towards us is bad, and they have a license allowed them, which shows itself more in the exhibition of contempt for us than in the maintenance of their own independence.

Again, the men who would offer to enter our service, are naturally those who have no ties in the place, unsettled, uncared for scamps, whose connections are unknown, whose characters are ruined by the wickedness prevalent in this Alsatia of the Deccan. But in truth, there are but few who offer to join our ranks from Hyderabad; the quiet, demure tone of a Madras Regiment, being utterly opposed to the dissipated, reckless spirit of these Swash-bucklers.

We have no Mahomedans direct from Bengal, although one or two are of families from the North-West, who have settled in Masulipatam. Our men are, with very few exceptions, Soonees; as are the mass of the Deccan Mahomedans wherever found. They are the real staunch worshippers of the prophet, with a proper respect for all the Saints, and a reverential observance of all festivals and ceremonies. Thus, the Mohurrum is most thoroughly enjoyed in our Regiments; and though from its origin it should be a season of mourning, it has become a time of fun and frolic. For a couple of months before the feast begins, a small subscription is voluntarily contributed from the pay of the Mahomedans, towards the erection of the "Tazziah." These imitations of the tomb of Hoosein and Hussein are made by the Sepoys themselves; and are, like all work of loving hands, generally extremely beautiful. Bands of masquers wander about the whole day, assembling at night in front of the Tazziah, where a crowd is always collected. The characters such as tigers, fuqueers, byraghees, soucars and bunniahs, are not assumed by Mahomedans only. Hindoos as often join in the fun, and mostly in consequence of vows registered, that if they succeed in some particular purpose they may have in view, they will assume a certain character for so many years. Only last year a Hindoo Havildar, who was bawling about the station as a letter-carrier, told us he was fulfilling a vow he had made, in case he recovered the use of a paralyzed limb the Doctors had declared incurable. He certainly took a good way of proving the success of his invocation, by rushing at top speed from house to house under a blazing sun. On the same occasion, one of the tigers, and the best of them, was a large powerful Madras Pariah, his tail being held up by an Oude Rajpoot!

There are in the Regiment about twenty or thirty "Wahabees." This class of Mahomedans musters pretty strongly at Madras, and it is spreading in the Army. Such of them as we have are good soldiers, but rather troublesome members of society. They are better instructed generally than the other Mahomedans, but profess greater book-learning than they possess. They are most determined proselytizers. The Soonees have an intense dislike to them, and there is a complete social separation between the two. They, in their turn, profess a contemptuous regard for the Soonees, whom they declare ignorant and bigoted, and to have forgotten the spirit of their religion in the form thereof. Not very long ago, we had a Wahabee tract brought to us, containing a clever condemnation of the usual way in which the celebration of the Mohurrum is performed. Though written and printed at Lucknow, it was in the most simple Deccanee Oordoo; and was palpably intended for readers of the lowest capacity. It rated the Soonees most roundly for their worship of the Tazziah, and said they were "as bad 'as the Hindoos who worship sticks and stones; or the Christians, 'who worship the Virgin Mary!"

As a body the Mahomedans are good stuff for soldiers. They are generally in extremes, either better than the average or worse than the average; but they seldom are in that large class of our soldiery—composed of men of no capacity but great steadiness, whose qualifications are principally negative. The Mahomedan has a natural aptitude for command, but is wanting in many valuable qualities in a soldier. He is seldom so cleanly or neat as a Hindoo, and almost never so prudent. He will squander his money in finery and feasting; and is consequently always in debt. He often talks of their former greatness, and excuses his indebtedness, by urging that he has a bit of the gentleman in him yet.

We now come to the HINDOOSTANEES, of whom it will be seen we have thirty-three. They are known among us by the general name of "Bengallees," "Purdasees" or "Hindoostanees;" and are not unfrequently erroneously called "Rajpoots." In reality we have three Brahmins, two Rajpoots, two Vaisyahs, and the remainder Soodras; of the latter we have goldsmiths, weavers, cultivators, cow-keepers, and the like, but none of the very low castes. They come mostly from Oude and the neighbourhood of Cawnpoor and Delhi; but one or two are from the Lines of the Hyderabad Contingent, men born and brought up in the Deccan. There is the considerable difference between them, that those from the North never bring their families with them to the Regiment, while the Hyderabad men do.

It will be observed that the Hindoostanees have more than their share of the Non-Commissioned grades. It happens that in this Regiment, we at one time had very many more than we have now, the proportion of Privates to Non-Commissioned is therefore apt to mislead. However there is no doubt that in many of the superficial requisites for a soldier, the Hindoostanees rank high. They are fine-looking, careful, and cleanly in dress, both on and off parade, thrifty, almost penurious in their habits. They are probably seen under the most favorable circumstances in Madras; their natural suitability for military duty stands out favorably, while their position and small numbers compel them to keep under restraint that arrogance which they exhibited when massed together in Bengal. In truth they are not liked by the Madrassees, and they know it. Hence they keep a good deal apart; and there is no sympathy of feeling, or social cordiality between them. There are many jokes and taunts about them which show the low estimation in which they are held. The rhyme. "Bengallee—Kungallee!" (a Bengallee—a poor devil!) was the popular definition of their character long before the mutiny broke out. And this, remember, not the true Bengallee of the Southern Ganges, but the various classes of Hindoostanees known to our men under that name. There is a quiet hit at their abstinence from the use of meat, as well as a not very kind reflection on their courage in the saying that a Madrassee will slaughter, skin, and dress a sheep in an hour; but it takes five Bengallees to cut its throat, one to each limb and the fifth to operate. And then they are all day about it: for the operator always shuts his eyes to make the cut, and when the sheep cries out, they all run away! The custom which this class of our Sepoys have—of cooking and eating their food alone—necessarily prevents much social intercourse between them and the Madrassees; while the fact of none of them having families with them acts in a similar way. For among us, a bachelor is a waif, not to be trusted, but to be kept in his proper, outside, subordinate sphere of society. Again, a Hindoostanee Brahmin will take water from the hands of a Hindoostanee Soodra, but will not from a Deccan Hindoo whatever his caste. This assumption of greater purity rather aggravates the Madrassee who replies with the taunt, that in Bengal even sweepers put the thread over their shoulder, and use nothing but brass dishes.

The MARHATTAS, who come next on our list, are very few in number. They are admirable soldiers, intelligent, enduring and generally very steady. They hold, socially, an intermediate position between the Hindoostanee and the Madrassee; and though, in the celebration of their festivals, classed with the former, they mix more freely and unreservedly with the latter. They are from Jaulnah and its neighbourhood, and have their families with the Regiment. By no means abstemious in their habits, they are still careful and prudent, and are pecuniarily well off. There is popularly attached to them however a love of intrigue and untruthfulness, which has rendered the word "Marhatta" equivalent to "a schemer."

Our next class are the TELINGAS or Gentoos, who, it will be seen, form nearly one-half of the whole corps. They are called Telingas as being inhabitants of Telingana; a term, in former days applied to a large tract of country including most of the Hyderabad territories as these existed a century ago. It will be more convenient however to indicate the localities from which the Telingas are now drawn, merely premising that the name does not mean a particular caste of Hindooism, but specifies the country to which the people belong. These men come from what is called "the Northern division of the army," corrupted by the natives into the "Narret-ka-moolik." It is the Northern Circars granted to the Company in 1766 by the Nizam of Hyderabad; on condition that they maintained "the Subsidiary Force"—the troops now cantoned at Secunderabad. Its Southern boundaries are Nellore on the Coromandel coast, and Bellary inland; and so with the sea on the East, and the Hyderabad and Nagpoor countries on the West, it runs up for five hundred miles to Chicacole. This extent of country contains several towns of considerable size and importance; and has been the most prolific recruiting field in the whole Madras Presidency. The language spoken by the people is Teloogoo, which is believed to be an original, pre-Aryan tongue, and not derived from the Sanscrit. There are, among the Telingas, all classes of Hindoos, viz., Brahmins, Kshatriyahs, Vaisyahs and Soodras. The men we enlist, and indeed the only class who will enlist, are the Soodras. We also get a few Pariahs from this part of the country, but they will be spoken of hereafter, when we come to describe the "low or unrecognized castes" in the corps.

It is strange that while in the Bengal Army the Brahmin and Rajpoot preponderated over all castes, in Madras we not only have none of them, but they will not take military service with us. We have already said that the Hindoostanee Brahmins we have in the corps, will drink water from the hands of a Hindoostanee Soodra. A Deccan Brahmin on the other hand, will not drink water from the hands of any of the lower castes, nor will he carry arms. He conceives the Hindoostanee Brahmins to be polluted, by wearing the military belts; and therefore considers them degenerated from their proper position. He by no means however abstains from other secular employments under Government. The Civil Courts are almost monopolized by the class, and in commerce they are busily employed. The Rajpoots of the South—called Rajwars—although the real Hindoo military class, will not take service with us; but do under native authorities, such as the dependent Rajahs to be found in different parts of the Deccan. If however a Rajwar enlist in the Regular Army, he loses caste so long as he remains in it. It will only be when he leaves it, and when he has spent much in purifying his defilement, that he will be again admitted among his brethren.

From the Soodras therefore we draw our men, and from every sect of this most numerous caste. Even with them twenty years ago, when a man became a Sepoy, though not turned out of his caste entirely, there was a ban laid upon him. Others—the civil population—would refuse him their daughters in marriage; and though admitted into his own family, he was kept at a distance by the general Soodra community. As however the Telingas increased in the Army, so this penalty died away. Public opinion veered round; and now the service is sought after, and one of our Sepoys considered rather a matrimonial prize. The Recruits consist of the agricultural laborers and every description of artizans. Thus we have field servants, cow-keepers, toddy-drawers, blacksmiths, tailors, goldsmiths, fishermen, purveyors of game (shikarrees), barbers and washermen—in fact, men of every possible calling. These are practically treated as so many independent castes. When a Telinga is being enlisted, and is asked to what caste he belongs, he will never say, "I am a Soodra;" but will answer "I am a weaver, or barber, or cow-keeper," or whatever his avocation may be. In ordinary conversation also, the various crafts are invariably spoken of as castes. Although these men are all Soodras, each craft has its position in the scale of society. Members of one cannot intermarry with those of another, nor in many of them can they eat together. For instance a field laborer (ryot) will not eat with a weaver, nor would a cow-keeper with a blacksmith. It will be thus seen that though we have come to a low, we have by no means to an united caste. But we will have more to say on this general question after having described the Tamul Soodras, to whom the remarks will equally apply. The Telinga Soodra makes a willing, steady, and obedient soldier. He is larger and fairer than the Tamulian, but not so sharp. He is sober and prudent; but somewhat slow and dull. He has not the pretentious bearing of the Hindoostanee, or the spirit of the Tamulian; but he is alive to the advantages of our regular pay, and more willing than the restless, ambitious Mahomedan, to plod on to the Non-Commissioned grades; or, if his "nusseeb" be bad, to remain contented in the rank of a Private.

We now come to the TAMULIANS, of whom there are only one hundred and twenty-six in the corps. This is however probably not below the average of other Regiments, for, particularly lately, there has been a difficulty in getting this class of men; not from lessening numbers, but because they are too well off in their own employments for military service to be any inducement to them. The Tamul race are so called from their language which bears the same name; it is an original tongue and pre-Aryan. Their country may be said to be all Southward of Bellary and Nellore; although it must be remembered that there are many other races, speaking other languages, within this boundary line. We should exclude, for instance, the whole Western or Malabar coast, from which the Army gets no men. The Nairs of the Malabar Provinces or Bunters of Canara, both Malayalum-speaking races, do not enter our ranks; but the Canarese-speaking Mysoreans are got in considerable numbers.

Our Tamul recruits are obtained from Tinnivelly, Madura, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem and Madras, and in the country neighbouring these towns. They are short, very dark, and very smart fellows, the real, original Madras Hindoo Sepoy, for it is only lately the Telingas have equalled them in our Army. They have more quickness than the Telingas, whom they consider a stupid set. Among the Tamulians there are all castes from the Brahmin to the Soodra; but only the latter are in our service, the higher castes cannot bear arms with us. As with the Telingas, our Tamul recruits are of every possible sect or occupation, it is needless therefore repeating those we have given in describing the former people. We have but to add one, the thieving profession, which the Tamulians have raised to a legitimate class and from whom we have some men. These are the Cullers, (Colleries of Orme,) a rude tribe from the neighbourhood of Madura. We have also Tamul Pariahs and other unrecognized castes, who will fall to be described hereafter. The Telingas are almost entirely worshippers of Vishnoo. The Tamuls are divided between the worship of this deity, and of Siva. The Vishnoo-bucht will not, under ordinary circumstances, go to a temple devoted to Siva, but a Siva-bucht will to one sacred to Vishnoo. The followers of both deities intermarry freely if they be of the same caste or profession, and there seems to be the extreme of tolerance between the parties. Dotted over the country, and in immediate contact is the worship of both carried on. These two grand divisions of Hindooism are readily distinguished by the Bhootoo or forehead mark, called often the caste mark, which it is not. The Vishnoo-bucht has the perpendicular line, or trident. The Siva-bucht has the round spot, or horizontal blaze of ashes. Tamulians and Telingas, even if they be of the same caste and profession, will not intermarry. Indeed they would seem almost to be bound to form matrimonial connections only in their own village, and it is rarely a Hindoo does so in any locality other than his birth place. A sepoy therefore proposing to take to himself a wife, always gets leave to go to his home, the community there apparently having considerable hold on family arrangements. Hindoo marriages thus at Regimental Head-quarters seldom occur, for even the daughters of the sepoys have to go to their villages to obtain their husbands.

In the corps, Telinga and Tamul Soodras will eat together provided they are of the same sect or avocation, but this is a concession to sociability and common sense peculiar to the military service. The ordinary inhabitants of the country will not do so. Companionship, however, has broken down the restriction among the men, and sanctioned a departure from popular custom, which it would be impossible for an individual or family in civil life, to act up to.

Assuming the present Soodra to represent the Indians who existed in the Peninsula when the Hindoos advanced from the Indus, and conceding that it is probable the Brahminical invasion spent most of its force on the banks of the Ganges, it will be readily understood that the Soodras of the Deccan must, even in these days, have maintained a status considerably higher than their brethren of Northern Hindoostan, swamped as these latter must have been by the new Aryan race. While therefore from the head-quarters of the new faith, their social degradation may have been proclaimed, we suspect their position could never have been paltry, or their influence slight. They had numerous tribes directly subordinate to themselves, over whom they dominated much as the new invaders wished to dominate over them. Whatever the place he held in these days may have been, the Soodra as he is seen now in the Madras Presidency, prosperous, wealthy and influential, is a very different being from the outcast he is theoretically supposed to be. Our sepoys are taken from a well-to-do portion of the community, men of substance and confidence, who have a good stake in the welfare of the country, and who have by no means the feeling of holding a mean position in society. While it is true to say they are the low-caste Soodras, it is erroneous to suppose they form a degraded portion of the Hindoo population. It is equally a mistake to suppose them free from caste prejudices. There are plenty of these, but they have not been too much given into; and though their customs have been judiciously respected, many of their troublesome restrictions have silently passed out of practice among the men in our service.

The next class is described in the Table as "other (low) castes," and in the Government order quoted, "lower castes, or of unrecognized castes." Of these we have eighty, and they consist of sixty-seven Pariahs (or Dhairs), eight Pullars (a slave tribe in the Madura Districts), and five Chucklers (Chumbars, or workers in leather). Pariahs are not really in the caste scale at all; still they will not eat with, or take water from the hands of a Chuckler or Pullar. There is a marked difference between the Carnatic (Southern), and the Telinga (Northern) Pariah. The former is forward and self-possessed, by no means abashed or ashamed of the position he holds, most thoroughly independent of his purer fellow creatures, uninfluenced by their assumption of superiority, and not to be cowed by Brahmin or Soodra. Not so however the Telinga Pariah. He is timid, subdued and subservient; and at present fully under the influence of the men of caste. As an immediate counterbalance to the Hindoos of the Army they are useless, and would as a body obey whatever instructions they got from them. The explanation of this is, that the Southern Pariah of Madras and Trichinopoly, has long experienced the civil equality of the British subject. He has in many employments with the European community acquired a consciousness of independence. He has been born and reared free, and never known what it is to be an outcast. The Telinga Pariah on the other hand, is, in his ordinary position, the slave of the Brahmin, his mind and body alike in thraldom. He is generally a farm laborer, who receives only his food, and an occasional blanket; a serf, who is daily made to feel his degraded position. It is but lately these Telinga Pariahs have been taken in any numbers. Their admission into the ranks has not yet much changed their normal condition, but we may expect the impartiality of treatment all classes receive in the military service will gradually make itself felt on them, and that they will catch from their Southern brethren some of their independence.

The Pariah, as he is seen in the ranks of a Native Infantry Regiment, does not in many things contrast favorably with his fellow-soldiers. He is seldom so cleanly or so sober; his habits do not always gain for him the position denied him by his extraction; and though disregardful of the pretensions of others, he cannot, in general, be said to have acquired the corrective feeling of self-respect. There is no distinction whatever made in the treatment of this particular class of our soldiery. They may rise from the ranks precisely the same as a Mahomedan or Hindoo; but justice requires they must have the same qualifications, and their claims be made dependent on their fitness for promotion. We have three Pariah non-commissioned officers, and the case of one of them shows most strongly that caste, or rather the want of caste, is no bar to his maintaining the superiority proper to his rank. It happens he is one of the best Havildars in the corps. He passes over no faults, and exacts the promptest obedience from all under his command. His own careful performance of duty, enables him to keep up a strictness more feasible perhaps to one in his comparatively isolated position, than it would be to others. He is, while we write, Havildar Major of a detachment at some distance from the Regiment, the medium of all orders issued by the Officer Commanding, and obliged to exercise a general control over all the non-commissioned of his party.

The Indo-Britons, of whom we have very few, are employed in the Band and as Drummers, and are of the same description as are seen all over India. They are generally the sons of European soldiers.

Having thus gone over the composition of the Regiment, we may now re-arrange them under a different form, from that adopted by Government, which will show the grouping of the men into well-marked, distinctive classes more vividly.

Distribution of Castes in the — Regiment of Madras Native Infantry, 1*st July,* 1859.

Castes.	Native Officers.	Havildars.	Drum and Fife Major.	Drummers.	Naiques.	Privates.	
						Of these Privates.	Lance Naiques.
Christians, (*Native, in the ranks*),	...	2	...	...	3	40	2
Mussulmans,	12	19	...	...	16	248	10
High caste Hindoos, (*Brahmin, Rajpoot, Marhatta, and Hindoostanee Soodras*),	...	5	...	...	7	35	2
Low caste Hindoos, (*Telinga and Tamul Soodras*),	8	32	...	...	32	554	20
Hindoos without caste, (*Pullar, Pariah, Chuckler*),	...	2	...	...	1	77	...
Indo-Briton and Native Christian Bandsmen and Drummers,	...	1	2	16	1	20	...
	20	61	2	16	60	974	34

We may remark that it is not quite correct, in the above, to call Hindoostanee Soodras high caste Hindoos, but we have added them to that class, as shewing best the group to which practically they belong.

In spite of discordant materials we may safely aver that all ranks in the Madras Army work well together. This is due probably to the fact that no individual element has ever been permitted to preponderate to such an extent as to thwart discipline. It has never been concealed or unknown that such as enter our service must part with some of their prejudices. But it is not the case that there has been any undue interference with the more essential points of their religion. There must ever be conceded a respect for the trust and belief of others, our fellow creatures; and we should remember that many customs in our creeds, acquire to each of us an importance dependant, not on themselves, but on the reverence time has thrown over them. Viewed in this light, we candidly think that in the Madras Army, the obstacles from caste are no greater than would be felt from getting together, in any quarter of the globe, men of so widely different countries and persuasions. Our recruiting field is immense—from Lucknow to Cape Comorin; and the really heterogeneous collection we have is but seldom realized. We have seen a guard before going on duty, drawn up in line, with the touch well preserved and composed as follows. The right hand man was a Rajpoot from Oude; next to him stood a Chuckler (Chumber) from Madras, whose proximity elsewhere would be pollution; on his left stood a Mahomedan of strict belief and old family; the last in the line being a Tamul Soodra from the Southernmost district of India; the whole was commanded by a Native Christian! Could any more discordant materials be selected from European nations; and when thrown together, would they be as forbearing to one another, or obedient and loyal to their masters, as our noble fellows have been?

The tone of our service being fixed, the natives have to a certain *extent* accommodated themselves to it; and there is a priviledged license allowed them by the outsiders which is curious enough. They do things with the corps they dare not do in their villages; and in the ranks submit to what they would not off duty. Thus in the town from which we write a Pariah must not, and would not, dare to touch even a Soodra. In the line on parade, the men are correctly sized, and a Hindoo of any caste may find himself between a Pariah and Chuckler, and be jostled to his heart's content for an hour at a time. There are many other little differences between the Military and Civil Hindoo or Mahomedan; and the laxity on the part of the former is excused by his being considered, when he enters the Army, to have joined the "Sipahee-ka-zat"—the soldier caste.

A Rajpoot must find it a difficult thing to stomach a reprimand from a Pariah. But it is clearly understood, and steadily enforced with us, that official rank overrides all social superiority; and in a lenghtened service we have never known a taunt or insult on the score of caste, form a cause of complaint. Our axiom, most rigidly carried out, is that on duty, the fact of being a fellow soldier levels all distinctions. The Havildar Major of the Regiment is a "Culler", a man of the thief caste, but no one is more respected or could be more readily obeyed. He has a wonderful genius for accounts and a high character for probity. All collections of money for general purposes are invariably entrusted to, and managed by him, to his own exceeding relish, and the satisfaction of all parties. Speaking of general subscriptions, we may mention one, which shows that even with the many differences between our men, they are capable on some occasions of a considerable catholicism. And first we may say that no Fuqueers, Brahmins, or Byraghees are allowed to reside in the Lines. They are of course allowed to come and beg, but none are permitted permanently to occupy huts among the sepoys. This is a rule most stringently enforced, and we believe with the happiest effect. To each Regiment however there is attached a Cazee and a Brahmin. The former has charge of and reads prayers in the Musjid, there always being one exclusively for the use of the corps, and performs the necessary ceremonies at marriages, births, and deaths among the Mahomedan community. The latter always comes to morning Roll-call, warns the men of the unlucky hours of the day; and tells of the proximity of festivals, and the existing condition of the moon and stars. He only is authorized to officiate on occasions of feasts and family epochs among the Hindoos, when the services of a Brahmin are required. Both these functionaries are chosen by the men, and sanctioned by the Commanding Officer. Once installed, they will allow no poachers on their premises, and form an excellent check on any enterprizing outsider who may try to get to the weak side of the sepoys. They have no pay from Government, but each man in the Regiment gives half an anna monthly, the higher grades a little more, and the whole is divided into three shares. One goes to the Cazee, another to the Brahmin, and the third to the Barrack-sweeper. Somewhat low company certainly for their religious teachers to be classed with an old woman whose sole occupation is to sweep out the Barracks. But the fellowship shewn in the mutual assistance of Hindoo and Mahomedan, is a lesson of tolerance few would believe the native capable of giving us.

The Madras Regiments are hutted in regular "Lines." That is, their small houses run in continuous streets, facing inwards, one for each company; while a large street runs through the middle of the whole, and so divides the right from the left subdivision. There is a bazaar attached, with a Cotwall and two Peons, paid by Government, to maintain order. Most busy, bustling places the lines and bazaar are, for, as most people now know, the Madras Sepoy has always his family with him.

Wherever he may go in India, unless it be on service, there go wife and child, who look on themselves as part and parcel of the Regiment quite as much as the husband does. We believe this point in the organization of the Madras Army to be one of immense advantage to the men themselves and to the Government. In conversing with the men, and with the Natives of the Deccan generally, regarding the late Revolt in Bengal, they have invariably instanced the fact of the Bengal Sepoys being bachelors, or, if married, living apart from their families, as though not a cause of the mutiny, still one of the principal evils in the condition of the Army, which permitted so reckless an exhibition of bad faith. They speak most strongly and unanimously on this abnormal position of the Bengal Sepoy, viewing it as a violation of one of the primary laws of society. A few days ago a Hindoostanee of the Regiment returned from Jaulnah, where he had been on leave. We were talking of the doings of the Hyderabad Contingent, in which he had many relations. We remarked, "It is somewhat strange in such ‘ a disturbed place, and where the men must have been exposed ‘ to evil influences, that the Infantry of the Contingent, who are ‘ all Hindoostanees, should have been so perfectly staunch." ‘ He at once replied; "They all have their families with them, ‘ how could they revolt!"

In our Army bachelorhood is always advanced as a cause of any piece of folly or wickedness a Sepoy may commit; his being married, always cited as a test of trustworthiness. Accordingly we find that not only in theory is marriage a soberer, but in positive fact and reality, no surer method can be devised of reclaiming a thoughtless soldier, than by tying a wife round his neck. It is constantly prescribed by us as a cure for the mischievous vagaries of our scamps, they themselves not unfrequently, when in trouble, asking leave to get married; naively adding that after that, there is no fear of their going astray. The sedative dose is often increased by the addition, not only of wife and child, but of their poor relations. And this brings out one most admirable quality of our men—the self-denial and patience with which they submit to be burdened by their kith and kin. If the one thinks it no shame to eat the bread of idleness, he must certainly be encouraged by the stoic endurance of his benefactor.

The military objections to the families are as nothing compared to the political advantages. When ordered to the field or on foreign service, they are of course left behind; and while in garrison their presence is an unmixed good. The joys, sorrows, and responsibilities which attend, in ever varying phases, the husband and father, are softening influences, which make most sons of humanity better men, and none of them worse soldiers. Give any one something to live for, something to lose, and the thought of those that will suffer by his fault will often rise up to dissuade him from folly and crime. And the remonstrances often come from a more determined voice than that of conscience. The wives of our soldiers know their hours for duty and drill perfectly; and a punishment parade is detected at once. The husband has not only to undergo the displeasure of his officer; but has to submit to the reproaches of his better half. Still more useful however is their assistance in preventing misconduct. A quiet hint conveyed to a mother is generally thankfully received and promptly acted on. While, on other, and we must confess rare, occasions, a message will come from the household, that the delinquent has been terribly misbehaving, and a sharp punishment will do him no harm.

The military tone which these ladies adopt in conversation is most amusing. For instance, while writing, a petitioner stands at our door. She is the wife of a Pensioner who has been turned out of the lines, and she is begging that his fault may be forgiven. She says;—"I too am a servant of Government, my father was a soldier. My husband served thirty-two years, and I have given 'my two sons to the same Flag. Do you suppose if I had been 'here, this old fool (pointing to her husband) could have misbehaved himself in this way? Do you think I do not know 'the regulations of the service? I too am a child of the Regiment, I was born, brought up, and married under your Flag; 'and under your Flag I will die. You have turned me out 'among a strange people, and I have been so for months now. 'Let me come back. I will swear below the colours of the Regiment that no fault of this kind will occur again. If it does, 'shoot me with musketry or blow me away from a gun!"

Another peculiarity on the Madras side are the "Recruit boy" and "Pension boy" establishments, attached to each Regiment. No boy is eligible for enlistment in these, unless he be the orphan son or son of a Native officer, or soldier (effective, non-effective, or pensioned) who has been or is in the service. The pay is three rupees and a half a month. There are forty pension boys, and thirty recruit boys authorized for each corps. The former may be entertained of any age under fourteen; and after attaining the age of twelve years, may be transferred to the class of recruit boys, if considered by the Medical officer likely to be eventually fit for the ranks. But if they do not seem fit for eventual employment as sepoys, they are to be discharged at fourteen. Recruit boys not under sixteen, if passed by the Medical officer, may be transferred to the ranks; but if unfit for transfer are to be discharged on attaining the age of eighteen. Vernacular schools are maintained by Government for their instruction, and they are made to attend regularly. An English school is kept up by the European officers, a small charge being made for attendance, which is of course optional. The boys are regularly drilled and instructed in every part of company drill (exercise with the musket excepted), and in every practical part of duties in garrison. It is directed, "they 'are to be considered in every point of view as soldiers, to be 'treated as such, and to be regularly trained and habituated to 'the performance of military duty." Such boys as are too young to attend drill, remain at home; but as soon as they can walk steadily, they come out once a week to learn how to salute. It is great fun to them, and rather amusing to see the little fellows toddling along in military undress, making a salute at a fixed point; and then generally breaking out into a laugh, scampering off to the rest, who drawn up in line are ready to go through the same ceremony. From these infants there are squads of varying sizes up to the lads of sixteen who are drilled once a day, and who want very little instruction when they join the ranks. The big boys are detailed regularly in their tour for orderly duty with the Commanding Officer, and Regimental Staff, but it is strictly forbidden to employ them in any other manner. No recruit or pension boy is allowed to leave Regimental Head-quarters unless for urgent reasons; and practically very few are ever absent.

We are of opinion that this establishment is a most valuable one. Apart from the sharp sepoys we get from it, the provision here supplied for the widow and children of deceased men, is admirable in spirit, and is heartily appreciated in practice. It serves to keep up the old families in the Regiment, and makes it most entirely the home of the sepoy. A pension of this kind appeals most favorably to the ideas of the natives, and they themselves never fail to speak of it as the greatest blessing that could be given them. It is practically of advantage also, for the transferred recruit boys always make good soldiers. They are better educated than most of the recruits we get, and from daily acquaintance with military duties of every shape and form, they are thoroughly up to all Regimental work. The really superior men we obtain from this establishment will be apparent from the following statements of the position they hold in the Regiment.

Memo. of "Boy Transfers" in the — Regt. N. I.

	Native Officers.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Lance Naiques.	Privates.
Total strength in each grade	20	60	60	33	974
Of these are "Boy Transfers"	10	12	12	7	45

And now, comparing the advancement of the "Boy Transfer" with that of the ordinary sepoy, we find he far outstrips him.

Average of Promotion in — Regiment N. I.:—

Grade.	Average of	
	Regt. Higher Grades to Regtl. Rank and File.	Boy-Transferred Higher Grades to Boy-Transferred Rank and File.
Native Officers	1 to 50	1 to 4½
Havildars	1 to 16⅔	1 to 3¾
Naiques	1 to 16⅔	1 to 3¾
Lance Naiques	1 to 30	1 to 7½
Total Higher grades ...	1 to 6	1 to 1

Or, in other words, a transferred boy has ten times greater probability of being a Native officer than an ordinary recruit has, and five times better chance of being a Havildar, Naique, or Lance Naique. While, of eighty-six transferred boys of all ranks in the corps, no less than forty-one, or nearly one-half of them, have risen above the grade of Private.

We frequently see notice taken of the system of promotion which obtained in the late Bengal Army, as contrasted with that of Madras. It will be advisable therefore to give our Regulations on the subject, with the result. All promotions in the non-commissioned grades are made by the Commanding Officer without reference to any one. Promotion to the rank of Native officer is made by Government on the recommendation of Commanding Officers, whose nominations are almost never passed over, and with whom the men themselves believe the real power resides. Should it be proposed to pass over any man, the reasons for doing so must be stated. In practice there are generally about half a dozen Havildars at the top of the list, who are regularly superseded on the occasion of any casualty. Their numbers are reduced by pensioning, but rise again by incompetent men, who in their turn come to be passed over. The grade next above a Private is that of Lance Naique. It is ordered that, "no Private shall be eligible to the rank of Lance Naique 'who is not able to read and write, and who has not completed 'a period of three years' service in the ranks; with the exception of transferred recruit boys, who may be after two years' 'service. These limitations may however be waived in instances of distinguished bravery, and conduct in the field, or fidelity to Government." From the grade of Lance Naique to Naique, promotions are made by seniority only—as it is laid down that if a man be not fit for Naique, he is not for Lance Naique, and should be remanded to the ranks. Promotions from Naique to Havildar are dependent on passing an examination in duty matters, and possessing a fitness for the new office. It results there are generally a few Naiques at the top of the list who are not considered eligible for advancement and are passed over. From Havildar to Native officer promotion is obtained without examination, and is very properly made to depend largely on the amount of respect from the lower grades the candidate may be expected to command. In this respect the man's private character has considerable weight, as well as his aptitude or otherwise for the command of others.

There is no indication, in any of our Regulations, of its being the desire of Government that young men should he chosen as Lance Naiques. Permission is given to promote a soldier of three years' standing, but there is no prohibition as to the length of service beyond which Officers are not to go. The result is a mixture of promotion for smartness, and promotion for steadiness. Some Commanding Officers affect the former class, some the latter. But as the Command of a Regiment seldom remains many years in the hands of one Officer, there is generally a variety of both styles. In the corps from which our examples are taken, the Commissioned and Non-Commissioned stand as follows:—

	Average Age.	Average Service.
Subadars	54	36
Jemadars	47	29
Havildars	42	24
Naiques	33	15
Lance Naiques	28	10

This makes seven years and a half as the service at which our men usually get their first step up the ladder, and this may be looked on as fairly representing the general average of the Army. Individually we are not an advocate for too early promotion. We have carefully watched the manner in which duties are performed by the men, under young Non-Commissioned Officers, and under those of longer standing; and the advantage is entirely with the latter. We cannot see how it can be otherwise. We believe it is in accordance with the native character, and best suited to our system of promotion only from the ranks. The discipline, and, what is as important, the *temper* of a Regiment, depend largely on the Non-Commissioned Officers. It is a fatal mistake therefore to sacrifice the efficiency of these grades, merely with the view of obtaining a smart set of Native officers, which is the general object in promoting young men. No doubt we can enforce military obedience from a grey-headed soldier to his stripling superior; but as long as we promote men of all castes and persuasions,—men with no inherent or prescriptive right to command, we prefer to see that natural deference to seniority in years and consequent superior experience, which exists nowhere more strongly than in the Native of India.

In the Madras Army Hindoostanee fulfils its essential, original position of being the language of the camp. We have already pointed out that Tamul and Teloogoo are the languages spoken by the Hindoo portion of our troops as their natural tongue; but not the less true is it, that the "*lingua franca*" of our Regiment is Hindoostanee. Until within the last eighteen months, when our recruits (principally Telingas) have been enlisted by hundreds, there were probably in the corps not a dozen men who could not speak Hindoostanee, in addition to their native tongue whatever that might be; while one-half of our soldiers could talk all three of the Deccan tongues viz., Teloogoo, Tamul and Hindoostanee. Even now the Telinga recruits are beginning to pick up the latter language. The first sentence they learn, and it comes glibly enough, is, "Durma lia hoon, Sahib."—"I have received my pay, Sir."

It deserves notice too, that the many English words mixed up with our drill, are familiar to all in the lines. Not a few are regularly incorporated with the native languages and in common use. The expressions, right—left—front—rear—clean—wrong—and such like, are hourly used in the ordinary domestic work of a family. We are assured by old soldiers that this adoption of English words is most markedly on the increase, and appreciably so since the children have had the advantage of an English Regimental school.

We have thus sketched in outline the constitution and social condition of a Madras Regiment, and we believe they are based on the soundest principles of political economy. Although our position in India is exceptional, there are general laws which we must observe, or at least cannot disregard with impunity. One of these—of peculiar importance in this country—is the necessity of keeping the military institutions up to the pitch of the Civil administration. This we entirely failed to do in Bengal. The Army there was a foreign one, for the Oude soldier had more of nationality in him than belonged to any people within our own territories. He was essentially a mercenary serving a Government other than his own. Having thus a faulty material, we omitted to mould it according to the more catholic principles of our general administration; and permitted it to assume a position and tone by no means in consonance with the condition of our other subjects. The Army was alien and exotic, and entirely wanting in any of the requisites for a natural allegiance to us as its rulers. On the Madras side the troops are precisely the reverse of this. Men from all parts of the Presidency are in the ranks. There is not a district or village which does not occasionally furnish a recruit. Each grade or sect of the Hindoo scale is represented; and even those beyond the pale of caste, can find honorable employment, where social disqualifications offer no obstacle to their military advancement. Principally drawing our men from the artizans and rural population, we strike deep into that portion of the community, who, most interested in the permanency of a strong Government, form the best foundation on which to rest our hold on the country.

From our recruiting field being so extensive, we obtain the greatest possible advantages of a pension establishment. Our men generally retire to their own villages and there settle down, still under the eye of Government—proofs of the good faith and real charity of our rule. And being habituated to obey and respect the power which fosters them, they are especially fitted to consolidate the good will of those among whom they are thrown. With its arms thus outstretched throughout the land,—the individuality of the men maintained by the close ties which bind them to their village, and yet the entirety of the corps preserved by the presence of the families,—a Madras Regiment forms a ready centre from which European influence in its happiest form should be spread forth.

An officer has opportunities of winning the confidence of the Native, in a far higher degree than is possessed by Europeans in any other position. Our men are known to us not alone as soldiers; we see them in every capacity of social and domestic life. We can add to the superficial acquaintance with their conduct, obtainable on parade, the keener and truer observation of their private character, by which only a correct judgment of their real worth can be formed. If an officer's inclination as well as his duty lead him to encourage and maintain a free intercourse with the sepoys, he will find his men enter readily into the discussion of their personal anxieties and family affairs; giving him an insight into Native customs and feelings of the most thorough description. With doors open to all visitors, and a friendly word for such as avail themselves of the opportunity, he will find the popular idea of native reticence vanish before the multifarious confidences he will be submitted to. The children come to read their vernacular lessons, or to show the progress they have made in English. The lad, as he hears his transfer to the ranks, is anxious to show he is up to the Government standard, and has the will to carry a musket. The young recruit who has left the drill ground for his company, wishes to make acquaintance with his officer. The soldier of a few years' standing comes to say he has learnt the first and second part of the Drill-book, and is ready for examination for Lance Naique. The sepoy of longer standing has to tell of weary hoping for promotion, and of his being superseded by more fortunate men. The old soldier, with his children by his side, will lament the high price of food, and show item by item that it is only by great frugality he can keep out of debt. The widow brings her child to be registered for the next vacancy in the boy establishment. The old lady comes to say she has arranged the marriage of her sepoy son, and begs he may be held in remembrance now he is undertaking heavier responsibilities. These are the private and friendly visits made at leisure times, which an officer should always encourage; and which, combined with the many matters brought before him officially, give him, if he have but ordinary intelligence and heart, a chance of mastering native character in all its phases.

There are but few minds—be the people who they may—so constituted as to resist the softening effect of a generous sympathy. We are in the right position to exert this influence over our sepoys. Holding a neutral ground, removered from the prejudices of family or sect, we stand on a higher level than their fellow natives of any class, and have largely conceded to us that even-handedness which is the first essential for the proper exercise of power. With this superior facility for the successful administration of justice, we fail to win the trust of our Eastern subjects mainly through ignorance. The native seldom believes that the officer, Civil or Military, wilfully does an injustice; but he laments the many injuries inflicted from a want of information on the part of the official, or from his dependence on the numerous go-betweens who separate the governing and governed. If an officer content himself with recommending for promotion, ordering punishments, issuing pay, and seeing his men are clean on parade, he may be strictly within the "Regulations," but he does not meet the requirements of his position. If he do not enter heart and soul into the duties —undefined, but still duties—which arise from the moral and political obligations under which he lies, he will fail to carry out his share of the great problem England is this day striving to solve in the East.

He must aim higher than the red tape level, and must come closer to the hearts of his men than is indicated in the "Standing Orders." Let him be honest of purpose, frank in his bearing, and cordial in his treatment of his sepoys, and he will soon take a more generous view of their character, than if he see them only through an official mist. It is a taunt often thrown against natives that they have no gratitude; but we are of opinion that the gravest error lies on our part, in arrogating to ourselves as a class, a title to universal gratitude from the mighty mass under our rule. As it is however, we find many who personally have no claim, take credit to themselves from the general stock, and assume a right to feelings, no act of theirs could be expected to call forth. Now, we want our Officers, particularly Regimental Officers, who are thrown more in contact with natives than any other class, to begin with a little wholesome humility. They must give up trading on other people's capital, for, in truth, the day is passed bye for that. There are discriminating minds taking the measure of their capabilities, who will judge of them simply as they find them. They should honestly ask themselves, "what have I done to deserve the respect of these, my fellow creatures?" And if conscience acknowledge shortcomings, they must set about their correction.

It is the part of Government however to take a prominent share in the improvement of their officers; and we would earnestly urge on them the propriety of a full and thorough investigation into this portion of the "Army Reorganization." There is an entire absence of any reference to it in the proceedings of the Commission which has just sent in its report to Her Majesty; and this omission we think a strong proof of the narrow grounds on which the enquiry proceeded. In answer to this it may be said, that it is but the other day the authorities converted "Addiscombe" into the "Royal Indian Military College," and issued the regulations for the examination of Cadets for the Infantry Department on admission, and for their instruction and training in that institution. But, it is a study of these regulations which has convinced us that the position and duties of Regimental Infantry officers is quite misunderstood. We find that their "training" in this College consists of Mathematics—Mathematics—Mathematics. And, we ask all grades of our European Commissioned Officers, from the Ensign to the General Commanding a Division, if Euclid or Vulgar Fractions are calculated to assist them in managing sepoys. We are not going into the abstract question of the utility or non-utility of training men for a specific work, for the point is admitted in the existence of the new College. But we are clearly of opinion that the object of this Institution is of no avail, unless, in the words of Sir James Outram, its regulations be constructed "with a 'view to training officers *for India*, and leading their thoughts 'and wishes from early youth *to India*." The italics are Sir James Outram's, and indicate the pith of the whole matter.

In conclusion, we would state our conviction, that constitute and discipline the Native Army as you may, the time has come when the management of it is infinitely more difficult than it has been before; and that this difficulty will increase with rapid strides. Adopting the "Irregular" system; enlarging the powers of Commanding Officers; and giving facilities for the use of the cat-o'-nine tails, are all so many steps backwards, are opposed to the spirit of the times, and as such will prove most perilous in their adoption. We can never go on educating the people, improving commerce and agriculture, and introducing Railways, on the one hand—while on the other, we return to the feudal system of military service, lash our sepoys, and make our Commanding Officers despots. On the contrary we believe our safest, and certainly our most honest course, is to throw into our military administration the same enlightenment which is being extended to our Civil Government of the country. At any rate, let our officers be thoroughly educated, their instruction being general as regards India, special as regards the Presidency to which they are proceeding. Having thus started them fairly, hold out inducements for them to remain with their Regiments, and we may have qualified and contented men working, with a will, in our Native Battalions. Having such, we may convert our Army into a source of security and strength instead of, as many now suppose it, a source of weakness and danger. We may make our Regiments the nurseries of European enlightenment, and our officers the most advanced pioneers in the East.

ART. VII.—1. *Travels in Cashmere.* By G. T. VIGNE, 2 Vols. 1842.

2. MOORCROFT'S *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, 2 Vols. 1841.

IT was on one of those balmy mornings after rain which in the spring months of March and April render the Punjab climate so agreeable, that we had occasion to visit the rose garden of a Punjabee Sikh gentleman near Wuzeerabad. From the upper storey of a summer house we overlooked the blooming expanse of rose-beds, and also the waving corn fields of the Chenab valley. Across the river in the distance there was clearly visible a noble section of the Himalayan Mountains, that famed Peer Punjal range, the great snowy barrier that separates Cashmere from India. Common as such sights are in the Upper Punjab, we could not but pause to admire the brilliant snow white and pure blue of those glorious mountains. Our friend the owner of the garden, who had while employed under Sikh regime resided in Cashmere, remarked that he who would see that valley must first surmount those snowy mountains beyond which lay the promised land. Thence the conversation turned to the various rulers of the country who must have looked on the very scene we were now beholding, to the Mogul Emperors who loved scenery and its associations, to Runjeet Singh of later day, who often came to this place but who cared little for such views, and who after Cashmere had been conquered by the valour of his Generals, never visited that valley which was indeed the jewel of the Sikh kingdom. Thus conversing we resolved to cross over that beautiful range and descend into the valley beyond it, and thus see with the eye that Paradise which had been presented to the imagination by the poetry of Moore, by the antiquarian research of Wilson, by the travels of Bernier, Moorcroft and Vigne; by the oral description of the many British officers, sportsmen and tourists, who yearly betake themselves thither for health and recreation; and by the universal tradition of all educated natives, with whom the beauty of Cashmere has passed into a proverb never trite though perpetually used.

In consequence of this resolve, during the early part of the following June, a party consisting of three gentlemen and two ladies passed by Wuzeerabad, through the Goojerat District, to Bhimber on the frontier which divides the new kingdom of Jummoo from the British Punjab. This Bhimber lies at the foot of the first low hills that rise out of the plain lying between the rivers Chenab and Jhelum: and from this point commences the hill road that leads right over the Peer Punjal mountains and thence down into Cashmere, and which the Mogul Emperors established as the great imperial route to the valley. This route, though not the easiest, is by far the grandest and most interesting of the four routes which lead to the valley, and is the one to which the attention of travellers is first directed. For the sake, therefore, of those who may not as yet have been to Cashmere, we shall first endeavour to give an idea of the real character of this celebrated route. When the intending tourist first scans this route on any of the recent maps (such as Thuillier's map of the Punjab) his eye wanders hopelessly through a labyrinth of topography, and he wonders how he is to get over all these places of which the geographical appearance is so threatening, and what manner of things he shall see by the way. These natural misgivings we shall attempt to remove.

From Bhimber to Shupeyon on the frontier of Cashmere is a distance of nine fixed marches, averaging fifteen miles each, and amounting in all to nearly 150 miles. The journey may be naturally divided into two divisions, firstly, that South of the Punjab ranges five marches; secondly, the crossing of the above-mentioned ranges, namely the Ruttun Punjal and Peer Punjal, four marches. We shall briefly describe each division.

First, then, from Bhimber to the foot of the Ruttun Punjal. It may be said in a word that you have to first to cross a low range which leads you into a plain, whence you cross another low range, and thence into the valley of the river Tovee. Then you follow the course of this little river which conducts you pretty straight to the base of the Ruttun Punjal. This part of the route is simple enough and easily intelligible. But as even in this, the simpler portion of the route, the marches, some of them, are highly interesting, it may be well to give a few details. The traveller would not be tempted to stay long at Bhimber. The place is very hot, and has nothing to be seen except the remains of an old imperial caravanserai. The staging house (built of wood and mud) is somewhat wretched. Leaving Bhimber you cross at once over a low sandstone range named Adutak into a rich plain called the Sumaree valley. Though the climate is still hot you feel yourself transported from the fiery atmosphere, the driving dust, the scorched plains of the Punjab, into the interior of the Himalayas, with clear atmosphere, running streams, and varied foliage. Then you cross another range over which the road is very stiff and strong into the Nowshehra valley. Here you join the course of the Tovee mentioned above.

To those acquainted with the politics of this part of the country Nowshehra is interesting as having been a residence of the unfortunate Rajah Jowahir Singh. This Jowahir Singh was the son of the great Dhyan Singh, who was one of the principal ministers of Runjeet Singh, and was afterwards tragically murdered in the citadel of Lahore. When Dhyan Singh was high in favour with Runjeet Singh, he introduced at Court his elder brother Golab Singh, then in humble circumstances. When, some years afterwards, Golab Singh rose to such a position that after the Sutlej Campaign of 1846, he was recognized by the British Government as King of Jummoo and Cashmere, a separate territory was allotted to Jowahir Singh, the son of the brother upon whose shoulders Golab Singh had first risen to power. The separate territory of Jowahir Singh lay round this Nowshehra and Kotlee (which latter lies on the Poonch route to Cashmere). Here he used to reside, and rendered himself beloved by his people; setting a good example of how a native prince ought to rule with justice and moderation. But unfortunately there soon arose a mortal quarrel between himself and his uncle Golab Singh; of which we will say nothing except that there were faults on both sides. Jowahir Singh left his territory and went to Lahore. During a long and angry negotiation between himself and his nephew, Golab Singh quietly placed troops on important strategic points all round the Kotlee and Nowshehra territory. And one fine morning in the month of March 1855, th fair domain was overrun from half a dozen different directions At that moment the spirit of Jowahir Singh's troops and servant was good: some were even really devoted. His people were generally for him. Had he then instantly returned to head hi followers in person, he might have saved his dominions. Bu though a popular man he was not a brave one, and he staid a Lahore lamenting. Thus in a few days his territory passed into the hands of his great uncle. His servants, however, carried o for some weeks a hopeless struggle; and a desperate few go cooped up in the Hill Fort of Mungla Devee near Nowshehra They were starved into submission, and their Commander was sent to expiate the crime of his bravery and devotion i the dungeon of Reassee. He has recently however been se free. Reft of his principality Jowahir Singh found with us th asylum which is never denied to the unfortunate. And one Sir John Lawrence's last acts was to obtain for him from th Moha-Rajah of Jummoo, an allowance of one lakh of Rupees £10,000 per annum.

Such briefly is the history connected with Nowshehra. Having spent a day in a charming grove with a remarkably pi turesque old well, the traveller may in the afternoon visit the town and its fine old Serai on the high bank of the Tovee, and see the upper room in which the unfortunate Jowahir Singh used to sit and enjoy the prospect, and from which the fort of Mungla Devee, distant about 8 miles, is clearly visible. From Nowshehra you march by the banks of the roaring and impetuous Tovee; along a road still but ornamented with rocks and with the red flowers of the oleander, till you reach a place called Chingus. Here there is a ruined caravanserai overgrown with brushwood, and affording countless "subjects" for a sketcher. Perched on the steep and wooded bank of the Tovee it looks exactly like one of the baronial ruins of the Rhine.

From Chingus you again march along the course of the Tovee, crossing and recrossing the stony bed, till you get to Rajouree, which is the principal place on the whole route. The town of about 3,000 inhabitants is beautifully situated over the river. Its climate is hot, and in the autumn very feverish. On the opposite side travellers are accommodated in an old imperial summer house situated in a noble grove of plane trees, the first which are met with. Underneath the summer house there rushes the Tovee, the water of which, as it rolls over the rocks, assumes the loveliest hues, russet, emerald, purple.

To Rajouree there attaches that sympathetic interest which always pertains to the scenes of misfortune. The Chiefs or Rajas were a few years ago well-known men, and are mentioned in all the books of travel. But they are now exiles, and their place knows them no more. Originally Hindoo Rajpoots, they adopted Mahomedanism in the time of the Emperor Aurungzebe, and were established in a feudal position, as lords of the Rajouree valley. Thus they remained till 1847, when Golab Singh of Jummoo was recognized as sovereign of these Hills. Then they refused to bear allegiance to the new sovereign, and the Moha-Rajah, with the sanction of the British Resident, despatched a force to coerce them. At that time Nuwab Imamooddeen was Governor of Cashmere, and was bound to send a force to co-operate by way of the Peer Punjal pass. The Nuwab, however, himself sympathised with the rebel's cause, and took care that his Contingent should be too late, and should find obstacles in the passes! To this day there subsists friendship between the Nuwab's family and the Rajouree Chiefs on account of that affair. Despite this, however, the Rajouree Chiefs were beaten and driven out; and their deserted palaces, ruined mosques and family tombs are now shewn to travellers. But they obtained an asylum in British territory, and an allowance of £1,500 a year. In return for this kindness, they gave their sons and retainers to fight on the

British side during the dark days of 1857, when there was such sore need of good men and true to draw the sword against the traitor Hindostanees. To the traveller who now visits Rajouree it is a curious reflection, that this place has produced men to fight side by side with our English soldiers on the battle-fields of Oude

From Rajouree you march up a green cultivated valley with soft misty effects such as Copley Fielding would have loved to paint, past a noble ruined caravanserai, to Thanna. Here you first feel the commencement of an English climate, and see your first cascade. You are to ascend the Ruttun Punjal range, quitting the valley of the Tovee; and the first section of the journey is done.

The Peer Punjal and the Ruttun Punjal run parallel to each other from East to West. The Peer is nature's great wall, with snow-clad battlements, guarding Cashmere on the South: the Ruttun is its outwork or first parallel. The traveller then ascends the Ruttun 8,000 feet above the level of the sea and descends into a glorious valley lying between it and the Peer. At a spot in this valley named Beramgutta there join two hill torrents, rushing with the whitest foam through the midst of the darkest fir forests. One of these streams indeed is named the "white-water," as its surface is nothing but foam. Over this stream there frowns a rock of grand proportions, at the top of which there is a little fort. Near this there is a cascade of some celebrity. The spot is one of the most beautiful in this part of the Himalayas. The climate is delicious, and the traveller feels that at last he is within the bosom of the Hills.

> "In the *arms* of Helvellyn and Catchedicam."

It was here that the Emperor Jehangeer, an intense lover of Nature, breathed his last. He loved Cashmere beyond any spot in his wide spread dominions, and he was journeying there in the hope of restoring his shattered health. His attendants wished to bury him at Rajouree: but the Empress insisted on his being buried at the capital of the Punjab, and the Mausoleum at Shahdera near Lahore attests the place of his burial.

From Beramgutta you follow the course of the white-water, passing through scenery adorned with every kind of rock, foliage and cascade, crossing and recrossing the dashing torrent some thirty times by little temporary wooden bridges, till you reach the foot of the Peer Punjal; after halting at the mountain village of Posheâna you commence the ascent. For miles you ride at a very steep incline over the surface of a glacier of indurated snow; and you hear a torrent rushing with hollow sound beneath the snow at your feet. Arrived at the crest of the Pass

12,000 feet above the level of the sea, you may bivouac on the snow, which to a traveller fresh from the burning plains is a delightful refrigeration. You see a little round tower the possession of which denotes the sovereignty of the Passes, and a curious hut in which dwells the Peer or Saint after whom the pass is named the *Peer* Punjal. You may see the Saint himself, who as the guardian genius of the Pass, is regarded by travellers in much the same way as "Maria" is by the Sicilian Mariners when they sing their Ave. And indeed it is no wonder that the Pass is the Home of Superstition. For in winter the blast sweeps furiously over the riven snow, any traveller setting foot there then would court instant death, and the Saint himself is obliged to "mizzle." Early in the summer morning the traveller commands an immense prospect over the lower hills, and the plains of the Punjab, and can even descry the minarets of Lahore. But about noon the mists usually gather up and obscure everything.

From the Peer Punjal you march along a narrow valley with snow at your feet and snow all round, past Alleeabad Serai (a capital halting place), and then gradually descend towards Cashmere through a magnificent valley, the hills all around having their tops white with snow and their sides black with fir forests. And thus you arrive at Shupeyon, the first town within the valley. As the traveller approaches Shupeyon he gets his first view of Cashmere, and does indeed feel like a pilgrim in sight of Jerusalem. He sees the valley as it lies, a gem of the earth, at the foot of the snowy Himalayas. Its flat expanse is doubly appreciated after the abrupt precipitousness of the Peer Punjal. Coming from the Punjab in summer he has been accustomed to associate with the plains the ideas of intense aridity, of red, yellow, or drab colours. Now he sees *another* plain, but one *so* different. Everything is the very reverse of dust or heat. The ground is moist and delicately green; the balmy atmosphere throws a misty hue over the landscape. And the colours are either snow white, or azure, or grey, or violet, or indigo, or emerald. The march to Cashmere is now finished. The road, though everywhere very rough, is quite practicable for pedestrians or equestrians. Ladies can ride the whole way if they like, and they can always travel in Hill Sedan chairs.

Before describing the valley itself we shall touch briefly on the other three routes, namely, the routes by Bunnihal, by Poonch and by Mozufferabad respectively.

The Bunnihal route is now not open to European travellers; except those who might be going on duty, or by special invitation of the Moha-Rajah. It is the direct road from Jummoo to the Eastern extremity of Cashmere, and is used by the Moha-Rajah's suite, family retainers and troops; it passes through many of his favourite Rajpoot villages. Leaving Jummoo by this route, the traveller passes near the foot of a hill with three lofty peaks, and called Trikuta Devee, or the "Triple Peaked Goddess." Then commences the ascent of the Ludhaka Dhar, at the top of which there is a vast expanse of table land, where shepherds feed their flocks. The pasturage is magnificent, and thither repair, during summer time, the graziers with their herds from all the neighbouring country. From this place the traveller commands a remarkable prospect. On the one hand he looks right up to the mountains which bound Cashmere on either side, and between which the valley just lies hidden. On the other hand he looks straight down on Jummoo and the plain of Lahore. There is probably not any view in that part of the Himalayas equal, in scope and variety, to this. From here the road descends at a very steep gradient down to the Chenab river, there called the Chandra Bhaga. There the river, confined between rocky banks, rolls along its vast volume with terrific velocity. From rock to rock on each bank are strung ropes of great strength, from these ropes are suspended chairs, in which the traveller is seated and well fastened with cords so that he cannot fall out, and then the chair is swung across. In the summer season you see immense trunks of trees floating singly down the river. These are the cedars which are cut in the Pangee forests on the summits of mountains, and then thrown down precipices into the Chenab. The river then lending its aid to man, carries this massive timber, free of charge or duty, down to the plains. At the point where the Chenab debouches from the low hills on to the broad plain, swimmers are appointed to catch the timber as it floats. Thus secured it is carried to the principal workshops of the Punjab, and is used for the construction of Barracks for European soldiers, of bridges, of public buildings, and now of Railways. Such is the association of ideas in the traveller's mind as he crosses the Chenab at this point.

From the Chenab there commences an ascent of extraordinary length and steepness for eight or ten miles. This surmounted, the traveller finds himself at the top of the lofty Loonkote hill, whence he gets a view similar to that from the top of the Ludhaka Dhar, though not quite equal. Thence he descends into the Bunnihal valley, and once more ascending finds himself at the crest of the Bunnihal Pass. From that point on a clear day you obtain one of the very best views to be had of the whole valley of Cashmere. To a traveller approaching from the plains the prospect is most delightful and imposing. Then he descends by a steep road right down into the valley, and halts at Vernag, the source of the Vidustha-Jhelum river.

The distance from Vernag to Jummoo by this route is about

100 miles divided into ten marches. No snow is met with in the summer. There is no town or place of any interest. The ascent and descent to and from the Chenab, are great difficulties in the way, and with the exception of the prospects from the Ludhaka Dhar and Loonkote hills, the road has nothing to compare with the interest and beauties of the Peer Punjal route.

The third route is that by Mozufferabad. This is the easiest and perhaps the most frequented route to Cashmere, being the only one which is open all the year round and having no snow on it even in winter. And it is the only one at all suited for the passage of troops. Passing through the hilly district of British Huzura, now intersected by good roads, the traveller arrives at Mozufferabad, the frontier town of the Moha-Rajah's territory. In that neighbourhood the valleys and mountains bounded by the snowy range of Kaghan, bristling with pointed and ragged peaks, are very picturesque. The town of Mozufferabad closed in on three sides by hills, is a station for troops; but it is a small town devoid of interest. The road to Cashmere soon joins the course of the Jhelum, and runs along the right bank of that river to a place called Huttee. Here the cross road from Murree (the British sanitarium) joins it, shortly after passing through Chikar. And here the river is crossed by a swinging bridge similar to that we have just described on the Chenab. The road from Murree then runs along the left bank of the river past *Uri* to Baramulla: while the road from Mozufferabad continues its course along the right bank, also to Baramulla. Between Uri and Baramulla there are two marches, which are considered the most picturesque of all the marches in the several routes which lead to Cashmere. In that vicinity, the Jhelum-Vidustha, after wandering so quietly through Cashmere, makes up for that by redoubled speed along a narrow and precipitous valley. The hills on the left bank are clothed with rich cedar forests, stretching down close to the water's edge. To the North West snowy mountains are visible. At two points Hindoo ruins are met with in the midst of the forest: they belong to a noble class of ruins which we shall describe hereafter. No traveller passes this way without being struck by the combination of forest, rock, rushing waters and snow. The distance from Murree to Chikar above-mentioned is four marches. The road is fair and a good deal frequented. But the Jhelum has to be crossed again half way, and the passage at that point is in summer often difficult.

At *Uri*, the road by *Poonch* joins in—the fourth and last route which we shall describe. From the station of Jhelum the traveller crosses the river, and passes by two villages named Meerpoor and Chowmuk to Kotlee; or starting from Bhimber, he may go by a cross road to Kotlee. This Kotlee was the capital of Chubâl, (so called from the prevailing tribe of Chib Rajpoots,) the territory of Jowahir Singh whom we have already mentioned. The town is very prettily situated on a plateau with steep banks, a healthy locality. It has excellent accommodation for European travellers. About here the hills are clothed with olive groves; and the aspect of the country is pretty though not grand. Two marches onwards you arrive at *Poonch* situated in a valley, malarious from artificial irrigation. This is the unhealthiest place in all these hills. The troops and establishment maintained there are at certain seasons obliged to fly from the fever, to a spot on the hills called Mundee. Poonch is the capital of the small territory of Raja Motee Singh, the younger brother of Jowahir Singh. Motee Singh resides at Jummoo, and keeps on good terms with his cousin the Moha-Raja. After leaving Poonch you cross over the crest of the Hajee Peer mountain, and then descend straight down upon *Uri.*

Having thus touched on the several routes to Cashmere we shall now endeavour to give some idea of the valley itself.

Commencing with the capital of the valley, Srinugger, we shall conduct the reader in imagination to the top of the Tukht-i-Soleiman, a well known hill in that immediate neighbourhood. Srinugger is situated on the bank of the Jhelum-Vidustha river, underneath the lower range which forms the Northern boundary of the valley. From this range there juts out at right angles into the valley a steep hill of purplish rocks, at the foot of which lie the city and the lake of Srinugger. The hill is crowned by a small Hindoo temple of massive stone, called the "Shunkur Acharj:" but near it are the remains of a Mahomedan mosque, whence the hill is called by the Mahomedans the Tukht-i-Soleiman. The view from the terrace of the Shunkur Acharj is one of the shew places for visitors. And certainly the view is the finest in Cashmere, and probably one of the finest in the habitable world. Your eye comprehends the whole valley about eighty miles long and twenty broad. You get a perfect idea of what Cashmere really is, a *snow-girt valley ;* an oblong plain flowing with water, luxuriant in flowers and trees and shrubs and crops and gardens; teeming with human life and brute creation; and on all sides environed by snowy mountains, which literally shut the place out from the rest of the world. We may indeed call the Cashmeerees "penitus toto divisos orbe." The valley is an oasis in the midst of a desert—not of sand, but of rock, snow, and glacier. Cashmere is a gem, and the everlasting Himalayas are its casket. Such are the traveller's first ideas as he gazes around on this wonderful Panorama. At almost one glance the eye comprehends some two hundred and fifty miles of snowy mountains: the Kishtwar range on the East, the Peer Punjal range on the South, the Kaghan range on the West; and on the North the noble hills of Hurmookh, the highest peak of which towers up to 17,000 feet, and, overlooking the valley, reigns the undisputed monarch of all the hills immediately round Cashmere.

Then, looking at the valley itself, the traveller observes the tortuous meandering course of the Jhelum-Vidustha river, from the point where it passes by Islamabad at the Eastern end of the valley, to the point where it bursts through the barrier of the hills at Baramulla near the Western end. Thus the river wanders through gardens, and rice-fields and plane groves, looking just like the Thames or Severn at Home, perfectly navigable for eighty miles from one extremity of the valley to the other, constantly traversed by boats plying on business or pleasure, and forming the high-road of nature, far easier and smoother than the grandest trunk roads ever constructed by human hands. Then you note the varieties in the surface of the ground; the hillocks near the base of the mountains sometimes crowned with temples, sometimes by villages, sometimes by little forts; the slightly elevated plateaux (known by the name of Khurewa, a Persian word) producing wheat, barley, cotton, linseed, and saffron; the lower lands waving with rice; the swamps near the river verdant with water herbage. The theory asserted by geographers—that the valley was once a vast lake, becomes patent to the eye. Down beneath, at his feet, the traveller then sees, stretched out, the city and the lake of Srinugger. The city is not, like many oriental towns, diversified by minarets or conical temples; viewed from a height it looks like a flat mass of reddish and brownish houses, with the river winding through the midst of it, and small marshy lakes all round it. Islanded in the midst of waters, it has almost a Venetian aspect. Close to it is the lake sleeping placidly at the feet of steep hills rich with colours of purple rock, and herbage of that deep green which is seen only in humid climates. Near to the city there rises abruptly the citadel rock of Huree Purbut crowned with a fort. Beyond that you observe another little reddish hill at the foot of which is the Manus lake; and in the distance at the Western end you see a long silver line at the foot of the hills, and you are told that this indicates the waters of the great Wullur lake.

Thus the traveller sees at one view all the leading features of Cashmere. If the reader shall, from our previous description, have formed an idea of the atmosphere of the region, he will readily imagine what a magical effect, almost what a celestial tone, it imparts to the whole scene. And then there is the vast expanse of sky visible at once, and diversified by countless clouds, which it would need the pen of a Ruskin to describe. Indeed this changeful sky adds infinitely to the beauty of the scene. Without it, so vast a circle of mountains and so long a plain must have an aspect of sameness. But when the mountains at one point stand out in pure blue, at another are obscured with fleecy vapours, at another are dark with gloom; when light fleeting shadows are perpetually chasing each other over the landscape; when the surface of the spreading waters assumes, in its intense reflection, all the changing hues of sky, earth, and mountain; then the spectator feels the endless variety of nature. If Turner could in his best days have painted this landscape, what a legacy he would have left to succeeding generations of artists. We have beheld many of the celebrated views in Europe so much frequented by tourists, and we are confident that the view from the Tukht-i-Soleiman of Cashmere will bear comparison with the very best of them. Lake, river, mountain, snow, rock, building, plain, foliage, are surely the grand elements of landscape; and these are all combined in a very high degree, and to an immense extent, in the great Cashmere view.

We shall now describe very briefly the city of Srinugger. As already mentioned, it is built on both banks of the Jhelum-Vidustha, which being there about seventy yards broad, forms the principal street of the city, just as the great canal does at Venice. Immediately over the river the great shawl merchants, who send their goods and agents to Paris and London, have built modern houses, in a style not unlike the Italian, with picturesque open verandahs in which they love to sit and enjoy the evening air. These people like to see Europeans, and a gentleman and a lady going to look at the shawls in the shop will be invited to take tea and cakes! They will also be happy to see you in the interior of their houses; and if you like Cashmere cookery (which is good of its kind) they will give you a tolerable repast. Their breads of various kinds, their milk, cheese, and fruits, are sure to be excellent. The carved wood work in the houses is generally very pretty, and so are the carpets. When a European visitor comes, a splendid Cashmere shawl usually serves as a cloth for the table. Their gardens are of course very pretty, and the vine growing almost wild forms beautiful festoons. The houses of the common sort are very ricketty, and remind one of the Old Curiosity Shop. Timber (generally cedar) is largely used in building, stone is abundant, and excellent bricks are made. Lime is sparingly used as being liable to injury from snow. The roofs are always of a gable shape, in order to withstand the superincumbent snow in winter. From the quantity of timber used, fires are frequent, indeed almost of daily occurrence. Not long ago the Shergurhee, the Moha-Raja's palace and offices, were burnt down, and a quantity of valuable records destroyed. The streets and alleys are very dirty: there is no thought of conservancy: the teeming population is huddled together in a most squalid state. But the real high street of Srinugger, the river, is a noble one. It is crossed by seven bridges, consisting of a wooden roadway resting on massive piers of solid beams of wood piled one on the other. Sometimes small wooden houses and shops are built on the bridge, which then has the appearance which old London Bridge used to have. In the afternoon the river is full of rowing boats of parties going on pleasure, business or trade. At certain seasons the scene is enlivened by the boats of European gentlemen, who take a row on the river in the same way as they would take a ride on the Course. Often two French merchants may be seen with their red Fez caps. These are agents in the shawl trade. The next great street is the Fish Canal, excavated by Sooltan Zamoolahdeen.

The houses on either side of the canal are lofty, sombre and picturesque. This is justly considered the most characteristic portion of Srinugger. There are also two other canals. The city is not rich in public buildings. It has however a Jumma mosque, which is not very handsome, being utterly dissimilar in architecture from the imperial mosques of the cities in Upper India. It has no tall minarets. But it has delicate tapering spires of wood, and lofty pillars of cedar on pedestals of black marble, something like what the pillars must have been in the temple of Jerusalem. There is a fine Hindoo temple of great antiquity, and a large stone mosque. Both these have been turned into rice granaries. There is one beautiful shrine of Shah Hamadân situate on the bank of the river. It is built of wood; the roof is in a kind of gable form surmounted by a graceful wooden spire. Shergurhee, or Moha-Raja's palace, is a building quite new and perfectly unpretending. The only thing to mark it is the gilt cone of a Hindoo Shiwâla. It was here that the late Moha-Raja breathed his last during the most critical period of 1857. His son, the present Moha-Raja, is building a tomb of black stone to be surmounted hereafter by a gilt cone, at a place about three miles from the city. There has been no census taken of the city population. It may probably number 250,000 persons.

If the traveller shall expect to see at Srinugger picturesque costumes, and numbers of handsome Cashmeree women washing clothes at the ghats on the water's edge, he will be disappointed. In the cities of Upper India the people of all classes are fond of rich and positive colours in their dress. In some Eastern cities such as Cairo, the picturesque effect of such colours is remarkable. In Cashmere there is nothing of the kind. The upper classes wear white turbans, and the lower classes, drab. The long flowing overcoat bound at the waist with a girdle of white cloth, is with all classes drab-grey, or black; the loose trousers are of the same colours or else white. The only attempt at colour is the coarse red dress worn by some of the women in the lower classes. The men are a tall, broad, handsome race. The women of the upper classes must doubtless be handsome; but no European traveller has an opportunity of judging of this. Certainly the women of the lower and middle classes, to be seen about Srinugger, are not remarkable in appearance. The children are often pretty and sometimes beautiful. It is perhaps superfluous to add that much the same rules in regard to the seclusion of women prevail in Cashmere as in India.

Srinugger is of course rich in various kinds of cloths, carpets, and shawls, made from goat's hair, or wool, or cotton. All kinds of armoury and cutlery can be made. The papier maché wares are excellent. We will, in this place, give a few details only regarding the shawls and the papier maché.

If you visit a shawl factory you will be ushered into a long room, with a number of wooden looms in it, at which sickly-looking men and boys are sitting. The pattern of the shawl is first drawn on paper in ink or pencil. Then the master workman (who must be a skilful person) places this pattern underneath some open thread work, which is partially transparent so that he can see the pattern underneath. Then with needle and coloured thread, he works the pattern on to the above-mentioned thread work which thus serves as a foundation. To work out the original pattern in this way demands both skill and intelligence; after that the operation is mechanical, though still requiring accurate eye-sight and delicate fingers. One man takes the pattern worked out in original as above described, and reads out to others thus—so many red threads, so many blue, so many yellow, and so on. Others note down on paper what he reads out. Thus a number of scores, as it were, are written out at the same time. These are placed before the workmen. Each workman looking at his score works in the threads with his loom according thereto. This loom work is refined, durable, and expensive. A number of shawls are also made with needle and thread. These, though beautiful enough, are not so good nor so expensive as the others. The very best articles that can be made are the tribute shawls which are sent annually by the Moha-Raja to the Queen of England. Considering that the art of shawl-making has not been introduced into Cashmere since more than a hundred years, the development it has attained is remarkable. A large manufacturer in Srinugger would have as many as 3,000 persons in his employ. In the best days of Sikh rule there were about 7,000 families engaged in this manufactory; there may be now some 10,000. At the rate of *five* per family this would give about 50,000 persons. The Revenue yielded to the Moha-Raja from the shawl duties may amount to *twelve* lakhs of Rupees, or £120,000 per annum. The demand for shawls in Europe is great and increasing. And though there are circumstances that retard the progress of the manufacture, yet more and better shawls are made at the present than at any former period. The great mart is of course Paris. Consequently the Srinugger shawl-merchants evince much interest in French politics. Their profits were for the time much diminished by the Russian war. When we were at Srinugger several merchants were anxiously enquiring about the pending hostilities between France and Austria, in consequence of which they apprehended a great fall in the price of shawls. We may add that the goat, whose hair supplies this matchless material, never appears at Srinugger. He can only exist in the snowy regions of Thibet. The Moha-Raja tried to domesticate two of these animals at Srinugger, but they sickened and died.

As is well known, there are colonies of Cashmeree shawl-weavers in several cities of the upper Punjab, such as Loodiana, Amritsur, Lahore, Noorpore. The shawls made at these places are equal in texture and pattern to the Cashmere shawls, but inferior to them in *colour*. The dyes of Cashmere are unrivalled. The natives attribute this unapproachable superiority to the purity of the air and the water.

The papier maché work is done in this wise. First there is a wooden framework, over that is laid strip after strip of paper in thin layers. These are gummed together. Over this substance is laid a white cement made from a kind of lime, and the whole is put out to dry. The paper substance thus prepared is taken off the framework, and painted over in various colours with floral devices. The painted surface is then touched up with liquid gold, and the thing is complete. Inkstands, cigar-cases, card-cases, and blotting-books, are the principal things made in this way. They are very tasteful and elegant.

The suburbs and lake of Srinugger now claim a brief notice.

At the Eastern end of the city, on the river side, there is a lovely suburb, where the Mahomedan Governors used often to resort, where later the Sikh Governors, such as the great Huri Singh Nulwa, the heir apparent Shere Singh, the Sheikh Imamooddeen, built summer houses and gardens; and where the late Moha-Raja Golab Singh built several charming little Bungalows for the accommodation of British Officers. All European visitors now resort thither. There are beautiful avenues of poplar [illegible] round the place, and one celebrated avenue about a mile [illegible] long, planted some *fifty* years ago by the Mahomedan rulers, and sometimes used as a race course. This reminds one of some of the interminable poplar avenues of Lombardy.

The Huri Purbut citadel has already been alluded to. In the time of the Mogul Emperors, palaces, public offices and mosques, all handsomely built, were clustered round the foot of this rock. In a circle round there the Emperor Akbar the Great built a stone wall of great breadth and massiveness, strengthened with numerous bastions, at an enormous cost. This wall still remains, and forms the real strength of the place. At that time there was no fort at the top of the rock. But afterwards the Doorranee Sovereign, Zemân Shah, built one; and among other illustrious prisoners the unfortunate Shah Sooja of Cabul was for some time imprisoned there. This fort was kept up by the Sikhs, and has been repaired by the Moha-Raja.

As the traveller proceeds from the city to visit the lake, he passes through a kind of regulating dam, called the "gate of the lake." The object of this is to prevent the floods of the river from causing the waters of the lake to rise inconveniently high. There are two massive sliding wooden doors which move on their hinges. If the river is falling, then the waters of the lake, being higher than the river water, force the gates open and pass on into the river. If the river is at flood then its waters, being the higher, force the gates *in*. The gates being shut thus exclude the water from invading the lake. These precautions are certainly necessary, for an excess of water in the lake is to be dreaded. Its waters have considerably exceeded the limits of former times, to the injury of surrounding gardens and cultivation.

Passing onwards through a maze of swamps and channels the traveller will note the "Floating Gardens." These little gardens really do swim on the surface of the water, and are dragged about from place to place at will. Planks of wood are bound together with grass ropes. Over the raft thus formed a matting of reed stalks may be placed to give consistency. Over this again earth is strewn and sown with melons and vegetables. The vegetable bed thus formed is set to float on the water from which it derives nourishment and moisture. These gardens may be seen floating about for miles on the borders of the lake and on the channels which lead to it. They are frequently carried off by thieves at night, the abstraction of them being easy.

The aquatic vegetation in these waters is rich. There is the Singhara nut, largely consumed by Hindoos, and having a long winding stalk just like a chain. It yields a considerable revenue to the State. There is a plant also with a yellow flower largely given to cows, and said to have a very beneficial effect on the milk, which in Cashmere is always excellent. There is the "Nilofur Kumuree" or lily of the moon; its flower is white, and opens out at night, closing as soon as the sun begins to shine. There is also the "Nilofur Shumree" or lily of the sun. Its flower is purplish red, and is closed at night, but displays itself to the sunlight. At certain seasons when these lilies are in flower, they enhance the beauty of the lake. The one with its pallid aspect adds to the effect of moonlight on the waters. The other makes the face of the lake blush with a rich bloom during the noonday glare.

The lake itself, which is open on one side towards the city and river and has the flattest possible banks in that direction, is abruptly bounded on two sides by steep hills of moderate height, but of very picturesque appearance, owing to the purple rocks and the intensely green herbage. Along the base of these hills the water's edge was, in the imperial times, lined with summer houses and gardens. Among these, two gardens are pre-eminent, namely the Shaleemar gardens and the Nishât Bagh ("Garden of Pleasance") both built by the Emperors. The Shaleemar gardens were originally adorned by noble plane trees; and by a stream led from the hill, converted by artificial means unto a variety of channels, tanks, cascades and fountains and interspersed by a number of tasteful buildings, among which the best was a summer house resting on black, marble pillars, pedestals, cornices and êaves. But the glories of Shaleemar are departed. The stream no longer runs in the artificial channels. The plane trees are stunted or withered, of the buildings the black marble pillars alone remaining in a decent state. Their sombre, solemn beauty harmonizes with the desolation around. The Moha-Raja is indeed repairing it, but the repairs are out of taste; and Shaleemar which is now a sad ruin, will soon, in all probability, be permanently vulgarized. The Nishât Bagh was in the same style as Shaleemar, and by many persons is supposed to have been superior. It has suffered and is still suffering a similar fate. Its plane trees are however in better preservation; and the sketcher may still find a "subject" here. On an eminence over the lake there are the ruins of the Puree Muhal or Fairies' abode, built by a priest in the family of the Emperor Akbar—this commands the best view obtainable of the lake. In another corner there is the Nussem Bagh, a noble grove in fair preservation, containing some twelve hundred large plane trees. In the centre of the lake is the famous island of the four plane trees. Here Dewan Kirpa Ram, one of the Sikh Governors of Cashmere, built a summer house, but this has fallen down as the surface of the little island has been submerged by the rising waters of the lake. The device of four plane trees (Chuhâr Chunar) is a favourite one with Mahomedans. A small masonry of the lake. Towards the shores the Singhara nut (already mentioned) is very abundant: its red, orange, and brown leaves on the surface of the water are beautiful. In the centre the water is immensely deep. The wind sweeping down from the mountains constantly occasions a violent agitation of the surface of the water, which then surges with waves like the lake of Garda:—

> "Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Benace, marino."

The boatmen always warn the traveller not to venture across after noon-day; as the wind rises towards evening. Once Runjeet Singh and his suite, with some three hundred boats, disregarded their caution. The lake submitted very quietly at first; but having got the Royal Flotilla well into the midst of the waters, began then to display its terrors. The boats were battered to pieces, and the terrified monarch and courtiers narrowly escaped with their lives.

From one corner of this lake there leads the mountain road to Iskardo, and also to the rugged and turbulent region of Gilghit, against which the Moha-Raja is now organizing an expedition. These expeditions, however, occasion a fruitless expenditure of blood and money. Of such regions, the natives say—"if a small force goes what will it do; if a large force goes, what will it eat?"

We shall now say a few words on the Hindoo ruins of Cashmere, which are some of the finest and most interesting of this kind in existence. These ruins you meet with everywhere; on the grand plateau of Martundh, on the summit of the Tukhti-Soleiman, on the banks of the Jhelum-Vidustha, in the groves of Pandrenton, amidst the cedar forests of Baramulla; on the island of the lake, on the edge of the Puttun swamps, among the crowded streets of Srinugger. They are all in the same style and of the same material; and evidently belong to the same æra,—an æra when indeed there must have been a long line of kings reigning over a prosperous people, when there were giants in the valley, that is giants in skill, art and organization. The oldest may be 1700, the latest, 100 years old. The people speak of them as the work of the Pandoos, so largely mentioned in the Mohabharut epic. Few antiquarian tasks could be more interesting than a research into the history of these buildings; and well has this task been performed by James Prinsep, Horace Wilson, and Alexander Cunningham. Their studies have unfolded a history of which the Hindoo race may be proud; and have shewn that *once* the annals of Cashmere were as glorious as its climate was lovely; and that *once* the destiny and exploits of man were worthy of scenes so favoured by nature. In those days Cashmere was for the Cashmerees, before any foreign invader had swept over the country. The valley was thus inhabited by a powerful section of the

Brahmin tribe, and the Moslem had not yet poured in from the West, to overthrow the sacred buildings of Hindooism, and so forcibly convert its people to the faith of Islam. Detailed description of the ruins as they now exist are to be found in books of travel, and especially in the volumes of Vigne and Moorcroft. To the reflective modern traveller the aspect of these remains—the massive grey stones from 5 to 10 feet in length and breadth,—the noble monolith pillars twenty feet high,—the trefoil arches, the elaborate stone carving of images, flowers, birds, fish, and all manner of grotesque device,—the high ornamentation on a bold massive surface,—the noble sites shewing that the architects deeply felt the grandeur of nature—the long colonnades, the imposing gateways,—the leaning or fallen walls, overthrown by the shock of earthquake (no force short of this could bring down such massive structures)—all these features are powerfully impressive, and add greatly to the interest of the scenery of Cashmere.

Each ruin too has some special interest of its own. The Martundh (commonly called Muttun) ruin near Islamabad, is connected with Lulta Dutt, the most splendid of the Hindoo kings of Cashmere; is celebrated as being the most extensive ruin in the valley; and is remarkable for its site, being built at the top of a long narrow plateau jutting out, like an unfinished Giant's Causeway, right into the valley; standing about 300 feet above the average level of the valley, and with a grassy level surface looking like a vast race course. This would be considered by moderns to be the finest and healthiest building site in Cashmere. At Bij-Briara on the Jhelum there was the oldest and loftiest temple in Cashmere, built some 200 years before the Christian Era. This was thrown down some 400 years ago by Sikunder, the Mahomedan Iconoclast, who used its fine materials to built a mosque on the same site. But by the vicissitudes of history a Hindoo monarch, though of a different race, came to rule over Cashmere; and recently the Moha-Rajah *Golab* Singh threw down the mosque, and again used the same old materials for a new temple. But this degenerate age does not produce the architects of the olden time; and we shall doubtless soon see a pigmy edifice rearing its little head to mock the memory of the great Bij-Briara temple. At Avantipur in the same neighbourhood, the remains of a city extend for miles. Most of these are covered over with accumulations of earth, but in some spots the real character of the architecture has been shewn by excavations made under the direction of Alexander Cunningham. This city is called after its founder, Avanta Dutt, who lived some centuries after Christ, and whose name is revered for justice in Cashmere just as the name of Nowshirwan is in

Persia. The ruins of Pandrenton, close to Srinugger and near the foot of the Tukhti-Soleiman, attest the site of a great city. Among these, there was visible a short time ago a statue (female figure) some twenty feet high. Most of the limbs have however been now carried away by depredators. Here too is the graceful temple in the midst of a tank, and dedicated to the water goddess.

We have by no means exhausted the list of excursions within the valley itself to tempt the tourist. Near Islamabad at the Eastern end of the valley there are (besides the great ruin above mentioned) the sacred tanks of Martundh and Anauthnâg, and the Aclubul gardens. The last named gardens are in utter ruin. They are threatened with vulgar repairs; which is to be regretted, as even their desolation is beautiful. There is a fine spring which comes bubbling up tumultuously from the foot of a Hill crowned with cedars. The gardens, now no more, were constructed under order of the Emperor Shah Jehan. In the same neighbourhood there is the fountain of Vernag. This was formed into a large pool, with arches built all round, by the Emperor Jehangeer. The water is extremely deep, and has the most intense colour we ever witnessed, something between emerald and azure. Still it takes the reflections of the foliage all around, which in autumn has such varied tints. The brilliant reflections upon a deep blue ground are indeed lovely. There is a Persian inscription expressing the admiration which the Mahomedans feel for this fountain. Close to the fountain there is an orchard, where Sir Henry Lawrence once pitched his tent for some time; also General Nicholson in 1856 was encamped there for six weeks. The fountain of Vernag is the principal source of the Vidustha-Jhelum river. The Vidustha is often called the Bihut in Cashmere, and we need not remind the classical reader that it is the old Hydaspes.

From Srinugger the traveller may in two days' journey visit the "Gool-murg" or "Flowery Mead." In the early part of May as the snow thaws off, it leaves the broad plateau a mass of red and purple flowers. The effect is wonderful. The flowers soon disappear: but the meadow is still a glorious pasture land situated high up in the Hills amidst fir forests and snowy summits. In summer its climate is delightful.

We must now say a few words on the natural productions of Cashmere.

The great staple of the valley is rice. This cultivation is carried on throughout all the lowlands, that is, all the land except the Khurewa plateaux. It receives much natural moisture and also much artificial irrigation. Its quality is good, but generally not first rate. The beautiful rice of Peshawur, of the

Kangra valley, of the Hoshyarpoor swamp, is certainly to be met with in Cashmere, but not in large quantities. The crop can almost always be depended on; but sometimes a famine does occur, as when about 25 years ago, in one autumn night, a deadly blast came and smote the rice harvest. A native told us, that in the evening the people retired to rest with a fine harvest waving round them, and in the morning awoke to see that harvest withered. Wheat and barley are produced, but of second rate quality. Cotton is grown, so is linseed. Indian corn and maize are grown not in the valley but on the surrounding Hill sides. Sugar cane and Indigo you do not see; attempts have been made to introduce them both without success. Saffron of excellent quality is produced, but almost exclusively on one plateau. Vegetables of sorts are raised, but not as yet European vegetables; not even the ubiquitous potato. The fruits—cherries, apricots, peaches, mulberries, apples, pears—exactly resemble those of our island. But the English fruits are superior in flavour and richness. The vine grows wild everywhere; but the grapes of Cashmere never equal those of Cabul. Wild raspberries and blackberries are met with; but no strawberries worthy of the name according to our English ideas. The flowers, chiefly wild, are much the same as those at home. A list of these would comprise most of those flowers in which country folk delight at home, such as Polyanthus, Forget-me-not, Auricula, Foxglove, wild Geranium, Columbine, and many others, together with the humbler Buttercup and Primrose. But the Daisy is, we are told, not to be met with! The Lilies we have already mentioned. The country air is in summer scented with wild roses, hawthorn and Jasmine. The arboriculture of the valley is not very remarkable. The poplar is of rapid growth. The noble plane tree is so abundant as to be a weed. But it suffers greatly from mischief done to the topmost sprouts by a kind of Heron. This Heron is, however, tolerated on account of the beautiful black feathers which adorn its head, and which form the waving crest in which Punjabee warriors and chiefs so much delight. The cedars which grow on the Hill sides close to the valley, and which furnish most of the timber for building, are poor specimens of the tribe, and would bear no comparison with the giants of the forests of Pangee or Bussahir.

On the whole the productions of Cashmere, though of course rich, are not highly developed, if the advantages of climate are considered. The agriculture is very ordinary, much the same as that which obtains in India, and there is much culturable waste. Its agricultural resources might be developed by a moderate amount of labour and drainage.

There is no such a thing as a wheeled vehicle in Cashmere, nor any large beast of burden such as a camel. But this want is not felt where there is such an abundance of water carriage and such numbers of ponies and mules. But if the traveller should have heard great accounts of the Cashmere ponies, he will be disappointed by the reality. These little animals have narrow chests, foreheads, backs and loins. Their build is slim and their legs thin. They are weedy, though active and hardy. The best ponies come from Ladakh and Yarkund. The plan would be to cross the breeds, and this we understand the Moha-Rajah intends to do. The cows and oxen are small. There are no buffaloes. The sheep are small; and the mutton something remarkably different from Southdown. Beef is forbidden food, the ruler being a Hindoo. Fish cannot be caught just now, the Court being still in mourning for the late Moha-Rajah. At all the sacred tanks great sanctity is attached to the shoals of little fishes. The goat of the valley is a very ordinary creature. *The* goat, which gives the hair for the shawls, lives up above among the snows.

There is little or nothing *in the valley* for the sportsman to shoot. The sport is all in the neighbouring mountains—deer, bears, &c. The journal of a sportsman round Cashmere, would have great general interest; but it would carry the reader out of the valley into the wilder regions of the Himalayas.

The climate of Cashmere is warmer than that of England in summer, though probably colder in winter. There is no regular rainy season as in India. Rain and cloud are frequent and uncertain as in England. The snow falls in November and thaws in April all over the valley. The lakes and river are frozen and covered with wild ducks. The bear finds it too hard living up above, and condescends to the plain. Sometimes the sun is not visible for weeks. The natives keep themselves warm in rooms heated with hot water, or carry about with them little cases filled with live charcoal. They wear thick coverings of grass, like greaves, to protect their legs and feet from the snow. From the great humidity of the climate, one might suppose that fever would be prevalent. But such is not the case; perhaps owing to the altitude, the valley being 6000 feet above the sea. Whatever the cause, there is little or no fever in Cashmere. Dysentery is not unfrequent. Small-pox is prevalent. In the cities the various diseases arising from vice and filth are too painful to record. For a European invalid the climate of the valley in summer is not bracing, and though highly beneficial, is not equal to that of the Himalayan Hill stations. But the scenery and associations are most exhilirating, and the climate of the Hills on the march to and from Cashmere and of any of the

Hills round the valley, is the finest possible. The highest and healthiest part of the valley is the Eastern end round Islamabad and Vernag.

The population of the valley (though never numbered by census) may amount to about 2½ millions of souls. Emigration used formerly to take place to a considerable extent; and at the great famine, which we have already mentioned, there was a considerable exodus. Emigration is not now, however, permitted. Still it is believed that the population does not increase. The aborigines of Cashmere were doubtless a Brahmin colony. That is what the people themselves say. Most of them were converted to the faith of Islam after the Mahomedan conquest. But there has also been a large admixture of pure Mahomedan tribes, such as the Mulliks, Meers, Sofees, Sheikhs, Rêshees. The tribes we have named form an important section of the agricultural community The *Rêshees* are distinct from the *Rishees*. The latter are Mahomedan Saints, though their name is of Hindoo origin. The former are sturdy peasants. The two important tribes of But and Rehna, were originally Brahmin though now Mahomedans. The Buts indeed are the chief agricultural tribe in the valley, just as the Jats are in Hindostan. It may be said that the whole population of the valley, shawl-weavers, artificers, husbandmen and all, are Mahomedans, with the exception of the Cashmeeree Pundits. These Pundits, though comparatively few in numbers, are strong in influence and station, and form the aristocracy of the valley. They originally constituted the educated class, and were the only set of men fit for business. Consequently they were largely employed by the Mahomedan conquerors. It was probably this circumstance that procured their exemption from the necessity of embracing Islamism. Certainly they have all preserved their Hindooism to the present day. The highest administrative posts are not often bestowed on them. Of the four Civil Districts into which Cashmere is divided one only is held by a Cashmeeree Pundit. But the best posts in the Customs and Excise, and the Ministerial offices in all departments, are held by them. The Pundits too have largely emigrated. There are many families of them at Lucknow and Delhi. At Lahore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Runjeet Singh, Deena Nath, was a Cashmeeree Pundit from Lucknow. His family are still very influential, and hold many excellent appointments under the British Government. They do not amalgamate with the Brahmins of India, and the necessities of the Cashmere climate have made them relax in respect to food and other matters the strictness of Brahminical observance. There is in Cashmere generally less of bigotry, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, than in other countries of Asia. The Mahomedans, retaining some old Hindoo associations, are less fanatical. Most of them belong to the Sheeah sect. But the sectarian zeal through which the Sheeahs in India are so troublesome at the season of the Mohurrum festival, does not rage in Cashmere. Once under the Sikh rule, there was however a serious disturbance between the Sheeahs and Soonnees of Srinugger; since which time the Mohurrum has not been kept with any great solemnity. Cashmere has at different times been visited a good deal by holy men from Arabia and Persia. The tombs of Mahomedan Saints are to be met with all over the valley, and these shrines are very picturesque objects. Most of the ministering Brahmins at the Hindoo sacred places are men from India. There is a constant ebb and flow of the tide of Hindoo pilgrims who resort to various places in Cashmere, especially to Amernath, a spot situated in a remote valley towards the Eastern extremity of Cashmere. Amernath is indeed one of the most interesting of all the places of Hindoo pilgrimage. The hardships of the route must greatly enhance the merit of the expedition: for the delicate nature of the burning South has to march through the snows of the North. At Martundh near Islamabad, Runjeet Singh established several Sikh priests to read the Grunth; and those men remain there to this day.

Whatever education there is in Cashmere (and it is not widely spread) is Mahomedan. Hindoo learning does not flourish. The language of the upper class, and of official life, is Persian. The Pundits, though good Persian scholars, seldom know Sanscrit. The Cashmeeree dialect, which is based on the Hindee, is written in the Persian character. The Sikh rulers taught the upper classes to speak Punjabee, and as the present Government is half Punjabee, that dialect is still generally understood. The Oordoo language has not much currency, except with those individuals who may be connected with the British authorities, and with the merchants whose servants and agents have travelled in India.

The character of the Cashmeeree people does not seem generally to make a favourable impression on the European travellers who have had the means of studying it. In general terms we believe that the Cashmeerees may be characterised as mild, inoffensive and industrious, with those defects which usually pertain to the weak who have been for many centuries held down by the strong. If deceit, chicanery, and litigiousness are to be met with amongst them, we must, before judging them severely, remember what their condition has been for many generations. They are cunning artificers and diligent husbandmen. They have strong family affections. Their women are better and more faithful than the women of the Punjab. They understand how to associate themselves together in corporations, and the system of village communities exists as strongly in Cashmere as in India. They are not generally violent or fanatical. They are orderly; not much addicted to crime either against life or property. But if exasperated they are capable of desperate acts. The town folk are a sleek, thin race, with delicate nervous organization. The country folk are as sturdy muscular fellows as you would see anywhere. Though they love their native valley they do not appreciate its scenery, and seldom know even the names of the surrounding mountains. They seem to have no taste for military service, and have never been enlisted as soldiers either by the Sikhs or by the present Government. On the whole it may be said that the Cashmeerees embosomed in the Himalayas are a population sui generis, very different from the fierce and fanatical tribes on their Western border, from the Thibetan races of Ladakh on the North, from the Rajpoot mountaineers on the South and East.

As is well known, Cashmere was, after the Sutlej Campaign of 1846, made over by the Lahore Government under the auspices of the British authorities to Golab Singh, King of Jummoo. Golab Singh had, in addition to his hereditary principality of Jummoo, acquired Kishtwar to the East and Ladakh to the North of Cashmere; while the Poonch and Chubal country to the South was held by members of his family. Thus he was de facto possessor of the country round Cashmere when that valley was made over to him. He died in 1857, and was succeeded by his son Rumbeer Singh, the present Moha-Raja. He holds the valley with about 10,000 troops, regular and irregular. The men are chiefly hill Rajpoots, with a sprinkling of Mahomedans from the regions near the Indus, of Punjabees, and of Goorkhas. There is nothing to remark in their discipline and equipment. In the civil administration, the police would seem to be effective, so far as the suppression of crime goes. Fine is largely resorted to as a punishment, and so is imprisonment. Prisoners may be seen grinding rice on the borders of the Srinugger lake. There may be some attempt at judicial system, but it is quite undeveloped. The Revenue amounts to about forty lakhs of Rupees, or £400,000 per annum; of which 25 lakhs are from Land Tax, and the rest from Customs and Excise. The heavy land tax is collected in kind, and consequently the Government has to receive and dispose of vast quantities of grain. The organization of the village communities is kept up: head men of villages, and of circles of villages are appointed (they are called Muquddums and Chowdrees,) just as they used to be under the Mogul Emperors. Village accountants are also to be found all over the valley.

We have touched but very lightly on the social and political condition of Cashmere. The subject is an extensive and in some respects a delicate one. It could not be done full justice to in an Article like the present.

We shall not conclude without briefly adverting to the Geographical work which has been for some time past going on in Cashmere. For the past four years a highly trained party under Capt. Montgomerie of the Bengal Engineers, within the control of the Surveyor General, has been engaged in a Trigonometrical Survey of Cashmere and the surrounding regions. The work of this series will ultimately be incorporated with that of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey of India. This work is now nearly concluded for Cashmere; the altitude of the principal peaks, the direction of the ranges, the principal towns, and such like points have been fixed with the utmost scientific precision. And the varied details of the valley itself have been marked in with perfect topographical delineation. Soon therefore Government and the public will be in possession of the best possible map of Cashmere. Capt. Montgomerie and his assistants have indeed rendered services by which the community at large will greatly benefit. They have undergone, in addition to mental labour, much physical toil and hardship; they have borne every vicissitude of climate and the extremes of heat and cold. During the crisis of 1857, they were a small band of Englishmen, in the heart of the Himalayan mountains, separated from one another, and divided by a long and rugged tract from their fellow-countrymen who were carrying on such a struggle in Northern India. Their position therefore was isolated and trying; and peculiar even among the accidents of that terrible time. But the Cashmere Survey was never suspended for a moment, its progress was as good as ever. Captain Montgomerie and his Assistants shewed a good example of how Englishmen can preserve a calm attitude in the midst of trouble and alarm, and adhere to duty and work in the midst of distractions. And it is but due to Captain Montgomerie to say that to high scientific attainments he adds temper, discretion and great aptitude in dealing with natives of all classes.

And now to conclude. If we shall have at all succeeded in imparting to those who have not visited Cashmere an idea of the valley, as it appears in the present day; or in reviving the recollections of those who have visited that matchless scene; our object will have been more than accomplished. We have heard natives of Cashmere say that the British resemble the Moguls in their fondness for scenery as well as in other things.

The memory of the Great Moguls is associated in the minds of the people with the idea of Empire. They are, par excellence, the Emperors of the Past. But since British influence has been extended over Northern India, it has been commonly remarked by the people that another Imperial race has arisen to dominate in Asia. And in truth the Anglo-Indian Statesman of the Present does resemble the Great Mogul of the Past, in his comprehensive policy, his systematic organization, his power of controlling diverse races, his efforts for material improvement. But the two resemble each other in a lesser, though a strongly marked, idiosyncrasy; in that they are both Lovers of Nature. Both the Englishman and the Mogul came to India from a colder climate. The Mogul panted for green pastures and running brooks; for an atmosphere that admitted of outdoor exercise; for wilder regions where he could ride and walk and hunt. And so does the Englishman. Whenever time or opportunity permitted they both betook themselves to the Himalayas for refreshment after labour in the plains of India. The Englishman raises up stations and settlements at twenty different places on the southern side of the Himalayas. The Mogul enriched and beautified Cashmere (already so rich and beautiful) with gardens, summer houses and palaces. In many climes and places such as Granada, Constantinople, Damascus, Cairo, the skill and genius of the Mahomedans bequeathed to the admiration of posterity, specimens of noble architecture in the midst of interesting scenery. In Cashmere, the Mogul works equalled, in beauty and interest, the fairest structures ever raised by Mahomedan hands. Among the Moguls the Emperor Jehangeer is to this day remembered for the affection with which he regarded the valley of Cashmere. He used to sit and watch the Srinugger Lake: he would mark the surface of the water as it reddened with the purple splendor of the lotus in sunshine, or as it was adorned with the chaster beauty of the lily by moonlight; he would observe in the water the reflections of the changeful sky, and of the mountains with their alternations of gloom and glory; and in the darkness of night he would see the hill sides lit up with bonfires, reflected a hundred times over on the glittering face of the Lake. Again he would gaze into the deep blue depths of the Vernag fountain, and wonder whether it issued from the Elysium which the Prophet had promised to Believers. When afterwards he was stricken with palsy he desired to be carried to Vernag as the most charming spot in all his dominions. Laboriously the dying Emperor travelled from the Punjab up the Peer Punjal route. But as we have already seen, he never reached Cashmere again, and expired at Behramgulla near the foot of the great range. Throughout his life-time he would use the often repeated saying, that if there be a Paradise on earth, it is this queen of valleys. Little then did he think that this verdict would be confirmed in after ages by many an English Officer, who should resort to Cashmere to brace his frame by the breezes of the North, and to refresh his mind by communion with nature. But while doing this, the reflective Christian traveller will have thoughts which it never entered into the heart of a Mogul to conceive. He will inwardly pray that the bounteous Providence which has vouchsafed so many choice gifts to Cashmere, may one day bless its people not only with material progress, but also with moral advancement and with the enlightenment of the Truth.

ART. VIII.—1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Organization of the Indian Army, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* 1859.

2. *Report of Major General Hancock.* 1859.

3. *Papers connected with the Reorganization of the Army in India, Supplementary to the Report of the Army Commission.* 1859.

4. *Copies of Correspondence between the late Court of Directors, the President of the late Board of Control, and the present Secretary of State for India, respecting the* ARTILLERY FORCES *in India from the commencement of the late Mutiny to the present date. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th April,* 1859.

AMONGST the numerous and grave topics demanding early and careful consideration in connection with the more efficient and economical management and control of the vast Indian Empire which has been entrusted by Providence to the government of Great Britain, there are none which in importance and urgency are equal to the vital question as to the speediest and most effective mode of reorganizing the Anglo-Indian Army, a question upon the prompt, practical and judicious solution of which hinges the very existence of that Empire.

In July last year, when the project of transferring the direct Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, was still under discussion, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the existing condition of the Indian Army and the changes it might be expedient to make therein. In March of the present year this Commission submitted its report, which has now been several months before the public. As yet, however, with the exception of two sterile debates in the House of Commons and the passing of a bill to increase the limit of the European force in India from twenty to thirty thousand men, no steps have, apparently, been taken in this most important matter: the result is that in the interim all is confusion, anxiety, doubt and fathomless expenditure throughout the Empire.

Until some definite measure is decided upon and some arrangement made for the efficient military control of the country, the large European force at present employed must necessarily be retained in India, whilst on the other hand, the immense Native force,—far exceeding in numerical strength and cost the whole Native Army of India prior to the mutiny of 1857, without being one whit more trustworthy,—a force, the bulk of which was *avowedly created* as a mere temporary measure, and viewed at the time as a serious though necessary evil, is still maintained pending the settlement of the general question of reorganization, and that at an expense so enormous as to be literally ruinous to the finances of the empire.

Every day's delay in this matter is prejudicial to the influence and *prestige* of the British Government in India, and adds to the financial embarrassment, an evil already difficult to deal with, whilst it also tends to excite anxieties and fears with reference to their future fate and prospects, in the minds of all members, European as well as native, in the existing Services. It is therefore imperative that the subject should be promptly and earnestly taken up and fairly grappled with, in order that some sound leading principles should be laid down, and some system adopted which may be at the same time practical and suitable to the existing circumstances and to the employment of all efficient and trustworthy material now available; a system which, whilst inaugurating a thorough and unsparing reform when such is unquestionably requisite, shall introduce no unnecessary changes to meet mere theoretical plans or experimental crotchets; which shall, moreover, initiate even needful changes with all due precaution and consideration; and which, whilst aiming, as the first consideration, to secure the best interests of the State, shall not be unmindful of the rights and privileges of those who have already, for more than a century, done that State such good service. The broad principles upon which such a system of organization must be based should be clearly defined by the home authorities, under whose orders, arrangements might be commenced at once for the organization in England of the European force required, leaving to the local Government of India to fill in the outline and carry out the necessary details, in regard to the native force and the requisite local establishments.

The printed report of the Commission on the Organization of the Indian Army is somewhat meagre, and on several of the most important points is undecided, great difference of opinion existing not only in the evidence elicited but amongst the Commissioners themselves: nevertheless the report as published contains—amongst some worthless and objectionable matter,—a mass of valuable record, more especially in the appendix and supplement. Twelve questions were put before the Commissioners for opinion and report, and these formed the basis of their enquiries. The first question was "the terms on which the Army of the East India Company was to be transferred to the Crown?" This question had however in the meantime been practically disposed of by the Act of 21 and 22 Victoria, Cap. 106 of the 2nd August 1858, for the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown; the 56th Clause of which Act distinctly and fully guarantees to the then existing members of the Army of the East India Company, on its transfer to the Crown, "*the like pay, pensions, allowances and 'privileges, and like advantages as regards promotion and other- 'wise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company.*" This pledge is most important, and must be carefully borne in mind in the consideration of any plan for the future organization of the Indian Army. The 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th questions all bear on the chief point for consideration, in its twofold aspect of the permanent force required for India, and its composition, more especially with reference to the relative proportions of Europeans to Natives in the several arms. As regards the numerical strength of the force to be permanently maintained, the Commissioners experience some difficulty in fixing a definite amount, and they quote the conflicting opinions given in evidence upon this point. They consider however that when peace and order are perfectly restored, railway and river communications available, and defensive posts erected throughout the country, a European force in round numbers of about 80,000 men might be sufficient, which, with the proposed proportions of 2 Natives to 1 European in the Bengal, and 3 to 1 in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, would give a Native force of about 1,90,000. They earnestly recommend however that the Artillery arm should be mainly a European force, a few exceptional Native Batteries being maintained for particular duties and for stations unsuited to the location of Europeans.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th and 12th questions all have reference more or less direct to a much contested point,—the evidence elicited regarding which is of the most widely divergent character, and not unfrequently representing the most extreme views, —that point being whether the European portion of the Indian Army should be exclusively a Line or a Local force, or composed, as heretofore, of a mixture of the two;—the best means of recruiting for such a force, or of relieving Line Regiments;—as also whether consolidation of the two forces and exchange from one to the other would be practicable with the perfect justice to the claims of all Officers in the service of the East India Company.

On this subject the Commissioners were unable to offer any opinion as a body, divided as they were into two parties entertaining diametrically opposite views. One party, forming the majority—and understood to be composed of the six Officers of the Royal Army on the Commission,—being strongly in favor of only one description of force, and that, of course, to be the Line *Army, taking India* in a regular tour of duty; whilst the minority, consisting of the Secretary of State for India and the four Indian Officers on the Commission, hold equally strong opinions in favour of a very considerable Local force, specially intended for service in India. Both parties support their views by arguments and reasons given in detail. Both carry their opinions to a somewhat ultra limit, so much so as to leave on more unbiassed minds a conviction that the wisest and safest course is probably to be found between the two extremes.

Independent of the report and opinions of the Commissioners themselves, whose previous training, habits and natural bias were calculated to render unanimity of opinion doubtful, and in some measure to disqualify them for the duties of impartial judges, more especially when three of the members, viz. the Secretaries of State for War and for India, as also the Commander-in-Chief of the forces, were, to a certain extent, personally interested in the decision,—the position and patronage of their several appointments being materially affected by it,—there remains in the minutes of evidence and, as already stated, more especially in the appendix and supplement, a mass of valuable information bearing on the various phases of the whole question, sufficient in itself to afford ample material for the formation of a sound and practical opinion on the leading features of this important question. Amongst the most valuable of the various documents referred to, may be specially quoted the minute by the present Governor General of India and those of the Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies; the evidence verbal and recorded of Lord Ellenborough;—the minute of Major General Mansfield, the Chief of the Staff in India, which may be inferred to represent the views of the Commander-in-Chief;—the minute of the Military Secretary to Government; that of the Punjab Commission, consisting of Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier Chamberlayne and Colonel Edwards; those of Sir Bartle Freer, Major General Sydney Cotton, and of Colonels Mayhew and Greene, the Adjutants General of the Bengal and Bombay Armies, and of Sir R. Vivian and Major General Tucker formerly Adjutants General at Madras and Bengal;—the reports and evidence of Colonel Durand, who was specially appointed to collect and lay before the Commission information on this subject; the minute of Colonel Holland; the written evidence and opinions of the Commissioners themselves, more especially the minutes of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge and Colonel W. Burlton, and the separate report of Major General Hancock.

These have all gone into the question in more or less detail, and all bring a certain amount of special or practical knowledge and experience to bear upon it. Taking this valuable record of evidence and information; sifting it with all practicable impartiality; adopting without hesitation such plans as are unanimously supported; giving due weight to the opinions, even though they may be singular, of those qualified to speak on particular or local topics, or with personal and practical experience; making due allowance for the influence of professional bias and interests; striking as it were on average, not only between numerical discrepancies, but extreme views; and keeping the main object—an economical and efficient force—steadily in view, without losing sight of the rights and privileges of all concerned; it would apparently not be a very difficult matter to arrive at a definite conclusion on the leading points of this great and important question; the main features of which once fairly established, the adjustment of all minor details would be of comparatively little difficulty.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to discuss the question in its several bearings, taken seriatim, in the spirit above advocated; at the same time offering, with all deference, such personal opinions as some considerable local experience and a long and careful consideration of the subject may, it is hoped, be found to justify.

The first and most important portion of the question, and one that should be considered on its own merits, independent of local or special interests, is *the amount of the Force to be permanently maintained in India, and its composition as regards the several arms and the proportions of Europeans to natives.*

Some considerable time must elapse before the details of any scheme for the reorganization of the Army can be fairly and practically brought into operation, and in that interim certain changes may be expected to have taken place in the present condition of India. In the first place it may be inferred that the main lines of railway connecting the several Presidencies will be, if not completed, at least well advanced; that the means of steam communication on the Ganges, the Indus and a few of their chief tributaries will have been extended and improved; that the country generally will have been disarmed, and that an efficient, well disciplined (*but not a military*) Police force, under European control, will be organized throughout the Empire; when these measures have all been carried out, a comparatively small but compact force ought to suffice for the wants of India, providing that force is properly constituted and perfectly efficient as regards discipline, equipment and the means of transport.

In the present condition of the Indian finances economy is an essential consideration; but the line should be carefully drawn *between real* and false economy. With a weak, inefficient or ill constituted Army there can be no permanent and general feeling of security, and without such security commercial confidence, enterprise, and national prosperity are impracticable. Not a man should be maintained in the Indian Army who is not really required, but every man on the rolls should be as efficient as careful training and liberal equipment can render the soldier.

Assuming that the Police force is available for the performance of all duties connected with the support of the revenue and judicial departments, and fully equal to cope with any amount of disarmed rabble; the duties of the regular force would be more limited than was the case prior to the mutiny of 1857, whilst the increased facilities of movement would render a smaller force more generally available.

Restricted as it would then be to purely military duties, it becomes desirable for moral effect, for training and real efficiency, that the force should, for the most part, be kept together in considerable bodies of all arms formed into Brigades or moveable columns, constantly exercised and always ready for service. In all such Brigades there should not only be a proportion of Europeans, but they should, as a general rule, form the mainstay or basis of the Brigade, the native troops acting as auxiliaries.

For the greater portion of these Brigades the most convenient, safe and handy composition would be three Regiments or Battalions of Infantry, of which one to be European, a Battery of Field Artillery, European of course, and, where Cavalry was requisite or the ground suitable for the employment of that arm, a body of three Squadrons, of which one to be European, the native portion being Irregular Cavalry.

These Brigades to be judiciously disposed over the country in reticulated communication with each other, occupying the most important political or strategical positions, commanding the main communications, overawing any large towns with populations of disaffected or troublesome character, and protecting the great commercial cities of the empire.

At each Brigade station there should invariably be a fortified post, capable of being defended by a small garrison, for the protection of the Brigade stores, and expense magazine, the families of the European officers and men, and other *impedimenta*, whilst the Brigade might be in the field. With this object in view, each Brigade should have a Battery of Garrison Artillery attached, the whole or a portion of which, together with two Companies of the European Regiment, would suffice for the garrison of this post. To meet this demand, the European Regiments should each consist of ten Companies, allowing two for Garrison and eight for Brigade; but the latter number of Companies would be amply sufficient and most convenient for all the Native Regiments.

In some localities—more especially in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies where circumstances and the character and physical qualities of the people render the maintenance of a large proportion of Europeans less absolutely needful,—the Brigades, on economical considerations, might be reduced to a wing instead of a whole Regiment of European Infantry, or rather to six companies, allowing two for Garrison. Demi Brigades of Infantry, with a full complement of Cavalry, would form convenient and efficient moveable columns, but these also should have their fortified post and garrison.

Each group of about four Brigades might form a Division, and in each Division there should be a Fort with a stronger garrison of a European Regiment and a Battery or two of Artillery. These fortresses to contain the arsenal and stores of the Division and the treasury and civil records of the province, as also to afford a place of refuge in case of emergency to the European population of the district.

It would also be desirable in a few of the most important Divisions, that the Head Quarter Brigade should contain a larger European element, the ordinary proportion being reversed, and thus such Brigades to consist of two Europeans to one Native. The Artillery and Cavalry of these Brigades to be likewise increased in certain cases, and the European element to be also proportionally extended to the latter arm when requisite. At the most important points of all, there ought to be at least three Brigades exclusively composed of Europeans, or with only a single Native Regiment added to relieve the Europeans from the more exposed and unhealthy duties, during the hot season. Of these Brigades, which might be looked upon as the bases or nuclei of the European force, two would be requisite for the natural bases of operations at the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, that is to say at Kurrachee and near Calcutta; whilst a third, forming with these a grand triangle, might be most advantageously stationed in the Himalaya; where likewise two or three additional Brigades, composed of Europeans and Goorkahs, should also be stationed as reserves, located along the line from Almorah to Rawul Pindee, where these troops would be kept in a healthy and efficient condition, ready for employment whenever or wherever their services might be called for. In 1857 when the mutiny broke out, the European Brigade quartered in the hills about Simla, was the only force ready for immediate action, and formed the nucleus of the small but gallant Army that laid siege to Delhi and saved India. This is a lesson that assuredly ought not to be forgotten, but rather to be improved upon.

A reference to the map of India will shew that, occupying only the most important positions, there would be an absolute necessity for at least 48 Brigade Stations, exclusive of the Reserves in the Hills; and on this fact the calculation for the minimum force to be employed may be based. 48 Brigades of the proposed composition would give an average of 48 European Regiments and 96 Native Battalions of Infantry.

But making allowance for one-third of these Brigades or Columns having only Wings instead of whole Regiments of Europeans, and calculating on an addition of at least a dozen Native Battalions to compensate in some measure for this deficiency of Europeans, there would then be required 40 European and 108 Native Regiments. The Hill Reserves would add 6 of the former; 12 of each would be required for Grand or Divisional Garrisons and for the defence or control of large cities adjoining them, and 6 European Regiments for increasing the strength of the most important Brigades; this would give a total of 64 European Regiments and 128 Native Battalions as the minimum force of Infantry absolutely necessary.

The requisite strength of Regiments or Battalions is another important consideration. The evidence taken before the Commission was generally opposed to large Regiments, which were considered unnecessarily expensive, as they certainly are unwieldy; and it was stated by more than one witness that the moral effect of a Regiment of seven or eight hundred men was nearly, if not quite, as great as that of one a thousand strong or more; Natives always computing force by Regiments or *Pultuns*, not by the hundred or thousand bayonets.

Undoubtedly there is great truth in this; but on the other hand it is very necessary to guard against falling into the opposite extreme of excessively weak Regiments in a climate like that of India, where any epidemic, or a sickly season, might reduce such a Regiment to a mere skeleton in a few weeks or even days. Probably a minimum strength per company of 90 of all ranks, exclusive of Officers, would afford a safe, convenient and economical establishment, giving a total of 900 bayonets for each European and 720 for each Native Battalion. This strength, even allowing for sick and detached duty, would give handy Battalions for Brigade, without being too weak, provided that the established complement was fully and fairly kept up.

But in addition to the Native Battalions in Brigade, a considerable body of men would be requisite for the maintenance of numerous positions, which, though not requiring the strength of a Brigade, could not be safely left without some trustworthy troops.

There are also many positions, on the frontiers especially, which require to be held in some force, but at which the climate renders the permanent employment of Europeans impracticable. For these duties a body of Irregular Infantry would be the most suitable, nearly similar in composition to the original *Punjab* Irregular force. As these troops would have to take many of the duties formerly performed by Contingents and Local Corps,—with which those still in existence might be incorporated,—their number could not be assumed at less than one-third of the regular Native Regiments, or in even numbers at 40, which would raise the total number of Native Regiments to 160. This would give an Infantry force for all India of

64 European Regiments 900 strong,	=	57,600
120 Regular Native Regiments 720 strong,	=	86,400
40 Irregular Native Regiments 720 strong,	=	28,800
being a total Infantry force of	=	172,800

and a proportion of exactly one European to two Natives.

Of Cavalry the events of the two past years have shewn the necessity for a large permanent increase upon the old establishment, more especially as regards the European portion of that arm.

The proportion of Europeans to Natives might advantageously be the same as that of the Infantry, or as one to two, but the whole Native portion should be Irregular, a fact upon which the evidence given before the Commission was nearly unanimous.

No Brigade, in which the nature of the surrounding country was not opposed to the employment of Cavalry, should be without a portion of this arm, except under particular circumstances, or when in the neighbourhood of a special Cavalry Brigade; and the ordinary establishment might most conveniently correspond with that of the Infantry, and consist, as already suggested, of three Squadrons, of which one to be European.

At particular Stations of greater importance, where there was likely to be a demand for Cavalry, this establishment might be doubled or the European portion increased from one-third to one-half.

But in addition to these details of Cavalry forming portions of the Line Brigade, it would be absolutely necessary to have at least a small portion of reserve Cavalry assembled in separate Cavalry Brigades, and so located as that by the aid of the railroad, one or more should be rendered speedily available to join any division of the Army. By a careful selection of the localities, four such detached Brigades might suffice; their strength consisting of two Regiments, or 4 Squadrons of European and 4 of Native Cavalry, with a due proportion of Horse Artillery. On these data, the minimum strength of European Cavalry required would be 64 Squadrons, whilst the proposed double proportion of 128 Native Squadrons, would leave a sufficient body available for duty with the Irregular or Local Infantry in localities where such Cavalry was absolutely requisite. This arm must of necessity be much broken up and dispersed, whatever might be the established strength of Regiments: and therefore it would be as well to adopt the more economical complement of eight troops, which would admit of convenient distribution by Wings or Squadrons; and the strength of all Squadrons might be fixed at 150 sabres each. This would give

16 Regiments of European Cavalry at 600	=	9,600
32 Regiments of Native Irregular Do.	=	19,200
or a total of Sabres,	...	28,800

Being in the exact proportion of six Infantry to one Cavalry.

The Artillery for India must necessarily be on liberal scale, as, in the first place, it is the arm for which all orientals entertain the greatest respect, and, in the second, it is the one which European science and the extent and efficiency of the British manufacturing establishments enable us to maintain in a higher state of efficiency, as compared with that of our opponents, than any other branch. All the opinions given before the Commission coincide as to the demand for a large force of Artillery, though they differ somewhat as to the details of that force.

The opinions are nearly as unanimous in regard to the necessity for this force being, as a general rule, a European one.

As however this is an expensive arm, it is requisite that whilst maintained in sufficient force and in the most efficient condition, the establishment should not be larger than is absolutely necessary for the duties to be performed, or in relation to the rest of the force, allowing for an adequate reserve.

Assuming that we have a total of 50 Line and separate Cavalry Brigades, each of these would require a Battery of Horse or Field Artillery; one would also be requisite for each large Garrison, which may be taken at 14 in number, and for each Division there should be also one Battery as the Division Reserve; allowing a similar number or 12 for the general reserve, we have a total of 88 Batteries, Horse or Field, required for India, a complement that cannot be deemed excessive as, including reserves, it does not quite afford a proportion of one Battery to every three Regiments of Infantry and Cavalry, and only a fraction more than two and a half pieces of ordnance to every thousand men of those arms. Each Line Brigade would moreover require an average of a Battery of Siege or Garrison Artillery, and allowing a further proportion of one-third, or 16 additional batteries, for the most important garrisons and reserves, this would give a total of 64 Siege or Garrison Batteries.

The able minute of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge on this subject, contains a recommendation for a force not very dissimilar in strength to the one here proposed, consisting of 164 Batteries of Horse, Field and Garrison Artillery, instead of 152 as suggested above; being a difference of only 12 Batteries. But His Royal Highness allows a more liberal complement of Field Artillery, viz., 28 Horse Artillery and 104 Field Batteries; this force, we venture with all deference to think is not absolutely necessary; whilst on the other hand his proposed complement of only 32 Garrison Batteries for all India is undoubtedly insufficient.

His proposition to organize the local force as one Regiment, on the same principle as the Royal Artillery, with the like number of Batteries to a Brigade and the same complement and proportions of officers, is undoubtedly what should be adopted; the proposed establishment of men for Batteries appears however to be unnecessarily large, as a certain amount of native assistance is indispensable for all Batteries in India, in the shape of syces, grass-cutters, artificers and lascars, and consequently a corresponding reduction of Europeans may and ought to be effected.

Taking His Royal Highness' memorandum however as a guide, the proposed minimum establishment of 88 Batteries might be conveniently fixed at 24 Batteries of Horse and 64 Batteries of Field Artillery, the number of Field and Garrison Batteries being equal. Assuming the establishment of Horse Artillery Batteries at 175 Europeans of all grades—exclusive of officers, of Field Batteries at 160, and of Siege or Garrison Batteries at 100, we should have a total European Force of Artillery of

24 Batteries of Horse Artillery at 175 =	4,200
64 Batteries of Field Artillery at 160 =	10,240
64 Batteries of Garrison Artillery at 100 =	6,400
	20,840

But although the nearly unanimous tenor of the evidence laid before the Commission was in favor of keeping the Artillery, as a general rule, in the hands of Europeans, it was admitted that a certain portion of Native Artillery would be indispensable for special duties, where Europeans could not with safety or advantage be employed; for it must be taken into account that the employment of a European Battery of Artillery entails the necessity for European Infantry or Cavalry to support and protect it. On the Punjaub frontier, in the Derajat, in Scinde, Assam and other localities where the employment of Artillery is requisite with the Native Irregular force, either Natives (or Africans as recommended by Lord Elphinstone) must be employed to a certain extent.

For the purposes and localities specified, including Local Batteries and Mountain Trains, not less than 12 Batteries of Natives would suffice for the whole of India, but the strength might be reduced to 150 for each Battery or 1800 in all, establishments of extra drivers being attached according to the nature of the draught employed.

The Ordnance of these Batteries would necessarily be light, and might as a general rule be confined to 6-pounder guns and mountain howitzers with 8 pieces in battery. Horses, mules, camels or elephants being used for draught according to the nature of the locality where the Batteries might be employed. As the Europeans would be in proportion to the Native Artillery as nearly 12 to 1, there would be little to apprehend from such a minority.

The remaining arm to be considered is that of the Engineers or Sappers and Miners. For constant and exposed manual labour the European Sapper is unsuited to the Indian climate, but for guiding and overlooking work his services are indispensable. No nation can produce better Miners if properly directed than are to be found amongst the natives of India, and it would be an error not to avail ourselves of their peculiar aptitude in this line. But for conducting the sapping details of siege operations, for preparing the requisite material and for general superintendence of all Engineering work, European science and training as well as European energy are requisite. The simplest arrangement appears to be to combine the two elements in the same Company, but giving the European a higher position by making the lowest grade that of Second Corporal; a Company being composed of 30 European Non-Commissioned and Sappers and 100 Native Miners of all grades. One Company for each Division of the Army, and half that Force for general reserve, would probably afford a sufficient proportion for this arm.

The foregoing details in which the proportion of each arm has been limited to what may assuredly be considered a minimum complement, would give a total force as follows:—

64 Regiments of European Infantry, = 57,600
64 Squadrons of European Cavalry, = 9,600
24 Batteries of Horse Artillery, = 4,200
64 Batteries of Field Artillery, = 10,240
64 Batteries of Garrison Artillery, = 6,400
18 Details of European Sappers, = 540

Total of Europeans, 88,580

120 Battalions of Regular Native Infantry,	=	86,400
40 Battalions of Irregular Native Infantry,	=	28,800
32 Regiments of Irregular Native Cavalry,	=	19,200
12 Companions of Native Artillery,	=	1,800
152 Details of Gun Lascars,	=	2,280
18 Companies of Native Miners,	=	1,800
Total of Natives,		1,37,800

Giving a grand total of Europeans and Natives of 2,28,860

The strength of the total force recommended by the Commission as an approximation to the probable requirements of India when the country may be permanently and completely settled, was in round numbers 80,000 Europeans and 1,90,000 Natives, or a grand total of 2,70,000 men of all classes.

The plan submitted above gives an excess of 8,580 European troops, but on the other hand it offers a reduction of 49,720 Natives as compared with the Commission's recommendation: it consequently possesses, at any rate, the advantage of economy, which is an important consideration at the present time.

We also incline to think that it has the advantage of much greater efficiency and security.

A native auxiliary army is, we admit, an undoubted necessity, and that Army must under any circumstances be a considerable one; but very much depends upon the limit assigned to its proportions. A native force properly organized, equipped and officered, if permanently maintained in a state of perfect discipline, and constantly brigaded with European troops, to which it is avowedly made only an auxiliary, may and ought to be highly efficient and most valuable; always providing its strength is retained within due limits of proportion to the European main body. A force such as that proposed above, in which the native element does not very greatly exceed the European,—the proportions being little more than 3 to 2,—whilst it affords an ample body of natives for special and detached duties and to relieve Europeans from unnecessary exposure, leaves them in a subordinate position, more especially when deprived of the European officers, and with all the regular Artillery composed of Europeans, and renders the chance of success in any contest so thoroughly hopeless, as practically to suppress all intention of, or speculation on, such folly. This important point once attained, the hopes of the Native force must then naturally centre in the Government; and with an opening afforded to real merit, all the better members of the force would devote themselves to win a claim to promotion and reward, by efficiency *and energy* in the performance of their duties and by fidelity to the only authority from which they have ought to fear or to hope.

On the other hand if the native element of the force is ever again allowed to acquire a considerable numerical superiority over the European portion, the knowledge of this fact and the belief that there might some day occur a favourable opportunity for successful opposition, must necessarily and prejudicially unsettle the minds of the native soldiery; for the late mutiny can never be forgotten, and the tiger that has once tasted blood will always be hankering after a second feast. A consciousness of numerical superiority is likely, as heretofore, to engender self-confidence and arrogance, a disinclination to discipline, a disposition to put forward unreasonable claims and to dictate terms to Government; and thus, future concession being impossible, a painful and injurious collision would speedily be brought about, and the constitution of that essential requisite, an efficient and faithful Native Army, would be rendered much more difficult and doubtful than before.

Put the Sepoy in his proper place as a local auxiliary to the European; instead of puffing up his vanity and pride with the idea of his being the safeguard and arbiter of the fortunes of the Empire, let him clearly see and understand that he holds a subordinate position and could be hopelessly and thoroughly crushed at pleasure; let him be under a stern discipline and feel a perfect confidence that he will experience reward or punishment according to his deserts; let him be treated with invariable justice and with a judicious mixture of firmness and kindness and he may be rendered again—what he was for many years—a loyal, patient, brave and efficient soldier, and a most valuable servant to the State. The whole question resolves itself pretty much into this; which is the true economy?—an Army composed of a small body of Europeans and a large body of Natives, which costs comparatively little, but in which the numerical preponderance gives the native portion a natural cofidence that may at any time lead them to acts of insubordination, and must at all times render them objects of distrust, so that whilst it is dangerous to employ their services, those of the European portion are also paralyzed by the dread of faithless allies and the necessity for constantly watching their native comrades;—or, on the other hand, an Army costing more, but which, being composed of so large a proportion of Europeans as to obviate all chance of opposition and all necessity for distrust, may with safety be employed on any duty in any locality, and thus afford an equivalent and practical return to the State for the expense of its maintenance.

We believe that this contains the whole pith of the question, and it only remains to decide what proportion of Europeans is requisite to insure the advantage of a faithful and efficient army, instead of a distrusted, distrustful, insubordinate and divided military mob.

That proportion we believe has not been exceeded in the foregoing proposition which gives, as already stated, nearly 2 Europeans to 3 Natives; although we confess that, but for the financial consideration, we should have preferred an establishment in which the two forces were equal.

The proposed allotment of this force to the different Presidencies, and any comparison of this plan with the various projects embodied in the report of the Commission, will be more advantageously noticed after the consideration of the two next questions.

Here it only remains to contrast the strength of the force now proposed and its probable cost, with that of the force existing on the old establishment before the mutiny of 1857.

From the official returns attached to the report of the Commission we find that the total effective force of the three Presidencies in the beginning of 1857, amounted to 277,746, but this does not embrace the Gwalior, Hyderabad, Oude, Nagpore and other Contingents of all arms, which may be assumed in round numbers to have been at least 36,000, thus giving a total force in India, Europeans and Natives, of 3,13,746.

This however includes 6170 European officers, leaving for comparison a total of 3,07,576, which comparison shows a reduction in the proposed plan of 78,716.

Unfortunately this saving in numbers does not represent the proportionate amount of saving in cost that would be effected, because the proposed reduction is wholly confined to the Native or cheapest portion of the Army in which it would amount to 1,27,944, the difference between 2,68,224 and 1,40,280, whilst there would be a large increase of Europeans from 39,352 to 88,580 or a total of 49,228, exclusive of officers in either case.

We have not the data—nor are they, we believe, available to the public,—that would enable us to fix with perfect accuracy the relative cost of European and Native soldiers of the different arms. The general impression appears to be that the proportions average about three to one, but that undoubtedly is an exaggerated estimate.

In the published report laid before the House of Commons in 1853 by the Select Committee on the Indian Territories, we find a statement given in by Mr. P. Melvill, Secretary in the Military Department of the India House, shewing the cost of the several branches of the Royal and Company's Armies in India, *which exhibits* the following results,—when the calculation is

European Infantry of the Royal Army,	£57-4-6
,, ,, ,, Company's Army,	£54-0-0
Native Infantry of the Royal Army,	£22-2-7
European Dragoon of the Royal Army,	£113-13-3
Native Trooper of the Company's Army,	£69-13-7
European Artillery, ,, ,,	£65-3-4
Native Golundaz, ,, ,,	£35-8-10

This statement however is not altogether satisfactory; the Native establishments are mixed up with the European Artillery, and the cost of the Ordnance material appears not be included, which would lessen the difference between the cost of European and Native Artillery, as the expense of a Battery itself is the same whether the complexion of the gunners is black or white. The copious and detailed returns attached to the reports of the Select Committee published in 1833 exhibit, on a long average of 18 years, a lower cost of both Europeans and Natives and a smaller difference between the two. This may be accounted for by the greatly improved condition of the European soldiers of late years, which must have added considerably to the military charges, more especially in the items of barracks and medical expenses.

From the statement quoted above it will be seen that the average cost of the European Infantry Soldier, or £55-12-3, is above two and a half fold that of the regular Sepoy, but that in the Cavalry and Artillery the cost is much less than two to one. Under these circumstances it will leave a very liberal margin on the right side, if we assume the cost of the European soldiers of all arms at 2½ to 1 as compared with the native soldiers of all arms.

The proposed increase of Europeans as shewn above is 49,228 which multiplied by 2½ amounts to 1,23,070, or less than 1,27,944, —the proposed reduction of Natives of all arms—by 4,874, which sum multiplied by £22-2-7 represents the amount of saving in the proposed establishment over the old one of 1857, which amount may in round numbers be calculated at about eleven lakhs of Rupees per annum. It must also be taken into account that the pay of the European officers is one of the heaviest items in the difference between the cost of Europeans and Natives; but in the reorganization of the Indian Army a large portion of this expense will practically be saved, as the officers of the old Native Regiments are available for employment with Europeans. Also it must not be forgotten that the proposed reduction of Natives is in the most expensive classes; the Regular Cavalry, which cost more than European Infantry or Artillery, are entirely swept away, and the Native Artillery in like manner nearly all reduced.

We may therefore safely assume that the proposed force, if placed on the most liberal footing of efficiency, would still be less costly than the old Army it is intended to replace. That it would be infinitely more efficient and more trustworthy cannot, we imagine, admit of a shadow of doubt.

The possibility of an entire or partial amalgamation of the line and local Armies, of interchange from one to the other, and the proportions in which either should be employed in India, are the points which together constitute the question next in importance.

As already stated, the Commissioners were divided into two parties altogether at issue on this point; the Royal officers being in favour of amalgamating with or rather absorbing into the Line Army, if not the whole, at least the European portion of the Local force already in existence; whilst the Secretary of State for India,—the only Civilian on the Commission,—sided with the Indian officers in favour of a very considerable Local force.

The opinions and arguments on both sides are given in the Report, as those of the majority and the minority, and are as follows:—

"The Majority observe that a double European Army, such as that now established, has had its origin in the double government, which has hitherto existed—the authority of the East India Company having been distinct from that of the Crown, though derived from it, and subordinate to its general control.

The original formation was thus anomalous, and exceptional; and as the transfer by Parliament of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown has not carried with it the total amalgamation of the European portion of the two Armies, it has become necessary fully to consider the subject.

It does not appear that any case in history can be adduced, of the coexistence of two distinct armies supplied from the same sources, both as regards officers and men, serving the same Sovereign.

They observe that, on the contrary, the great object of legislation in all civilised countries has been so to organise the military forces, and resources of the State, as to produce unity of feeling and interest, under one supreme authority, throughout the whole body. That it is impossible to arrive at these ends in the case of two separate armies not amenable to the same authority as regards discipline and organisation, however closely assimilated in other respects. That nothing could be more unfortunate, not to say dangerous, than so to organise the armed forces of the State, as to sow the seeds, and form the groundwork, of professional jealousies and heart-burnings—the inevitable result of a double system—the consequence of which would be, that no selection for appointment could be made from either service which would be judged on its own intrinsic merits, but would be viewed rather with reference to that branch, whether Line or Local, from which the officer was selected.

That, however good the Local Force of the late East India Company has proved itself to be, still it is the opinion of the Majority, that a Local *Force deteriorates* more than one which by frequent relief has infused into it fresh European notions and feelings, and a vigorous system of European discipline; and that this would more particularly be the case in a climate like that of India, where, according to the statistical statement of Sir Alexander Tulloch, backed by the professional opinion of Dr. Martin (himself an advocate for a Local Army) and others, the European constitution can never be said to become acclimatised, but, on the contrary, deteriorates, gradually and surely, in increasing ratio.

That the resources of the State, as regards Imperial purposes, would be crippled by having a large body of its troops placed solely under the control of the Government of India.

That the very fact of the Local troops not being enabled to share in the battle-fields of Europe is a great disadvantage to them, and may lead to a feeling of inferiority on their part, which would be extremely prejudicial to their general discipline; and that, while the Crown ought to possess the advantage of giving to its Army the most extended sphere of action, the very nature of a double Army would, in a great measure, deprive the Line Army of the valuable experience it would acquire in India, whilst the Local Army would, in like manner, be debarred from all the benefits of field service in Europe.

That no Government, under any circumstances, would ever venture to withdraw from India the troops necessary for its defence. The question as to the force to be maintained in that country must be always decided by the *Home* Government, responsible to the Sovereign, and to the country, through Parliament.

That regulations could be drawn up for retaining in India officers of the Line Army, whose services might be required by the Local Government; and that officers of the Line would, undoubtedly, qualify themselves for employment in India, if such employment, and all the advantages attending it, were open to them; and so far from the resources of the Governor-General being curtailed by such an arrangement, it would, on the contrary, afford him a much larger field for the selection of able and useful officers.

That in a financial point of view, Line Regiments ought not to be, and with due regulations, as regards transport and organisation, would not be, more expensive than Local corps; but, even if they should be to some extent more costly, greater vigour would exist in their ranks, and the wisest economy consists in having the best organised body of troops the State can supply. This is more particularly the case in a vast Empire such as that of India, in which the European Army must ever play so conspicuous a part; and where, consequently, whatever tends to the greater efficiency of that Army, must at the same time add to our power, and secure most effectually the safety of Your Majesty's Indian Possessions.

That the Local Army of India, as now constituted, is more expensive than the Line in its non-effective charges.

That a double system of recruiting, the natural result of a double army, would operate most injuriously on recruiting in general; and that it would be next to impossible to carry it on satisfactorily, or with good results, if worked by two distinct authorities.

That England cannot raise and maintain permanently very large armies by voluntary enlistment; and therefore the best troops must be supplied, at even an increased cost, if necessary, in order to compensate by their efficiency and vigour for their numerical inferiority.

Should it, however, be ultimately decided, contrary to the strong and sincere conviction of the Majority of your Majesty's Commissioners, that, with a view of leaving undisturbed present vested interests, a Local European Force is to be maintained for service in India, they recommend that the amount of such force should be limited to that now authorised by Parliament to be raised and maintained out of the revenues of India. It is admitted, even by the witnesses in favour of a double Army, that the Local Force is greatly benefited by the example set to it by the Troops of the Line; and that it is most important, and, indeed, absolutely necessary, to retain a proportion of Line Regiments in India. To diminish the *relative* proportion of Line Regiments to Local corps, would render the Line auxiliaries to the latter—a fatal error, which must, inevitably, tend to lower the position of the Line—by rendering it numerically, and, consequently, morally, inferior to the Local or larger force.

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The Minority take an entirely different view of the question at issue. They entertain a strong conviction that the maintenance of a powerful Local Army, European as well as Native, is essential to the efficiency and permanence of British rule in India. They fear that to replace a large body of officers, accustomed to the habits, and acquainted with the language, of the country in which they serve, by others, doubtless of equal ability, but who, during their comparatively brief residence in the East, would have neither time, nor possibly inclination, to qualify themselves in the same manner for administrative duty, would seriously impair the power and curtail the resources of the Governor-General, and Governors of the several Presidencies. They regard the anomaly, which has been referred to, of maintaining two separate armies under one Sovereign, to be necessarily incident to the connection (in itself one of the greatest of anomalies) of England with her Indian Empire. They consider that late events have proved the benefit of having distinct armies for Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and that to dissever the Native, from the Local European forces, by the fusion of the latter with the Line Army, would be to deteriorate the position, and destroy the *esprit de corps* of officers serving with Native troops, who would feel themselves reduced to a level below that of their brother officers of the Line.

The Minority, bearing in mind the limited amount and inelastic nature of the revenues of India, the present financial difficulties of its government, and the great, additional burthen, which they conceive the system advocated by the Majority must impose, object earnestly on economical and financial grounds, to an arrangement, which, in their opinion, would practically diminish he control of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, and of the Government of India, over the application of its revenues. The Minority do not admit the validity of the unqualified objections raised to double recruiting, neither do they concur in the opinions expressed, as to the alleged deterioration of Local European troops, subjected to like discipline and organisation with the Line, or the crippling of the available resources of the State, by the existence of a Local European Force in India. They consider such a force to be a wholesome check on the precipitate withdrawal of European troops from India, in cases where the Home Government might happen to find itself under the pressure of political emergencies in Europe; and they feel confident that the transfer of the Indian Armies to the Crown will prove a source of present and future security to Her Majesty's Empire in India, in proportion as radical and organic changes are few, and the weight and stability of the Local Armies are maintained by largely, but economically, increasing their European element.

The Minority will not add to the length of this Report by entering into any further discussion of the opinions of their Colleagues, as embodied in previous paragraphs, neither do they deem it necessary to set forth any more detailed exposition of their own views on the subject, or to *recapitulate any of* the powerful and, to them, most convincing arguments, by which the expediency (not to say necessity) of maintaining a purely Local European, as well as Native force, for the protection of our Indian possessions, has been manifested and upheld in the evidence adduced before Your Majesty's Commissioners.

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It may be added, that the Minority of Your Majesty's Commissioners are quite agreed that a portion of the European force to be maintained in India hereafter should be supplied from the Army of the Line, to the extent, perhaps, of one-fourth, or even one-third, of the whole."

The foregoing statements on either side contain very strong arguments in favour of both Line and Local Armies,—*but of the two combined*, so as to insure to the State the special advantages that each may possess. The chief argument in favour of an exclusively Line Army, and one which if altogether correct would be really important, is the advantage that would be obtained from perfect uniformity of system and identity of feeling and interests, were the whole force amalgamated and placed under one head. But in any attempt at such amalgamation a serious difficulty must be encountered at the very outset. The absolute necessity for a Native Army is universally admitted, not only on financial grounds, but on those of policy and efficiency, and moreover for a force of considerable strength, fully equal at least to, if not numerically exceeding, the European portion,—the various recommendations ranging from equality to four to one. The Commissioners themselves suggested the general proportion of five Natives to two Europeans. Now this native force must necessarily be a local one, to which the system of organization, discipline and internal economy of the British Army is universally admitted to be altogether unsuited. Up to the year 1796 the Native Army was organized and maintained on a system totally distinct from that of the European force, and then it was a most efficient body. In that year the first steps were taken to introduce the British system, and since then departmental centralization and procrustean assimilation have gradually been introduced, until the power of the Commanding and other European officers was completely sapped and the practical efficiency of the Army destroyed. These evils are fully dwelt upon in all the evidence recorded, and the suggested abandonment of a system so detrimental, is supported by the Commissioners, who recommend an increase to the power of Commanding officers of Native corps, a revision of the Native Articles of War, and a simplification of the military code. Thus a large local force, and one moreover on a special and widely distinct system of organization, is unavoidable, and perfect assimilation, much less genuine and satisfactory amalgamation, is simply impracticable.

Such being the case, the proposed amalgamation of the European portion of the force is deprived of the chief alleged advantage,—that of constituting a part of one grand uniform system. But supposing that the Local European force of all arms could, without difficulty or injury to the guaranteed rights of existing members of the service, be amalgamated with or absorbed into the Line Army, such a measure would be ruinous *to the morale* and consequently to the efficiency of the Local Native force. Heretofore the Local European and Native forces have formed one conjoint service, actuated by sentiments of perfect unanimity and with identity of feelings and interests. At present the European portion consists of 12 Regiments of Infantry, 5 of Cavalry and 17 Brigades or Battalions of Artillery. Were this body separated entirely from the Native portion and merged into the Line, the Native Army, deprived of that element which added so materially to its strength, position and tone, would naturally and unavoidably be exposed to a feeling of degradation, a diminution of service-pride and *esprit de corps*, would suffer from a depressed tone, and would gradually lapse into a second-rate and inferior service, in which light it would assuredly be viewed by its more fortunate brethren. From a force so situated what could be expected?

But setting aside this important objection; the obstacles to the practical absorption of the Local European force into that of the Line are so great, that when the details come to be looked into and arranged it would, we suspect, be finally pronounced an impossibility. The officers of the Local force entered the East India Company's service under a certain covenant; in compensation for a life of exile in an uncongenial climate they were guaranteed increased allowances, liberal retiring pensions, or if they survived the majority of their contemporaries and still adhered to the service, a handsome provision for their later years in, formerly, a share of the Off-Reckoning Fund, and, latterly, an equivalent fixed allowance: they had also a guarantee against regimental supersession in any shape; and lastly they possessed a great advantage in their claims upon certain funds, either bequeathed to the service, as in the case of Lord Clive's fund, or supported by subscriptions rendered compulsory by the Government, which thus not only countenanced but became practically responsible for these institutions, which it liberally supported and fostered.

The continuance of all these advantages has been secured to the existing members of the service by Act of Parliament, on the transfer of the direct Government of India to the Crown.

The possession of these special privileges must render the amalgamation of the Local officers with those of the Line, a matter of extreme difficulty, and would most certainly not only and heartburnings" which the majority of the Commissioners express themselves so desirous to obviate and remove.

It must be borne in mind that the number of Local officers thus situated, amounts to between six and seven thousand, including the Medical Department, a large proportion of whom have passed some of the best years of their life in qualifying themselves for the specialities of Indian service; of the body generally it may be said that its members possess a considerable share of valuable local knowledge and experience, acquired in a rough but practical school, and that since its formation as an organized body it has ever been fertile in the production of able men and brave soldiers. It is a grave question, in the present aspect of affairs in Europe, if the nation could afford to lose such a body of trained and practical officers, which must be immediately replaced, and that too by untried and inexperienced men.

Yet this is unavoidable, with its attendant evil of the enormous expense of pensioning off all these officers, unless their services can be made available; which is only to be done satisfactorily and with justice to the interests of all concerned, by employing them, as heretofore, in a local force. Moreover as opinions are nearly unanimous in favour of a reduction of the old proportions of the Native Army and an increase to the number of Europeans, it follows that as the complement of existing Local officers is more than sufficient for the largest number of Native troops likely to be employed,—regular, irregular or police,—the balance, if employed at all, must be attached to European corps. The economy of this arrangement is self-evident, and in the present state of the Indian finances it would be unjustifiable to disregard this grand essential, which thus constitutes one of the strongest arguments in favour of a considerable Local European force. It has been crudely suggested that the Local officers might have the option of entering the Line Army on the ordinary footing, and that if they declined they should receive a pension or a bonus according to their standing; in other words, that they should be indirectly coerced into the resignation of their highly-prized, special and guaranteed privileges, under the penalty of loss of their profession. Such a measure would be as ungenerous as it would be unjust, being in spirit if not in letter a complete infringment of the late Parliamentary guarantee; and we cannot for a moment believe that the people of Great Britain would permit such treatment of a body of officers, who have done them some good service, having mainly won and maintained for them their magnificent Indian Empire.

Returning however to the alleged advantage of unity of system under the control of one head: supposing for the sake of argument that the whole force in India was converted into a Line Army, would it or could it possibly be under the exclusive control of one head? The Commander-in-Chief of the Forces might have the full control of the discipline, drill, organization, internal economy and equipment of the entire army; but *could he*, at home,—or his representative and delegate, the Commander-in-Chief in India—be supposed to exercise the control and disposal of the Force as regards its employment or location, the administrative management, or the patronage of the extra-Regimental Staff? If so, what would become of the authority and position of the Viceroy and Governor General of India? The necessity for concentrating and retaining the ostensible as well as the actual power and control over all military and civil establishments in the hands of the supreme head of the Local Government is self-evident, and admitted by even the staunchest advocates for the military authority of the Horse Guards. On this point the Minute of Lord Elphinstone—an old Line Officer and an advocate for amalgamation—is very explicit and deserving of consideration. He says "if there is one thing which must be ' laid down as a principle not to be departed from in our military ' arrangements in India, it is the entire subordination of the ' Army both European and Native to the Government of India. ' The troops of the Queen's regular Army, whilst serving in India, ' must be wholly subject to the authority of the Queen's Government in India. Regimental promotion indeed may be left entirely to the Horse Guards, but the patronage of every Staff appointment in India, should be vested, as with very few exceptions ' it now entirely is, in the hands of the Supreme and Local Governments, and of the Supreme and Local Commanders-in-Chief."

The argument in favour of the employment of Line troops in India, next in importance to that of the ideal and impracticable unity of system and control, is that, in time of European peace, India—the normal condition of which may be looked upon as one of warfare at some point or in some shape or other, and in which the British Army of occupation may be always considered as in camp,—affords the only field in which the British soldier can learn the practical part of his profession. This is undoubtedly true; India is to Great Britain what Algeria is to France; at any rate in a military point of view it ought to be so, and some similar advantages should be obtained for it. On this account it is undoubtedly desirable that the field of Indian service should be open to all branches of the British Army that can be employed there with advantage. But in following up the parallel between India and Algeria, it must not be forgotten that France has always had a Local force in that colony, and the European portion of it the *elite* of her Army; moreover, notwithstanding her propinquity she has never detached any seriously large proportion of her Line Army on that service. Now were the whole of the European force required for India, which cannot be assured at much less than 90,000 men of all arms, to be taken from the Line Army, it would swallow up more than one-half of the whole force of the empire; and that at such a distance as to render its immediate recall impracticable. Were even half the required force or, say, in round numbers 40,000 men of all arms permanently employed in India, it would be quite as much as the national force could conveniently spare. Much has been said in objection to a Local force, that not being under the direct control of the Home Authorities, it could not be employed in Europe, and that thus a large portion of the forces of the State would be tied up and not available if required at home in any emergency. But so far from considering this an objection, we look upon it as one of the strongest arguments in favour of a considerable Local force. If the European force in India is fixed as it ought to be at the minimum strength requisite for the security and defence of the country, the reduction of this force could only be justified by some sudden and pressing emergency; but owing to the distance from England, the troops thus withdrawn could not reach home until such emergency must have passed away in some shape or other. For this reason it is not real danger or critical emergencies that are likely to cause the withdrawal of troops for India, but rather internal and Parliamentary pressure, the consequence of some periodical panic or the economical doctrines of the peace party. It is the possibility of such influences that renders it desirable that the mischief they might occasion should be circumscribed by placing the larger and most important portion of the force beyond their control.

The fact that Line troops, being necessarily subject to periodical relief, would cause a constant infusion of new blood into the European force and also introduce the military changes and improvements of Europe, is to a certain extent true, but not deserving of any great consideration; as unfortunately the number of casualties in India is so large, that the necessity for annually replenishing the force with recruits from Europe would of itself always insure a sufficient amount of fresh blood, whilst the increased facilities for visiting and communicating rapidly with Europe, would enable the Local officers to keep themselves *au courant* with all military novelties and reforms that might be introduced in Europe. The inestimable boon recently accorded to the European Non-Commissioned Officers of the Local Army, by which a limited number are in future to be allowed annually to proceed on furlough to Europe, will also tend to maintain that body at a higher standard, as measured by the scale of European knowledge and experience.

On the other hand the cost of these necessary periodical reliefs would add greatly to the military charges, whilst the services of a large percentage of the force would be constantly lost to the state whilst in transit to and fro. Thus, if the whole European force belonged to the Line Army and it only amounted to the Commission's recommendation of 80,000 men, a regular relief every ten years would be equal to 8000 annually out and home, and allowing four months for each voyage the average constant loss of service would equal 5200, or supposing only half the number returned home, it would be equivalent to the constant loss of the services of 4000 men.

Again, the Regiments on arrival in India must naturally be less efficient for a time, as far as their fitness for active service in an Indian climate is concerned, than corps which have been thoroughly acclimated, as the Local force would necessarily be. A remarkable instance in support of this view is cited in the evidence given by Major General Sir R. H. Vivian with reference to the case of H. M.'s 71st Highlanders and the 3rd Bombay European Regiment. These corps were brigaded together in the late campaign in Bundelkund and in the affair before Koonch in May 1858; they were similarly circumstanced in regard to fatigue, exposure and equipment, yet the former Regiment had twenty men attacked by sun-stroke, of whom seven died, whilst in the Local Regiment not a man was attacked. The latter corps was acclimated, which the Highlanders were not, having been only three months in the country.

The theory of the necessary deterioration of Local troops as propounded by the majority of the Commissioners is satisfactorily disproved in practice, by a simple reference to facts past and present. The 1st Regiment of Bombay Fusiliers has been in existence for nearly two centuries, having been raised after the marriage of Charles the 2nd, contemporaneously with the 2nd or Queen's Royals, purposely to garrison Bombay, which had just been ceded by Portugal as the dowry of Queen Catherine. The 1st Regiment of Madras Fusiliers had its origin not very many years later; and the 1st Regiment of Bengal Fusiliers and the Artillery Regiments of the three Presidencies have all been in existence as Local corps for more than a century. All have been constantly employed on active service, all have won a world wide reputation, and we are unaware of any recorded fact in the history of India that would warrant a belief in their alleged deterioration.

Not the least important point in the consideration of this question is the fact that the officers of a Local force must be naturally, as a body, better qualified for general employment in India than those belonging to the Line army. The latter having the extended field of European employment before them, and considering themselves whilst in India, where a large proportion would first arrive late in life, as mere birds of passage, are of course more likely to turn their thoughts and aspirations to the wider and more agreeable opening to professional fame and fortune, and to regulate their studies, literary and practical, accordingly. On the other hand the Local officer always arriving in India whilst still young, with the knowledge that there must be his sphere of action during the best years of his life, naturally turns his exclusive attention to preparing himself for a successful career in the only locality where he has a chance of distinction. This necessity and this special training produced the Munros, Malcolms, Ochterlonys, Lawrences, Outrams, and Nicholsons of the Indian Army, and disastrous to the fortunes of the empire would be the measure that deprived the local Government of its selection from amongst men so trained.

But above all, the strongest argument in favour of a mixed force composed of both Line and Local troops, is to be found in the generous emulation and wholesome rivalry that must necessarily be excited when the two elements are judiciously blended together, and when the advantages of each, as regards emolument and staff employ, are equalized or fairly proportioned under fixed regulations, so as to remove all grounds for jealousy or heartburning. Nor must it be forgotten that circumstances might arise to render it desirable that one force might act as a moral if not a physical check upon the other. The recent unfortunate exhibition of feeling on the part of a portion of the soldiers of the East India Company on their compulsory transfer to the service of the Crown, affords a case in point as regards one portion, and similar or analogous circumstances might—human nature being ever the same—render a corresponding check on the other side equally desirable.

Whilst on this painful subject we must enter our protest against the ungenerous use that has been made of this sad event to convert it into a political weapon for the destruction of the Local force as a separate body. The remarks of the late Secretary of State for War during the recent debate in the House of Commons on the bill for increasing the number of local Europeans to be maintained in India, come with a singularly bad grace from one, who, as Chairman of the Organization Commission on the 25th November 1858—with reference to an opinion given by Colonel Durand in his evidence to the effect that the services of the Local force might be rendered available for

employment beyond Indian limits in cases of
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"But you assume that which I believe t
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'tions, Parliament would have the power t
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modified a form. We allude not only to
of facts, but to the inferences drawn
them.

Having thus noticed the leading argume
the question, we incline to the belief that the
our readers will agree with us in opinion
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Lastly, let a fixed proportion, with reference to
be laid down for the Brigade, Garrison, D

Staff of the two services, and then, all advantages being equalized, existing jealousies and clashing of interests would be at an end. Original commissions would of course continue to be granted by the Secretary of State and Council for India, the patronage of the Horse Guards being already as large as is desirable; subsequent Regimental proportion to continue on the seniority system, under the orders of the local Government, as at present.

By such an arrangement we should obtain all the unity and assimilation practicable under any circumstances, with the advantage of a mixed force combining European science and energy with local experience and special training; each element sufficiently distinct to ensure a generous emulation and beneficial rivalry, without the fear of jealousy, heartburning or obstructive ill will; affording a mutual check, should such even be requisite; whilst the Royal Army would obtain the benefit of the long coveted field of Indian service to as full an extent as would be consistent with or suitable to the total strength of its establishment, at the same time that the guaranteed rights and privileges of the Indian Army would remain intact and inviolate.

All entering the service subsequent to the date of the transfer, would of course be liable to future change of organization, transfer or amalgamation, should such hereafter be rendered advisable, partially or wholly, by any unforeseen change of circumstances.

In connection with this question, it remains to consider the relative proportions the two forces should bear to each other.

Speaking generally we consider that the nearer they approach to equality the better, but that a slight preponderence should exist on the side of the Local force. The Commissioners observe that to diminish the proportion of Line to Local troops would render the former auxiliaries to the latter, and tend to lower the position of the Line "by rendering it numerically and consequently morally inferior to the Local or larger force." Now in regard to the Line troops which form a portion of the great and glorious British Army this argument is altogether inapplicable; but it precisely describes what would be the result, on the other side, if the whole European Local force was numerically weaker than the portion of the Line Army in India. On this ground we would desire to see a decided preponderance, though a moderate one in favor of the Local Force.

But although the total strength of the two bodies might advantageously be brought near to equality, it is not necessary or desirable that this proportion should be kept up in each arm; on the contrary, such an arrangement would be productive of serious inconvenience. The Infantry arm is that which can be most easily raised or replaced, and which therefore can best be spared from home. Moreover it is the least expensive arm to move, having little or no *materiel* to accompany it, whilst the training and organization of this arm renders it more available for general service in any locality and adapts it more speedily to the special duties of oriental service, than would be the case with the other arms. The Heavy Cavalry of Europe is quite unsuited to service in India, where the Lightest British Dragoon is much heavier than is desirable either with reference to the means available for mouniting him, or the nature of the duties required from Cavalry in the East. But India is almost the only field which the British Light Cavalry possesses in which to acquire practical training, in time of European peace. It is therefore desirable that a few Regiments should always be employed in this country, where they should be equipped as lightly as practicable; in spite of which however they must always support the heavy or reserve Cavalry of the Army.

A similar argument holds good with regard to the Royal Artillery, who can be ill spared from home in any numbers, and who must either bring out all their own *materiel* or use the lighter ordnance and equipments of the Local Artillery, which, though in some respects of a more rough and ready character, are, we believe, better suited to the climate and the special nature of the service than the Royal *materiel*, perfect as that is admitted to be for the purposes of European warfare. In either case there is an evil; in the one the cost and trouble of the transport of *materiel* not the best suited for the purpose; in the other the necessity for a change of *materiel*, which renders it necessary to unlearn as well as to learn, and which, from the fact of being a change, is not likely to find favour in the eyes of those long trained to the use of different equipments, which they have been taught, and with reason, to consider as most efficient.

Lastly, it must not be forgotten that both the Cavalry and Artillery have, of necessity, attached to them a large establishment of natives in the shape of Syces, Grass-cutters, and Lascars, and to obtain the fullest advantage from the aid of these men, some knowledge of the native languages and habits is very requisite; and consequently frequent change in the course of relief, or even of transfer from one Presidency to the other, must be attended with more practical inconvenience than in the case of Infantry movements. It is undoubtedly true, as it is highly creditable to them, that the Royal Artillery Batteries sent out to India during the mutiny in 1857, and for the most part furnished with local *materiel* and native establishments, were speedily in a state of efficiency and did good service in the campaign; but this was a case of peculiar emergency, calling for the best exertions of every British officer and soldier, and on which, to be thoroughly efficient, would require a full complement of European officers, especially as it ought to be organized with a view to, and rendered available for, being much broken up into detachments. Here then is a simple mode of providing for all the Infantry officers in the Local force, which would then consist of 26 European Regiments and 120 Battalions of Regulars with 40 Irregular Native Battalions, the latter body being officered, as at present, from the regular Regiments.

To complete the proposed establishment of 64 European Regiments, 38 Line Regiments or Battalions would be requisite. As the British Line at present is composed of 131 Battalions, including the Rifle Brigade, 38 is as large a number as it would be prudent or convenient to maintain permanently detached in India; as with the Regiments which would constantly be in transit to and fro in course of the regular reliefs, the average proportion employed in and for India, including Ceylon and China, may be estimated at fully one-third of the whole Line, which has still to supply all the other colonies. The deduction from the present establishment of 38 Battalions, or with reliefs, say, 40 for India, would leave 91 for Home and Colonial service, being within one of the number laid down by H. R. H. the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, as the minimum requisite for that purpose; consequently little if any change would be involved in the present establishment of the British Line.

Of European Cavalry it is proposed that there should be 64 Squadrons or 16 Regiments. Of Local European Cavalry there are at present 5 Regiments, all in Bengal, and altogether in India there are 21 *Cadres* of officers. As the ultimate abolition of all the regular Native Cavalry is almost unanimously recommended, these officers would all be available for European Regiments; doubling the *Cadres* would supply 10½ Regiments, which might advantageously be completed to 11 Local European Regiments, which would render 5 Line Regiments necessary to complete the proposed establishment.

The British Cavalry of the Line consists of 7 Regiments of Heavy Cavalry or Dragoon Guards, and 18 of so-called Light Cavalry,—Dragoons, Light Dragoons, Hussars, and Lancers; but of these 18 Regiments, three are as much Heavy Cavalry as the Dragoon Guards, leaving only 15 (nominally) Light Regiments, so that if 5 of these Corps are permanently maintained in India, one-third of that arm would also be absorbed. It may be argued that at the present moment there are several of the heavy Regiments in India, and that one of them at least has done admirable service; nevertheless we consider that they are out of place; true it may be shown that they are in reality little if at all heavier than the so-called Light Dragoons, and we believe that such being the case, led to their employment in India; but this is only adding to the evil, or rather showing its full extent, by proving how unnecessarily, and for India how objectionably, heavy the so-called Light Cavalry must be. Certain it is that cattle cannot be found in India to mount any large number of heavy men efficiently; and when mounted they are almost useless for anything but the mere shock of battle, which native opponents are little likely to encounter. What is wanted for India is a body of really Light Cavalry, light weights, lightly equipped and trained to rapid and continued pursuit. For such a purpose the *Chasseurs d'Afrique* of the French Algerian Army might in a great measure be taken as a model, composed as those Regiments are of light picked men, bold riders, good shots and skilful swordsmen, mounted on small Arabs that in India would be considered undersized even for native troopers. No reason exists, of which we are aware, why such a system should not be adapted for the Light Horse of India, and with the material available to work upon, and the constant chances of employment, these Regiments ought to be rendered the best Light Cavalry in the world: but they must be soldiers for work not for show.

The Native or Irregular Cavalry would have no complement of European officers permanently attached, but like the Irregular Infantry a certain limited number of officers would be appointed, selected from the regular Corps of the whole army, nearly as at present.

Thus the Mounted Force for all India would consist of 5 Regiments of Light Dragoons, 11 Regiments of Local Light Horse and 32 Regiments of Irregular Cavalry. The only increase of officers requisite would be two Field Officers to complete the additional *Cadre* required, the Captains and Subalterns being supplied from the remaining Corps, which would bear that or even farther reduction.

As regards the reorganization of the Artillery, the simplest plan would be to follow out the principle of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge's plan, with such modifications as might be requisite to meet the actual demand for this arm. He proposed to form the existing 24 Brigades and Battalions of Local Artillery at the three Presidencies, into one Regiment of 16 Brigades, of which 4 to be Horse and 12 Foot Artillery Brigades. If any portion of the Royal Artillery is to be permanently employed in India, such a measure is absolutely necessary, otherwise the Local Artillery would be placed in a most galling and unjust position of inferiority to their more fortunate brethren of the Royal Artillery, by whom they would be for ever superseded in the higher grades.

son it has been suggested to allow 9 Captains of each grade to a Brigade, instead of the usual complement of 8. Lastly, whilst following out the Duke's suggestion in regard to the strength and composition of Brigades, we think it would be far preferable if the Local Brigades of Foot Artillery, instead of being one-half Field and one-half Garrison Brigades, were each composed of 4 Field and 4 Garrison Batteries, exclusive of the Native Batteries. This would leave the proportion unchanged, and practically would be found a great advantage, as it would admit of Field and Garrison Batteries of the same Brigade being stationed together under the command of their own Field Officers.

The Artillery force on this plan would consist of 4 Brigades of Horse Artillery of 6 Batteries each, 4 of Royal Foot Artillery of 8 Batteries each, and 12 of Local Foot Artillery of 8 European and 1 Native Battery each.

The relative details and strength of the two forces would thus be as follows:—

Line Troops.

38 Regiments of Infantry	900 strong	=	34,200
5 Regiments of Cavalry	600 ,,	=	3,000
4 Brigades of Artillery at 1280 & 1000,		=	4,160
Total, ...			41,360

Local European Troops.

26 Regiments of Infantry	900 strong	=	23,400
11 Regiments of Cavalry	600 ,,	=	6,600
4 Brigades of H. Arty. at	1,050 ,,	=	4,200
12 Brigades of Ft. Arty. at	1,040 ,,	=	12,480
18 Detachments of Sappers, ...	...		540
Total, ...			47,220

The relative totals being in the proportions of 7 to 8, just the difference desirable.

Next in importance to the consideration of the total force requisite for India and the composition of its European quota, comes the question as to whether or not it is advisable *to amalgamate the three Local Armies of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies.* With those members of the Commission who voted for, and those officers who gave evidence in favour of, one Army and that a Line force, this local amalgamation was of course advocated as a part of the general system of uniformity. On the other hand, most of the advocates for the maintenance of a Local force, were strongly in favour of leaving the several Local Armies perfectly distinct; but this view is advocated, not so much as forming a portion of the general question of amalgamation, as upon its own special grounds.

It is urged, and not without a considerable show of truth and reason, that the separation of the Native Armies of Madras and Bombay from that of Bengal, was of inestimable advantage during the mutiny, which was chiefly confined to the latter Presidency. It is also shown that the Madras Army, which from its composition was the most widely separated in feeling and interests from that of Bengal, was the most heartily opposed to and perfectly ready and willing to act against the latter force; whilst the Bombay Army, which contained a portion of Poorbeahs, similar to and connected with the Bengal Sepoys, was not altogether without taint, especially in certain corps in which the Hindustani element was the most predominant. It must also be taken into consideration that, whilst the old Bengal Native Army mutinied as a body and is practically non-existent, leaving an open field for the reconstruction of a new force upon whatever terms may be deemed most advisable, the Madras and Bombay Armies, generally speaking, behaved faithfully and loyally in the hour of great trial and temptation, when their defection would have had a most disastrous effect; and consequently they deserve great consideration. On this account it is most desirable that no changes should be introduced which would injuriously effect their interests, or that might be opposed to their feelings and prejudices. Neither must it be forgotten how much injury has been already inflicted upon the Native Armies of India by the mania for uniformity and centralization which has so long been prevalent. These are considerations which should all be carefully kept in view in devising any scheme of reorganization of the Native portion of the force.

But on the other hand there are strong arguments in favour of a partial amalgamation.

So long as the several Armies are recruited in their own peculiar localities of enlistment, and composed of races not only differing in habits, feelings and interests, but actually to a certain extent antagonistic to each other, it matters very little whether they are all designated as members of the *Indian Army* or of their own Provincial or Presidency forces; the separation and antagonism will exist just the same between the Dekhani—whether he be Mahomedan or Hindu, Mahrattah, Tamulian, Purwarree or Telinga,—and the Hindustani, whether from Oude, Central India or the Punjab. But the more the several distinct races are kept apart from each other, as a general rule, the wider will be their separation of feeling, and the greater and more permanent their antagonism. There are those who have recommended the employment of the several races in other than their own localities, who would, for instance, send the Sikh to the Dekhan, the Poorbeah to Burmah, the Mahratta to the Punjab, the Rajpoot to Sind, and the Goorkah to Central India; but such a theory, however specious at first sight, is in reality crude and impracticable. All the evidence on this point, from those whose character, local knowledge, and long experience must carry most weight, tends in a country direction, and goes to prove the advisability of giving the Native force, as far as practicable, a provincial organization, bearing to a certain extent the character of a permanent militia. The dread of and dislike to protracted and distant removal from the neighbourhood of their homes, is believed by many to have been one, and not the least, amongst the causes of the recent mutiny; the Punjab Committee speak strongly to this point, and illustrate their opinion by an anecdote indicating the native feeling in regard to distant or, as it is deemed, foreign service. Moreover in the Madras Army, as a general rule, the sepoys have their families with them, and a distant remove renders it necessary either to leave their families behind them, or else the expense attendant on their transport presses very heavily on the limited means of the men and induces a feeling of discontent. In short, whatever sacrifices of personal feeling the Native soldier may be induced to make, from a knowledge of the advantages of the service, from a sentiment of faith to his salt, or personal regard for his officers, or under the influence of discipline, he has a strong and ineradicable dislike to protracted service at any long distance from his home and family.

These feelings, or prejudices if you will, no Government would feel justified in ignoring or setting altogether aside; and so long as they exist, it would be impossible to employ the whole Native force promiscuously in any or all parts of the Empire, and at the same time to maintain a contented Army.

On these grounds we consider that the inhabitants of the Dekhan and Hindustan—the two great divisional landmarks,—should be each employed in their respective localities, as far as practicable; the former, who, composed of various races, constitute the bulk of the Madras and Bombay Armies, retaining, as at present, Military occupation of the Dekhan, with the addition of Sind, Cutch and Guzerat, and also, on account of their greater aptitude for and willingness to undertake, sea voyages, holding the stations in Burmah, the Straits and Aden; the Hindustanis and Punjabis occupying the provinces at present attached to the Bengal Presidency, including Oude, the Punjab and Central India.

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ed a force; to aid in this respect and in a

the present partially subordinate Commanders-in-Chief, the whole Army might conveniently be divided into three *Corps d'Armée*, either representing the three existing Presidencies, or what we consider would be a better arrangement in many respects, composed, one of the troops in the Punjab and Sind or the *Corps d'Armée* of the Indus, another of the whole of the Peninsula South of the Nerbudda, with the addition of Burmah, Aden and the Straits, to be designated the *Corps d'Armée* of the Dekhan, and the third the *Corps d'Armée* of Hindustan occupying the valley of the Ganges and Jumna, Oude, Central India and Bengal Proper.

Although we own to looking upon this measure with a very favourable eye, we are fully aware that it is opposed to the views of many able and experienced men, for whose opinions we entertain the highest respect, and therefore it is one that we should hesitate to press with any degree of self-opiniated urgency; nor do we desire to make it an essential part of our general scheme of reorganization, which could equally be carried out with or independent of, this arrangement. In fact, were the suggestion one likely to be adopted, it would be unwise to attempt its introduction until the three Armies, as they at present exist, had each been placed upon a sound and satisfactory footing, when their amalgamation would be a matter of less difficulty. Even then, with a view to prevent supersession it would be only just, as well as prudent, to let the members of the old Company's service continue to rise in their respective Presidency Armies, at any rate until all below the grades of Field Officers had been absorbed.

But setting this part of the question altogether aside, let us now consider what proportion of the force proposed for India it would be necessary to assign to Bengal; as the chaotic condition of the army of that Presidency, renders it imperatively necessary that the first and earliest possible measures should be adopted in order to put that force on a satisfactory footing.

Taking only the most important political or strategical points along the line of the Ganges and Jumna, in Oude, Central India and the Punjab, assigning to the majority a complete, but to a few only a demi-Brigade, the lowest number that could be adopted with safety would be 22 such Brigades, or 22 European Regiments and 44 Native Battalions of Infantry, allowing a grand Garrison to each Division, of which six at least would be required, and, in addition also to Lucknow and Agra, eight more European and six Native Battalions would be necessary. But as already stated, the Brigade at the Presidency would require three European Regiments, being in fact a reserve Brigade on one of the bases of operations. In like manner the im-

portance of Allahabad would render it necess
that Brigade with a second European Regimen
strong Brigade for the frontier, not immediat
the Peshawur valley, but in reserve at the
Rawul Pindee, these reinforcements would a
Regiments to the establishment, and with six
ments in general reserve in the Hills, would
Regiments of European and 50 Battalions of
To this force must be added the Irregular o
the Trans-Indus frontier, the Eastern Provinc
rakan, &c., and for Chota Nagpore, Oude,
Hurrianah, as also Goorkah Battalions for t
these altogether cannot be calculated at less
lions; making a total of 40 European and 80
regular and irregular, or 36,000 European a
Infantry, being in the exact proportion of 5 t
allowing two entire Brigades, each of a Regi
drons, of Europeans and the same of Nativ
placed on the main line of communications,
and Umballah; the latter to be ultimately re
nected with the line of railway between De
giving a Squadron of European and two of
all the other Brigades and demi-Brigades w
be used with effect, or when not in immediate
valry Brigade, with a double complement at P
shera whichever may be decided on as the
tion, and with 3 Squadrons of each at Gwal
Regiments attached to the Irregular force
quired will be 36 Squadrons of 9 Regi
pean, and double that proportion of Native
gards the Artillery, a Battery of Horse Artillery
ed for each Division of the Army at least one
Brigade, two broken up with moveable colu
Central India, and at least two in general reserv
of 12. Of Field and Garrison Batteries, an
each would be required for each of the 22
each of the 8 great Garrisons, and 2 in general
a total of 32 of each. Lastly the number of S
Companies could not be estimated at less tha
Battalion and giving an average of one per Di
reserve.

Of the proposed distribution of this force ou
able to form a better idea from the following
will sufficiently indicate the principle adopted
not presume to submit it as representing the
effective mode of allotment. It will be obser

every station therein proposed, is at present occupied or has generally been held by an equally strong or stronger force, though not always with the same proportion of Europeans, with the exception of the neighbourhood of Rajmahal. A glance at the map will show the strategic importance of this position, at the elbow of the Ganges, and at the point where the E. I. Railway strikes the river. Rajmahal itself is too unhealthy for a European military station, but a little above, nearer Colgong, about Putterghatta, an eligible site might be obtained, well raised with rocky soil, and comparatively free from jungle, commanding the river opposite to Carragola Ghât, from whence roads diverge towards Tirhoot, Eastern Bengal and Darjeeling. Sooner or later a Military position must be established in that quarter, if only for the protection of the railway property, Government stores, and commercial produce that must ultimately be accumulated there, and whilst the subject of locating the proposed force is under consideration, it might as well be taken up at once, whilst ground is available. Hurreekee, it will also be observed, is coupled with Ferozepore, under the belief that the former is the point at which the railway to Lahore must cross, and consequently that all the establishments at Ferozepore will be moved thither; it being also much the better strategic position,—below the junction of the Beas with the Sutlej. With the railway crossing at that point, it would become the key of the Punjab. It will also be observed that the demi-Brigades in Central India, Bundelkund, Oude, Goruckpore and Segowlie, Futtehgurh, and the Punjab, have all got a full Brigade proportion of Cavalry so as to render them efficient as light moveable columns. When a Regiment is divided between two stations, 6 Companies might be established at the Head Quarters, and 4 detached, but for the fortified post where the latter would be stationed, 2 Companies might also be detached from the Head Quarter Brigade of the Division, or Veteran Companies might be located there

Proposed Stations.	Infy.			Cavy.		Artillery.				Sapper and Miner Company.
	European Battalion.	Native Regulars.	Native Irregulars.	European Squadron.	Native Squadron.	Horse Arty. Battery.	Field Battery.	Garrison Battery.	Native Battery.	
Garrison of Fort William and Calcutta, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Presidency Brigade, Barrackpore and Dum-Dum, ...	3	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...
Colgong and Segowlie, ...	1	2	...	2	4	...	1	1	...	...
Dinapore Brigade, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...
Benares Brigade, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...
Eastern Frontier, ...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Damudah, Berhampore, &c., ...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Presidency Division,	7	8	8	4	8	1	5	5	2	...
European Detachments from the Presidency at Berhampore, Raneegunge and Colgong, Infantry Depôts at Hazareebaugh and Ghazeepore.										
Allahabad Garrison and City ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Allahabad Brigade,...	2	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1
Cawnpore Cavalry Brigade, ...	...	...	...	4	4	1	...	...	...	...
Lucknow Garrison and City, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Lucknow Brigade, ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1
Fyzabad and Goruckpore, ...	1	2	...	2	4	½	1	1	...	...
Seetapore and Azimghur, ...	1	2	...	2	4	½	1	1	...	...
Baraitch, Sultanpore and Roy Bareilly, ...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Oude Division,	7	9	...	8	14	3	6	6	...	2
European Detachments from Allahabad and Lucknow at Mirzapore, Cawnpore and Azimghur.										
Gwalior Garrison and Town, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Gwalior Brigade, ...	1	2	...	3	3	1	1	1	...	1
Saugor Brigade, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	
Neemuch and Nusseerabad, ...	1	2	...	2	4	½	1	1	...	
Mhow, &c., ...	1	2	...	2	4	½	1	1	...	
Jhansie, Banda, &c., ...	...	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	
Gwalior Division,	5	9	4	8	14	2	5	5	..	1

Proposed Stations.	Infy.			Cavy.		Artillery				Sapper and Miner Company.
	E. Battalion.	N. Regulars.	N. Irregulars.	E. Squadron.	N. Squadron.	H. A. Battery.	Field Battery.	Garn. Battery.	N. Battery.	
Garrison and City of Delhi, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Delhi Brigade and Meerut Depot,	1	2	...	1	2	2	3	2	...	1
Bareilly Brigade, ...	1	2	...	2	4		1	1	...	...
Kumaon Reserve Brigade & Roorkee,	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Futtyghur, and Agra Garrison, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	2	...	...
Agra Brigade, ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Umballa Cavalry Brigade, ...	...	...	...	4	4	1	...	...	...	...
Simla, Kussowlie and Dugshae Reserve Brigade, ...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Moradabad, Shajehanpore and Hurrianah, ...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi Division,	9	9	6	8	12	3	7	7	...	3
European Detachments from Delhi, Agra, and the Hills, at Allighur, Muttra, Roorkee and Umballa.										
Garrison and City of Lahore, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Lahore Brigade and Umritsur, ...	1	2	...	2	4	1	1	1	...	1
Forozepore or Hurreekee Brigade, ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Jullunder Brigade, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...
Mooltan, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...
Chumba and Kangra Reserve Brigd.	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lahore Division,	7	9	2	4	8	1	5	5	...	1
European Detachments from Lahore and the Hills at Umritsur and Phillore.										
Peshawur or Nowshera Garrison, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	..	...
Peshawur or Nowshera Brigade, ...	1	2	...	2	4	1	1	1	...	1
Rawul Pindee Brigade, ...	2	1	...	...	...	1	1	..	...	...
Jhelum and Sealkote, ...	1	2	...	2	4	...	2	2	...	...
Trans-Indus Frontier, Derajat and Huzara, ...	...	...	8	...	8	...	...	...	4	...
Peshawur Division,	5	6	8	4	16	2	4	4	4	1
European Detachments from Peshawur and Rawul Pindee at Kohat, Attock, &c.,										
Total,	40	50	30	36	72	12	32	32	6	8

The total force for Bengal would then consist of

40 Regiments of European Infantry,	36,000
9 " European Cavalry,	5,400
2 Brigades Horse Artillery,	2,100
8 Brigades Foot Artillery,	8,320
8 Detachments of Sappers,	240
Total Europeans,	52,060

50 Battalions of Regular Native Infantry,	36,000
30 " Irregular " "	21,600
18 Regiments of Irregular Cavalry,	10,800
6 Batteries of Native Artillery,	900
76 Details of Gun Lascars,	1,140
8 Companies of Miners,...	800
	71,240

A force of the foregoing strength and composition, located on the principle above proposed, with its base on the seaboard, a strong reserve force in the rear of its most exposed frontier, all its main stations in communication with each other, either by rail, river or good military roads, would, we conceive, be fully equal to any exigencies likely to arise. At the same time, that it is not unnecessarily numerous will be sufficiently evident by a comparison with the force stationed in the same localities prior to the Mutiny, which, though weaker in Europeans, was much more formidable in its native portion; and also by a reference to the suggestions laid before the Commission by those in a position to offer sound opinions, and who have gone into the subject in any degree of detail.

Thus, for instance, for the Bengal Presidency alone

The Commissioners recommend an average of about 50,000 Europeans and 100,000 Natives.

The Governor General recommends 45 Regiments of European and 50 of Native Infantry. 13 of European Cavalry, besides Natives, and 13 Brigades or 78 Batteries and 26 Reserve Companies of Artillery.

Lord Ellenborough, suggests in round numbers, 50 Regiments of European Infantry, and 25 of Cavalry, besides Artillery and Natives.

Major General Birch, Military Secretary, recommends 68 Regiments of European and 57 of Native Infantry; 21 of European and 45 of Native Cavalry; 12 Horse and 65 Field Batteries of Artillery with 15 Reserve Companies.

Major General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, proposes 45 Regiments of Europeans and 56 of Native Infantry, 12

Regiments of European and 12 of Native Cavalry; 44 Batteries of Horse and Field Artillery with 30 Reserve Companies.

COLONEL MAYHEW, the Adjutant General of the Army, recommends in round numbers 40,000 Infantry, 8000 Cavalry and 10,000 Artillery all Europeans, with 60,000 Native Infantry and Cavalry.

MAJOR GENERAL TUCKER, formerly Adjutant General, proposes a force of from 40,000 to 50,000 Europeans, including 5,000 Light Horse, and from 80,000 to 100,000 Native Troops.

The PUNJAB COMMITTEE recommend 54,000 Europeans and 136,000 Natives of sorts.

MAJOR GENERAL S. COTTON, suggests 40,000 European and 60,000 Native Infantry, exclusive of other arms.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR HARRY SMITH, recommends a force of 35 European and 60 Native Regiments of Infantry, 8 European and 30 Native Regiments of Cavalry, 20 Batteries of Horse and 47 of Field Artillery exclusive of Siege, Garrison, and Reserve Companies.

MAJOR GENERAL MONTGOMERIE, proposes an establishment of 27,000 European and 80,000 Native Infantry; 3000 European and 12,000 Native Cavalry, 6000 European and 2600 Native Artillery, 300 European and 1000 Native Sappers.

COLONEL BURLTON, recommends 40 Regiments of European Infantry, 12 of Cavalry, and 10,000 Artillery, with 24,000 Native Cavalry and 40,000 Native Infantry.

Thus it will be evident that, whatever may be the defects of our scheme, judged by the most competent authorities on the subject, we have not over-estimated the amount of force required.

Our plan, however, although considerably below the numerical average of the above recommendations, represents tolerably fairly the mean of the different proportions suggested for Europeans and Natives.

The quota of troops we would propose to allot to Madras is based to a considerable extent on the recommendations given by Lord Harris, the late Governor, and Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief, with a slight increase to the European and a considerable decrease in the native portion of the force. The principle followed should be similar to that adopted in the preceding statement of the proposed allotment of the Bengal force, except that a larger proportion of natives should be allowed for the Madras Brigades, of which one-half should be divided into demi-Brigades or with only a wing or rather six

Companies of Europeans to one and a half or two Regiments of Native Infantry; the Cavalry should be somewhat more massed together, and the proportion of Native Cavalry smaller; but then it must be taken into consideration that a large and efficient irregular force of both Infantry and Cavalry, is still in existence, and with reference to political conditions and to the good service rendered by a portion of that force during the late Mutiny, we infer that it will be maintained. The Artillery portion, however, might advantageously be allowed to die out; of course we allude to the Hyderabad Contingent, composed of 4 Regiments of Cavâlry and 6 of Infantry. The Madras Army at present is organized on a somewhat extravagant scale, in five permanent Divisions with four Field, District or Subsidiary Forces. For the proposed allotment, four Divisions would be amply sufficient, and these are clearly marked out by natural and political landmarks.

The establishment proposed by Lord Harris for the Madras Presidency consists of 14 Regiments of European Infantry, 4 of Cavalry, and 36 Batteries of Horse and Foot Artillery, Field and Reserve, with a Native force as at present. Sir Patrick Grant suggests only 13 Regiments of Infantry, 3 of Cavalry and 43 Batteries of Artillery, Horse, Field and Reserve, but he would increase the Native force. The Governor General suggests 12 Regiments of Infantry, 3 of Cavalry and 48 Batteries of Artillery of all sorts.

The allotment we would propose for Bombay, based on the same principles as those which regulated the proposed establishment of Madras, will be shewn in the following statement. As at Calcutta, so at Kurrachee, we would have a complete European Brigade of 3 Regiments of Infantry with Artillery, available for service whenever required; this Brigade by the aid of Steamers might in a day or two be thrown on any part of the West coast of the Dekhan, between Surat and Bombay, or in a short time conveyed to Aden, Persia or Egypt if required. The two spare Companies for each Regiment would suffice for the Garrison of Kurrachee, when the Brigade was withdrawn, and generally might spare two Companies for the Citadel at Hydrabad. The climate of Kurrachee is salubrious and well-suited to the European constitution, but forage is scarce, so that any large force of Cavalry could not be located there except at heavy expense. Major General Jacob was so strongly impressed with its advantages in a strategic, political and sanatory point of view, that he recommended the permanent maintenance of 10,000 European troops there. In the location of the remainder of the proposed establishment for this Presidency, we have been guided by the recommendations of Lord Elphinstone, Sir

H. Somerset, Colonel Green, the Adjutant General, and Sir Bartle Frere.

Proposed Stations.	Infantry.			Cavalry.		Artillery.				Sapper and Miner Company.
	European Battalion.	Native Regulars.	Native Irregulars.	European Squadron.	Native Squadron.	Horse Artly. Battery.	Field Battery.	Garrison Battery.	Native Battery.	
Bombay Garrison and Island, ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	.	...
Poona Garrison, ...	½	1	...	...	.	...	1	1	.	...
Poona Brigade, ...	1	3	...	..	..	1	1	1	..	1
Kirkee Cavalry Brigade, ...	...	...	..	4	4	1	...	...		...
Belgaum and Sattara, ...	1	3	..	2	4	1	1	1		1
Ahmednuggur and Sholapore, ...	1	3	...	2	4	1	2	2	...	...
Malligaum, Kolapore and Dharwar, &c., ...	..	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aden, ...	½	1	...	...	...	.	...	1	..	...
Bombay Division,	5	15	2	8	12	4	6	7	...	2
Kurrachee Garrison and Brigade, ...	3	2	...	...		1	2	2	...	1
Hyderabad, ...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...
Jacobabad, ...	...	.	2	.	8	...	...	...	1	...
Deesa and Rajcote, ...	1	3	...	3	4	1	1	1	...	...
Ahmedabad and Broach, ...	1	3	...	1	2	.	2	1	...	1
Baroda, Surat, Dhurrumpoor, &c.,...	..	2	2	..	...	...	1	1	...	..
Sind and Guzerat Division,...	5	11	4	4	16	2	6	5	2	2
Total, ...	10	26	6	12	28	6	12	12	2	4

The establishment proposed by Lord Elphinstone is 9 Regiments of Infantry, 2 of Cavalry, 24 Batteries of Artillery of sorts, a Company of Sappers, and 3 Companies of African Artillery, with a Native force of 25 Regular Regiments of Infantry, 9 of Irregular Cavalry and 5 Companies of Sappers, besides Irregular Infantry, Police and the Marine Battalion.

Sir Henry Somerset recommends 15 Regiments of Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, 33 Battalions of Artillery of sorts, a Battalion of 500 Sappers and a Company of 800 Military Train, all Europeans, with 39 Regiments of Native Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, and a Battalion of Native Sappers. But he calculates in this proportion for the permanent occupation of Rajpootana, Meywar and Malwa by the Bombay Army, which we have suggested—and we think not without good reason—should revert to the Bengal force.

Colonel Green proposes an establishment of 16 Regiments of European Infantry, 4 of Cavalry, and 32 Batteries of Artillery, 4 Companies of Sappers, with a Native force of 30 Regiments of Infantry and 6 of Cavalry, with 12 Companies of Sappers, but his scheme is also based on the idea that Central India would remain with the Bombay Army.

Sir Bartle Frere's scheme is the most moderate of all, being confined to 8,500 European Infantry, 500 Cavalry and 3,500 Artillery; with 28,800 Native Infantry, 7500 Native Cavalry, 700 Artillery and 500 Sappers.

Our plan represents an average of the proposed European establishments, but a reduction of the Native force beyond all the other plans.

The next consideration is the proportion of Line and Local troops to be allotted to each Presidency; and this must depend chiefly on the proportion of Regular Native Infantry Battalions allotted to each, with the general necessity for a larger proportion of Europeans in the Bengal Army than at the other Presidencies.

In Bengal it is proposed to maintain 50 Battalions of Native Infantry, which, absorbing 50 existing Cadres of officers, would leave 30 Cadres available for 15 European Regiments, or a proportion of 3 European to 10 Native Battalions. To complete the complement of 40 European Regiments, 25 Line Corps would be required for Bengal, giving the relative proportions of 5 to 3. 30 Irregular or Local Battalions must be added chiefly for frontier duties.

Of Cavalry there are 9 Regiments required: of this number 5 Local Corps already exist. But of the 5 Royal Regiments proposed for all India, if one is assigned to each of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, there will only remain 3 for Bengal, for which Presidency one more Regiment is still required. But at Madras there is a surplus proportion of this arm in the local force, and 2 Regiments or *Cadres* of officers might be transferred at once to Bengal to regulate the proportion and complete the wants of the latter Presidency. This measure, which has been already under consideration more than once, could complete the establishment required for Bengal. The proportion of 2 Natives to one European renders 18 Regiments of Irregular Cavalry requisite, which would not give one troop too many. The existing 12 *Battalions* of Local Artillery converted into 8 Brigades on the

Royal system, together with 2 Royal Brigades, would furnish the requirements of that arm. A Battalion of 8 Companies of Sappers and Miners would complete the required establishment.

At Madras 44 Battalions of Native Infantry, as proposed, would leave 14 *Cadres* of officers available for 7 European Regiments; to which latter 7 Line Regiments would have to be added to complete the proposed establishment of 14.

Of Cavalry the 6 *Cadres* of officers remaining after the transfer of 2 to Bengal, would suffice for 3 Regiments of European Light Horse, which with one of Dragoons would give the total of 4 proposed. The fact of the Hyderabad Contingent with 4 Regiments of Native Cavalry being so intimately mixed up with the force of the Madras Presidency, would render the full complement of Irregular Cavalry unnecessary and it might be reduced from 8 to 6 Regiments, giving the surplus to Bombay, where this arm would be more required. For the same reason, the proportion of Irregular Infantry need not be large; 4 Battalions would suffice, leaving 6 available for Bombay.

The 7 Madras and the 5 Bombay Battalions might be organized as 8 Brigades, 4 for Madras and 3 for Bombay, being composed of officers exclusively belonging to their respective Presidencies, the 5th Brigade for Madras being composed of Madras and Bombay Officers in the respective proportions of 2 to 1. A Battalion of 6 Companies of Sappers and 4 Batteries of Native Artillery would complete the establishment required for Madras.

The Bombay complement of 26 Native Battalions of Infantry, with the Marine Battalion fully officered as proposed, would absorb 27 *Cadres* of officers, leaving 8 available for 4 Local European Regiments. 6 Line Regiments would be required in addition to complete the suggested complement of Europeans, and 6 Local or Irregular Regiments would be also available.

Of Cavalry the 3 existing Native Regiments would furnish 3 *Cadres* of officers, and a fourth *Cadre*—the only increase required by the proposed arrangements—might be formed from the whole of that arm at the three Presidencies: this would complete the quota for 2 European Regiments, and a Dragoon Regiment would have to be added, 8 Regiments of Irregulars would also be available.

The Artillery arrangement has been already suggested, to which a Battalion of Royal Artillery would be added. 2 Companies of Native Artillery and 4 of Sappers would complete the proposed establishment.

The proposed allotment and proportions at the several Presidencies will be seen at a glance in the following Abstract:

	Infantry.				Cavalry.			Artillery.			Engineers
	European.		Native.		European.		Native.	European.		Native.	Mixed.
	Line Regiments.	Local Regiments	Regular Batteries.	Irregular Batteries.	Line Regiments.	Local Regiments.	Irregulars.	Line Brigades.	Local Brigades.	Golundaz Batteries	Sapper and Miner Companies.
engal, ...	25	15	50	30	3	6	18	2	8	6	8
ladras, ...	7	7	44	4	1	3	6	1	5	4	6
ombay, ...	6	4	26	6	1	2	8	1	3	2	4
otal, ...	38	26	120	40	5	11		4	16		
	64		160		16		32	20		21	18

Numerically the Abstract will stand as follows:

	Europeans.				Natives.			
	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Sappers.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Miners.
Bengal, ...	36,000	5,400	10 420	240	57,600	10,800	2,040	800
Madras, ...	12.600	2,400	6,250	180	34,560	3,600	1,290	600
Bombay, ...	9,000	1,800	4,170	120	23,040	4,860	750	400
	57,600	9,600	20,840	540	115,200	19,200	4,080	1800
	88,580				140,280			

Another important question as regards the organization of the Native portion of the force, which—though not put before the Commission as a special subject of report,—was fully entered into in the evidence taken, is in its extended sense, whether it is better that Native Corps should be homogeneous as to race, tribe or caste, and raised in and recruited from particular districts, or whether they should be composed of different races or castes and recruited from a wider area without reference to any special locality. On this point opinions differ widely, and it appears to be one of several instances in which the adoption of one peremptory rule for the whole army would be very objectionable. Were there no antecedents or existing arrangements to be considered, we should look upon the plan of homogeneous corps as decidedly the best, provided these were of different races and no one class of Regiments in marked numerical preponderance. Corps thus constituted could not combine more than the most composite bodies have done under the old system, and the combination of a few such Corps, isolated and separated in creed and interests from the rest of the force, would be comparatively harmless. On this system, if necessary, race could be more effectually pitted against race, the grand principle of *Divide et Impera* could be more easily and completely carried out, and general combination would be much less probable or feasible than in an army composed of similarly constituted composite Regiments.

Homogeneous Regiments raised from particular districts and with a certain Local character would possess more *esprit de* *corps* and internal harmony than could be expected from composite bodies, the Corps would naturally become to a greater extent the home of the men, and the service rendered more popular and desirable. Lastly, it would admit of the introduction of a system of messing which, on service at least, would be highly beneficial, a sad loss of time resulting from the existing system of individual cooking, or even precarious messing in small groups.

But with all these advantages attached to the system, we should doubt the prudence of adopting it generally throughout the army, were such a measure practicable, which it is not at present. The existing armies of Madras and Bombay are and always have been composed of composite Regiments, with the area of the whole Dekhan for their recruiting guards, and any extensive or sudden change in this respect might be attended with much inconvenience, and be received with dislike or suspicion. In the new Bengal Army, however, such a system might be introduced to a certain extent with considerable advantage; the force consisting of about one-half homogeneous and the other half composite Battalions. In the latter moreover a proportion might consist experimentally of composite Regiments, composed of homogeneous Companies, as an experiment: this plan has been tried in the Guide Corps and to a certain extent in some of the Punjab Regiments, and undoubtedly has some advantages; but on the whole we look upon the purely homogeneous or entirely composite corps as preferable. Still, as observed by the Punjab Committee, there is an advantage in a variety of systems, and on this ground we would suggest a few corps being organized on this system.

Under these circumstances we would suggest that of the 50 Native Regular Battalions proposed for Bengal, 8 should be exclusively composed of Sikhs, 8 of Mahomedans, and 8 of Hindus. 8 to be composite Battalions, with homogeneous Companies, and 18 perfectly composite Battalions, but with no class greatly preponderating. Amongst the several homogeneous Corps of the same faith, differences might still exist; for instance the 8 Mahomedan Corps might comprise two Trans-Indus Soonee and two Sheah—Belooch and Kuzilburh—Battalions, with one of Ronghurs; the Sikh Battalions might include one or two Muzbee and one Malwah Sikh Battalion; of the 8 Hindu Battalions one might be composed of Rahtore Rajpoots, 2 of Oude Rajpoots, 1 of Dagrahs, 1 of Bundeelahs, 1 of Goojurs, and 2 of Jâts. In the mixed Corps, one-fourth might be composed of Mahomedans, one-fourth Rajpoots, one-fourth low caste Hindoos as Aheers, Gwallahs, &c., and the remaining fourth, according to locality of enlistment, to consist of Sikhs, Bundeelahs, Passees, Bheels, Mhairs, Mahrattas, and, if procurable, Native Christians; but only one of these classes in a Regiment, so that no one class should either preponderate or be in a minority. No Brahmins to be admitted into the service, and no degraded classes, the employment of which would conduce towards bringing the service into disrepute.

With a force so greatly reduced in numbers as that now proposed, a much better selection of recruits might be obtained than was formerly the case, and it would be the fault of the Commanding officers if any men were wanting in physical qualification for the service.

To render military employment more desirable, and also to obtain a surer hold upon the men through the medium of their families and homes, every Corps might have permanent Head Quarters, with a space of ground assigned for the erection of houses for the men's families; and to induce the latter to settle there—but ever to accompany the Battalion on the march—the periodical reliefs might be so arranged that every fourth turn might bring each Battalion back to its own Head Quarters. This arrangement would farther be facilitated by forming Regiments of two Battalions, raised, if not both of the same class, at least from the same locality. There would be other advantages attendant on this mêasure as regards the European officers, who would thus be brought more into assimilation with the establishment of European Regiments, and a better arrangement of absentees would be thus obtained.

Of the Irregular Infantry a certain proportion, including 6 Goorkha, 2 Bheel, 1 Mug, 1 Mhair, and also probably 1 Bundeelah and 1 Passee Battalions, would be necessarily homogeneous, but the remainder all composite.

The Irregular Cavalry like the Infantry might be partly homogeneous and partly composite.

The recent order disbanding the remaining fragments of the majority of the regular Regiments that were more or less implicated in the Mutiny has left only 16 Battalions existing; these with the Kelat-i-Ghilzie and Shekawattie Battalions might form the foundation of the 18 composite Battalions; which might be completed from the Regiments of Loodiana and Ferozepore, the 4 Sikh, 24 Punjab and 2 Gwalior Regiments, which would also form the foundation for the remaining 32 Battalions required; selection being made with reference to race and locality, and all men physically or by character unfitted for the service being discharged. As these Battalions were formed, the various Levies might be got rid of, by discharge or absorption into the Police force. Of the Irregular Corps, 6 at least should be Goorkhas with their Head Quarters in the Hills, for which, including the 66th Regiment, 3 Native Infantry and the 4th Sikh Infan-

try, the requisite nucleus exists, and pr
strength, only requiring weeding and adjust
talions would be required for the Trans-I
might be selected from the Punjab Corps
this duty ; these to be all composite ; 6 woul
South Eastern frontier including Assam, Syl
ca, Chittagong, &c. These, with the exc
Battalion in Arrakan, might all be composite
ist. 6 more Battalions would be required f
which 2 Bheel and 1 Mhair Battalions exist
be requisite for Oude, Chota Nagpore and H

For the proposed Regiments of Irregula
old establishment remain which, with the
3 of Hodson's Horse, the 2 Mahratta
Moultanee, Rohilkhund, Allexander's, Me
Horse, would complete the establishment req

The Punjab Artillery Companies includ
and Huzara Mountain Trains with the Ass
form the 6 Native Batteries required.

At Madras the first measure requisite i
and to reduce the Regiments to the require
existing 52 Battalions, 44 would remain as R
be counted into Irregulars, leaving 4 to be
Hindustanees, about 3000 in number, might
discharged or transferred to Bengal. As an
44 Regular Battalions 4 might be render
composite with homogeneous Companies, and
ly composite, as at present.

Of the proposed 6 Irregular Cavalry
Light Cavalry and Beatson's Horse would
the required establishment. The former
converted by giving them an Irregular unif
in the first instance, and when the formati
Cavalry was sufficiently advanced, they mig
tirely into Irregulars, being liberally de
their existing claims to pension, and recei
horses at a low value, payable by gradual d
increased pay.

The existing Madras Golundaz Battalio
suffice for the 4 Native Batteries proposed to

At Bombay in like manner recruiting
once, and the Hindustanees amounting to a
of by transfer or discharge. Of the 29 ex
Infantry, 26—the original complement—wo
the new establishment, whilst the Irregul
be met by the incorporation of the 2 Regimen

the Kandeish Bheel Corps, the Sawunt Warree and the Kutch Legion. The Belooch Battalions might be incorporated—2 in the Bombay and 1 in the Bengal Regular Corps. For the 8 Regiments of Cavalry proposed for Bombay, there are available the 3 Regiments of Sind Horse, the Poona, Guzerat and Mahratta Horse, with the three existing Regiments of Light Cavalry, which on their conversion should meet the same liberal treatment as suggested in the case of the Madras Cavalry.

The Artillery could of course be supplied from the existing Golundaz Battalion, any efficient surplus from this body or from the Madras Golundaz, to have the option of transfer to the Infantry.

The Sepoys in the Madras and Bombay Armies, and those of the Bengal Army whom it has been decided to retain, would be entitled to retain all the advantages they already possess in regard to length of service, pay and pension; but every man entering hereafter should be enlisted for ten years, subject to re-enlistment, as a favour—not as a right, for a second period of ten years, and again for a third similar period if physically perfectly fit for active service; after which the fact of thirty years' good service should entitle him to pension; but no other retiring pensions to be granted except for wounds received on service. All should be enlisted for general service.

Although due consideration should be invariably shown towards the religious feelings of the Native Army, caste should be ignored wherever it interfered with duty. To prevent any misconception on this point, no recruit should be admitted into the service unless prepared in presence of the Battalion to drink from a Bheestee's mussuck, to cook and eat his food with clothes and accoutrements on, and to handle spade and pickaxe in digging a trench. The Articles of War for the Native Army should be revised and simplified, the code of discipline rendered more strict, and the fullest penalties not only awarded but carried out in the cases of mutiny, combination or desertion.

But above all,—and on this measure the efficiency of the future Native Army must chiefly depend,—the power of the European officers in Native Corps must be increased, that of the Commanding officers being largely extended. The native soldier can only be ruled by the fear of punishment and the hope of reward. For a Commanding officer powerless to confer either the one or the other, he has neither respect or regard. In former days deep respect, implicit obedience and sincere devotion to his officers, were the characteristic features of the sepoy, but in those days the Commanding officer was nearly absolute; he could flog or discharge, as he could also promote any man; he was the Malik, the Chief of the military body, who looked up

to him and to him alone for reward or puni
no reason to believe that this power was ge
we know that the system was suitable and
mirably. As the European and centralizing
dually introduced, the power of the Comma
away, and with it the respect and regard o
longer heard of the sepoy exposing his o
officer from the chance of injury, or of the N
ed officers of the highest castes. bearing th
ceased Commander to the grave, which was
the olden days of the Bengal Army.

Let the old powers be restored, do away enti
tal Courts Martial in Native corps, but assig
ing officer the full punitive powers heretofor
tribunal. Give the Commanding officer pow
man under 10 years' service, without furth
peal, only forwarding a statement to Head
sons for such a measure; the discharge of m
service requiring only the sanction of the
the Brigade, and if above 20 years' servic
sioned officer, that of the General officer con
sion. Let him have the entire control of pron
tion of all grades below that of Native Co
and for and in those grades let his recomm
attention from Head Quarters.

If such powers were not abused in forme
probability of such occurring now, when a h
lity and a clearer sense of right and wrong
European commissioned officers. The cha
ther reduced by a careful selection of Comm
by the summary removal from command of t
ed incapacity or displayed evident injustice.

Another important question remains for con
is—the best mode of providing for the Staff
including the appointments to Irregular co
or other Civil employ. This question is i
with that of the requisite permanent establ
lar Corps.

We are not of those who would advocate
separate Staff Corps which we firmly believ
siderable and unnecessary expense with v
nience and dissatisfaction. Neither are we
der that the employment of Regimental offi
vil employ is objectionable, providing that t
giments is not impaired by their absence, or
establishment of officers is sufficient to me

Brigade, Division and Army Staff are all calculated to render an officer better fitted for ultimate command; employment with Irregular corps gives the junior officers earlier chances of independent charge and accustoms them to responsibility; many of the duties connected with the Department of Public Works are not bad training for the professional duties in the field, and the Revenue Survey and Political Department afford opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the country and people that may be invaluable in after life. Moreover, an army is all the better for having prizes to offer as stimulants to study and preparation. We admit that injury has been inflicted on the service by denuding Regiments of officers for Staff situations, and also that in many cases the general craving for Staff employ created a distaste for Regimental duty, but not with the best men. Taken altogether we firmly believe that on the old system the advantages counterbalanced the evils, and that much of the latter might be obviated or remedied.

The simplest plan, it appears to us, would be to fix the minimum establishment requisite for Regimental duty in both European and Native Corps, allowing a margin for absentees on furlough and temporarily detached duties; and then, if any officer of that establishment was appointed to the permanent Staff, civil or military, let him be *seconded* at once, his name borne on the Regimental Rolls as Supernumerary, and a promotion made in his place. On vacating his appointment—if by promotion to a higher grade—he would return to his corps taking up the higher step; if under other circumstances, he would be a supernumerary with the Regiment until some other officer of the same grade got an appointment, or a casualty occurred. There might be some objection to carrying out this arrangement amongst the Field officers, as the *seconding* a junior Major might give undue promotion in particular corps; but in the grades of Captain and Subaltern the arrangement would, we think, answer admirably.

We have already proposed to form European Regiments of 10 Companies, and Native Regiments of 2 Battalions or 16 Companies, by doubling up two existing *Cadres* of officers. This plan would give—exclusive of the Colonels—2 Lieutenant Colonels, 2 Majors, 14 Captains, 22 Lieutenants and 10 Ensigns per Regiment. Now for a European Regiment of 10 Companies, allowing for a depôt in England and another in India, 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 2 Majors, 12 Captains, 24 Lieutenants and 12 Ensigns would be quite sufficient, affording 4 officers per Company, which ought to give sufficient margin for Regimental Staff and absentees.

In like manner for a Native Regiment of 2 Battalions the

4 field officers with 10 Captains and 20 Lieutenants would be ample, allowing a Commandant, second in Command, 2 Staff and one Officer per Company to each Battalion, with 5 to spare for absentees. To the Native Regiments no Ensigns should be attached; all officers of that grade doing duty with the European Regiments, whence, as vacancies occurred in either European or Native Regiments, the senior Ensigns should be promoted provided they had passed a prescribed examination, not only in their drills and exercises, but in a knowledge of the duties of a Company either European or Native, with a moderate acquaintance with at least one language.

In like manner a European Cavalry Regiment might consist of 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 2 Majors, 10 Captains and 20 Lieutenants, that complement being sufficient for 8 Regimental and 2 Depôt Troops, allowing four Commandants, second in Command, Regimental Staff, and 4 Officers per Squadron, with a liberal margin for absentees. It is not proposed to allow in future any Cornets to the Cavalry, under the impression that it would be a far better arrangement if, instead of appointments for this branch being made direct at home without reference to special qualification or fitness, all vacancies were filled up by selection from amongst the junior Lieutenants of the other branches, or from the senior Ensigns of the Infantry; none being admissible who could not pass a satisfactory ordeal in riding and swordsmanship as well as in the other branches requisite for promotion to a Lieutenantcy. This arrangement would at any rate insure physical efficiency; and a similar test, with the addition of a tolerable knowledge of the languages, should be imperative for entrance into the Irregular Cavalry also.

These reduced establishments would afford a considerable body of Officers, Captains and Subalterns for the Staff and for employment with Irregular Corps.

The following statement will shew the numbers available at the several Presidencies:—

Presidency.	Present Establishment.	Grades.	European Regiments.	Native Regiments.	Total required.	Surplus.
Bengal.	78	Colonels.	15	25	40	38
	80	Lieut. Colonels.	30	50	80	...
	80	Majors.	30	50	80	...
	560	Captains.	180	250	430	130
	1280	Subalterns.	360 180	500	1040	240
Madras.	56	Colonels.	7	22	29	27
	58	Lieut. Colonels.	14	44	58	...
	58	Majors.	14	44	58	...
	406	Captains.	84	220	304	102
	928	Subalterns.	168 84	440	692	236
Bombay.	33	Colonels.	4	13 + 1	18	15
	35	Lieut. Colonels.	8	26 + 1	35	...
	35	Majors.	8	26 + 1	35	...
	245	Captains.	48	130 + 6	184	61
	560	Subalterns.	96 48	260 + 12	416	144

The Cavalry establishments of the three Presidencies will better calculated together, as they would require a cer amount of amalgamation to carry out the proposed scheme.

Present Establishment.	Grades.	European Regiments.	Surplus.	Defici cy.
21	Colonels.	10	10	...
21	Lieut. Colonels.	22	...	1
21	Majors.	22	...	1
147	Captains.	110	37	...
273	Subalterns.	220	53	...

The foregoing statements exhibit, exclusive of the Colon a surplus of 530 Captains and 673 Subalterns, or a total of 1 Officers available for Staff and detached employ.

Now the Irregular Corps would absorb a considerable prop tion of this surplus, as, to render them really efficient, they wo require a much larger complement of European Officers th has heretofore been allowed. There is no greater fallacy th to suppose that, because Irregular Corps have generally had ly 3 or 4 Officers attached, such a complement is sufficie or, as some have gone the length of stating, that Corps thus perfectly officered are better than Regiments with fuller comp ments. If this means anything, it must mean that a larger comp ment must be objectionable. Now we believe that the m question of efficiency is dependent on a sufficient complement European Officers, more especially on service; and the ut inefficiency of the Bengal Mutineer Regiments when deprived their European leaders, although in many cases all form discipline and manœuvres were retained, and the armaments equipments were unchanged, goes far to prove the correctn of our opinion. Are we so soon to forget the warning voic Sir Charles Napier from the field of Meanee, when, in his repor that action, he so strongly expressed himself in the following morable words? "I hope your Lordship will pardon me ' saying that the want of European Officers in the Native Re 'ments at one period endangered the success of the action. The 'sepoy is a brave and excellent soldier, but he requires to be led 'on in certain movements, and as he looks to his European 'Officer, if he misses him, the greatest danger arises—three times 'I saw them retreat, evidently because their Officers had fallen, 'and when another appeared and rallied them, they at once 'followed him boldly. This, my Lord, accounts for the great 'number of European officers killed and wounded in proportion 'to the whole. I am sure that in observing a defect in 'the formation of the Company's troops, the effect of which 'might have been so serious, I shall not be deemed presumptuous 'or impertinent."

Sir H. Somerset, the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, a most unprejudiced advocate, is very earnest on the same topic. In his able Minute he says;—"While I quite agree that three European officers are sufficient for each police corps, I cannot believe 'that that degree of discipline, which is the life and soul of the 'regular army, can ever be established or maintained by that 'number of European officers per Regiment in a native Indian 'army. Whatever soldier-like qualities the sepoy may hitherto 'have shown, he owes their development solely to his European officers, under whose directing influence his natural prejudices and apathy have been overcome."

"A well officered native regiment is not only, as a rule, a better 'disciplined and more efficient body in the field than an irregular one, but it has greater weight in the country in time 'of peace. Its European Officers often exercise a beneficial 'influence beyond the limits of their Regiment, and I have observed that political officers and Magistrates, in certain circumstances, estimate the native regulars at a very different 'standard from other native troops."

"That the reduction of European officers in the native 'army would involve a loss of its discipline and general efficiency, there can be no doubt; but there is a still more serious evil 'inseparable from it, and that is, *the undue power it would throw 'into the hands of the native officers*, for officers there must be 'of one kind or the other."

* * * * *

"I firmly believe that no addition of European strength that 'we are able to make, would even compensate for the moral and 'physical paralysis which, on undue reduction of European officers, would occur to the native army, and through it to the 'State."

* * * * *

"When I reflect that out of the three officers proposed for 'each Regiment, dashing and ingenious leaders for every diffi-

'cult occasion have to be supplied, casualties filled, the errors 'of indiscipline rectified by holding together the wavering or rallying the broken mass, I feel utterly at a loss to account for 'so suicidal a plan as that under notice."

These are opinions deserving of careful consideration, and they are shared by the majority of the practical officers who have written on this subject. We may specially refer to the forcible and sound opinions expressed by Brigadier Colin Troup on this subject, who ably exposes "the clap-trap of the present day, that three European officers are sufficient for a native regiment."

The efficiency of the Punjab Irregular force with a limited complement of officers, has made many converts to this theory, and is constantly brought forward as an argument in favor of the present Irregular system. But the fact is that these corps have been rendered so far efficient, not by or through, but in despite of, this objectionable system. They promised the great advantage of being commanded not only by picked officers, but by officers furnished with the requisite powers to enforce obedience and discipline; and if this advantage so far counterbalanced the evil of a paucity of officers, how much greater would have been the efficiency of the same corps with a more suitable complement. It is also to be considered that, during the late campaign, additional officers were attached to most of these corps that are actively employed, a measure that, however judicious in itself, afforded a practical example of the weakness of the existing system.

If all the officers attached to irregular corps are selected, the complement need not be so large as in the regular regiments, but in both Infantry and Cavalry we consider that in addition to the Commandant and his Staff, there should always be a second in command, and one officer to every two Companies or to each Squadron in the Cavalry, a measure specially recommended by the Commissioners in their Report. Each Irregular Infantry Battalion would thus have 8 officers including a Quarter Master, and each Cavalry Regiment 6 including only one Staff Officer, the Adjutant. The proposed establishment of forty Infantry and 32 Irregular Corps would, on this scale, absorb 512 officers, exclusive of those required for the Hyderabad Contingent, Guide Corps and the Viceroy's Body Guard.

To each Brigade there should be, in addition to the Brigadier Commanding, a Brigade Major and a Brigade Quarter Master, who might be selected from the office of the Brigade, as a temporary measure, without the necessity for their being *seconded*; but to prevent inconvenience from frequent changes in these appointments, the duties of the Divisional Staff should be extended so as to embrace much that now falls to the Brigade Staff. Each Brigade should also have a Commissariat Officer attached, taken from that department, and a Field Engineer, who might also be the Executive Engineer; assisted by a Barrack Master or Invalid or Warrant Officer. The Divisional Staff might consist of the General Officer Commanding, his A. D. C., Assistant Adjutant General, Assistant Quarter Master General, an Assistant Judge Advocate General, with a Deputy Pay Master, a Senior Commissariat, Senior Engineer Officer, and a Commissary of Ordnance attached.

The Staff of the General Officer Commanding a *Corps d'Armée*, who would in a measure represent, and perform most of the duties of, the present Commanders-in-Chief of the minor Presidencies, might consist of a Deputy and 2 Assistants in both the Adjutant and Quarter Master General's Departments, a Military Secretary, 2 Aide-de-Camps with the addition of a Deputy Commissary General, a Chief Engineer, a Deputy Judge Advocate General, and a Deputy Principal Commissary of Ordnance.

The General Staff with the Commander-in-Chief to include an Adjutant and a Quarter Master General, each with at least two Deputies and two Assistants, the Judge Advocate General, with the Commandants of Artillery and Engineers, and a Personal Staff as at present.

Of the Army Staff a fixed proportion should be conferred on the Line Army which should not be exceeded; and in each Department it would be desirable to have both Armies proportionally represented, as also the several branches. The nearest convenient proportions would be 2 Line to 5 Local. The appointments to the Commissariat, Pay and Audit Departments, &c., to Irregular Corps and to Political employ, might be open to both services; but with a strict examination as to knowledge of the languages, and a rule necessitating a certain previous residence in India, the bulk of these appointments would fall to the Local force.

Notwithstanding the objections to Staff Corps generally, it is a question if it would not be adviseable to constitute what may be looked upon as the administrative Departments of the Army into a permanent separate Corps, including the present Commissariat, Clothing, Pay and Audit Departments. The special qualifications required for real efficiency in these Departments, render it desirable that when once obtained by, they should be retained for the benefit of, the State; and moreover the performance of these duties is of no great benefit in military training for command, as is the case in other Departments. Were this arrangement adopted it ought to insure greater Departmental efficiency, and of course the interests of those so employed should be carefully looked to. The simplest plan would be to make selection from the Army of qualified Volunteers for these Departments, qualification consisting of a certain period of service in India, a competent knowledge of the languages, and also of general, professional, and special Departmental duties, all to be tested by examination. On vacancies occurring selected candidates to act on probation for a year; after which, if pronounced eligible, they would be finally struck off the strength of their regiments. Promotion to be regulated by length of actual service; the emolument to consist of the pay and allowances of the several grades of Army rank, with Departmental Staff allowances. Departmental promotion to be altogether irrespective of Army rank. The honorary rank of Major General and Brigadier to attach to the senior appointments.

For all other staff appointments the previous passing a prescribed examination to be absolutely necessary, with fixed periods of actual service in India according to the nature of the appointment.

The officers surplus to the regimental complements, we have proposed, would be all absorbed by the Civil and Military Staff, including Irregular and Police Corps. After formation with the full establishment of two *Cadres* per Regiment, the complement should be allowed to fall to the number proposed; any appointment after that to involve *seconding* and new promotion.

It would still remain to provide for the surplus Colonels. This could be done either by allowing the appointment of a Colonel Commandant and a Colonel to each Regiment, or, what we look upon as a preferable arrangement, by transferring all the surplus Colonels, of each arm, or an equivalent number of the oldest Colonels being General Officers, to a non-effective list; the emoluments in either case to remain the same. The compensation for off-reckonings, which is one of the guaranteed advantages, being given in the same manner as at present to the senior Regimental Officers, without reference to Brevet rank or nature of employment, thus carrying out the spirit and intention of the original orders and regulations connected with this privilege.

But whilst the palladium of the service, the Regimental rise by seniority, is carefully preserved and respected, it is most desirable that arrangement should be made, and firmly and honestly acted up to, in order to obviate the attendant evil of placing inefficient men in commands. The double complement of field officers would admit of wider and better selection for Regimental or Battalion commands; but any field officer unfit for such commands should be summarily transferred to the retired list, if he would not take a plain hint to retire himself; the pension of his rank or any higher pension he might be entitled to *by length* of service accompanying the transfers. For the Brigade commands, on the efficient occupation of which the well-being of the Army must mainly depend, selection by merit—within the limits of proportion for the two armies—should be the guide, and Line Brevet or Army rank would tell favourably when accompanying continued efficiency. The recent Order giving Brigadiers rank over any Field Officer in their Brigades, is calculated materially to facilitate the selection of fitting men. The Command of Divisions in like manner should be by selection.

Brigade and Divisional Commands should continue open to all branches as at present; but as far as practicable officers should be employed in commands of their own particular arms. As the number of Divisions would be reduced, an Inspector General of Cavalry might be sanctioned with the rank, pension and emoluments of a Divisional Commander: the General Commandant of the whole Artillery might be put on a similar footing, and in each *Corps d'Armée* there might be a Commandant of that arm on the footing of a Brigadier. By retaining only one General Staff for the whole Army, all Departments and arms might be fairly represented and efficiently controlled, whilst a saving would still accrue to the State.

These, however, are matters of detail which could be subsequently arranged, our object now is rather to elucidate the principle than to elaborate the minutiæ of such an organization.

All the European Local Corps would require recruiting Depôts in England. These might be permanently fixed at convenient stations for the Infantry and Cavalry, a Depôt Brigade for the Local Artillery being organized at Woolwich, and a Depôt Battalion at Chatham for the Local Engineers. The Commands and Staff of these Depôts should constitute permanent and selected appointments, the current duties being performed by officers and Non Commissioned officers of the Local European Corps on furlough, duty at the Depôt counting as service, but the time to be limited to one year. Officers so employed would bring out the recruits annually, and all Cadets on appointment should join one or other of these Depôts, to learn their duties, not being allowed to leave until they had passed in their drills. Similar Depôts would be requisite in India, at well selected healthy stations, where the men would proceed on arrival, and not join their respective corps until somewhat acclimated. The strength at the Depôts in England and India should each be equal to the average annual casualties of the respective arms.

Lastly, such of the well conducted old soldiers who, though unfit to perform the active duties of a long campaign, might yet be well qualified for sedentary service, and who desired to remain in India, might be formed into Veteran Companies or

Battalions, and employed on Garrison duty at stations where a small European Garrison would be desirable. These Battalions to be open to both Line and Local soldiers, but good character to be absolutely requisite to ensure admission. Probably 4 Battalions of Infantry and one of Artillery would absorb all the qualified men of this class ordinarily available.

One question yet remains, the armament and equipment of the Sepoy. On the broad principle we consider that if it is advisable to have a Native Army at all, it should be rendered as efficient as practicable, so as to be available for employment against any enemy whatever. This principle we would desire to see acted upon to the fullest extent ultimately, but for the present we would make a single reservation in the case of the arms. After all that has occurred it would be well to withhold the Enfield Rifle from the Native soldier for a time, but let him be taught to look upon that armament as the greatest honor and reward he can obtain; thus we would let the Native Corps win their arms by their conduct. To show to the Army that such an arrangement was really contemplated, one or two of the most distinguished Corps might receive the new arms at once, as for instance the Guides and the Sirmoor Battalion, both of which gallantly established their claim to such honour at Delhi specially. For other Corps the smooth-bore percussion musket is the most appropriate weapon; but the Irregular frontier Battalion might be armed with the two-grooved Rifle, as they require an accurate piece to cope with the Afghan Jizail.

The uniform and equipment of the Sepoy should, we think, correspond in general character and appearance with that of the European soldier, but the details might have more of an oriental tendency. The turban might replace the cap or helmet, and the pajamah tied at the waist be substituted for pantaloons. Without adopting a slavish copy a hint might be taken from the equipment of the Zouaves of the Franco-Algerian Army.

Lastly, though pressed for time and space, we would say a few words regarding the Police Force. Although in newly conquered provinces a military police might possess considerable advantages, as was found to be the case in Sind and the Punjab, (although the experiment was less successful in Oude, after the annexation,) we look upon the arrangement as most objectionable for general employment, especially in comparatively settled, provinces. The greater the effort made to give the Police a Military character and training, the less fitted they become for their legitimate Civil duties: the natural consequence of such attempt is that the old Police Chowkedar must be still retained, and additional expense is incurred for the new Military Police, which is a useless body as a police and dangerous as a military force. The worst of designating the force as a Military Police is that, the smarter and more efficient the military officers employed to organize or command the details, the more they will desire, and exert themselves, to render it in accordance with its name—a military body. For these considerations we would recommend the abolition of the term Military Police, and the avoidance of Military semblance in the armament, equipment or even the designation of the grades and compact bodies.

We heartily advocate the adoption of measures to render the Police of the whole country more efficient than heretofore; we highly approve of the introduction of military order and discipline; we would gladly see the training and equipment such as to enable small bodies of Police to overcome any amount of rabble; but we would not spoil good material for Police by making bad soldiers out of it. We would recommend for the Police generally a plain, serviceable, native costume, of one uniform colour throughout the country. They might carry a tulwar suspended from a waist-belt, but their ordinary weapon should be a stout stick or bludgeon; at the several Thannahs there might be a few carbines for emergencies, and the men might be taught to use their arms, and also the elements of Company's drill sufficient to enable them to march with soldiers and without confusion. They might be organized in groups equivalent to a Company, four of them under the command of a European Officer, and a convenient number of these bodies constituting a legion equivalent to a Division of Police on the existing system, the military nomenclature being carefully avoided.

Men so organized would not be above their work, and might prove of far more use in relieving the army from much harassing duty, than if they set up for forming an army themselves.

Finally, whatever might be the extent of this force the whole of the expenses should be borne by the district or province in which it is located, and for the protection of which it is specially required.

Such is an outline of the general arrangement which we would venture to suggest. A well behaved mixed force of Europeans and Natives, reduced in number but increased in efficiency. The Infantry and Cavalry in the proportion of 1 European to 2 Natives, but the European Artillery force reducing these general proportions to 3 and 5. The European portion nearly equally divided between the Line and Local Armies. The allotment made with reference to the actual condition and circumstances of the assigned localities. The principle of raising the regular force in Brigades of all arms forming perfect miniature armies themselves, but based on the principle of the old Roman

Legion. All cases of jealousy and heartburning removed by a fair proportionate adjustment of all advantages of commands and staff, and provision made for ensuring efficient commanding officers. Lastly, whilst provision is made to ensure good recruits, suitable employment is found for the worn veteran.

Such a Force, which would be always available and prepared for any emergency, would ensure to Great Britain the permanent command and possession of our Indian Empire, and no combination internal or foreign need be regarded with anxiety as likely to succeed in wresting that jewel from her Crown.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

DECEMBER, 1859.

ART. I.—1. *La Nouvelle-Calédonie.* PAR CH. BRAINNE. Paris. 1854.

2. *The Ethnographical Library. Papuans.* By G. W. EARL, M. R. A. S. London: Bailliere. 1853.

3. *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific &c.* By J. E. ERSKINE, Capt., R. N. London: Murray. 1853.

4. *The Quarterly Review, No.* 211. London: Murray. 1859.

5. *Fiji and the Fijians. Vol I. The Islands and their Inhabitants.* By THOMAS WILLIAMS, late Missionary in Fiji. *Vol. II. Mission History.* By JAMES CALVERT, late Missionary in Fiji. Edited by GEORGE STRINGER ROWE. London: Alexander Heylin. 1858.

IN our "school days" we were taught that there were four quarters of the world, Europe, Asia, Africa and America; and though we could not even then see why Europe and Asia were separated, or the two Americas united, we accepted the division as *un fait accompli.*

The 'dry land' must now be re-parted. Far South rises the mountainous Southern land, uninhabited and uninhabitable, with its volcanoes, rising like huge lurid beacon fires, amidst gloomy mists and eternal snows; and far North place must be found for half known Greenland and the ice-bound islands of the Polar Sea. For these no name has yet been assigned. But *one* new division has already been marked out in our maps, under the name (not yet generally recognized) of Oceanica. It includes many of the fairest and most fertile spots on the face of the earth, and has boundless capabilities of improvement. This great island-world, however, stretches over too vast an extent, and contains too many distinct and discordant units, to be designated by a name in itself unmeaning; and recent geographers have divided it into groups, classified under the following names, which we accept only for want of better.

I. AUSTRALIA, including under that name New Holland and

Tasmania, remarkable to us above all others for the great fact that there, where dwelt the most miserable, helpless and hideous race that ever lived (or rather starved) on the earth in human form, the Anglo-Saxon man has found gold and corn and flocks and herds spring up at his first bidding, and within half a century has laid, broad and deep and strong, the foundations of a colossal empire. We ourselves have seen the sturdy Englishman, who became head of a native tribe, who hunted kangaroos and opossums, and ate grubs and worms, over the ground where Melbourne now stands.

II. The name of MALAISIA (barbarous enough) is given to that splendid group of islands, almost rivalling continents in extent, and surpassing them in richness, fertility and exquisite loveliness, for the most part inhabited, or ruled at least, by men of pure or mixed Malay blood. It includes Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Sulu Isles, Borneo, and the Philippines. It is often spoken of as the Dutch and Spanish East Indies.

III. All the tiny isles and islets, east of the Philippines and north of the Equator, are not inappropriately designated MICRONESIA.

IV. MELANESIA, or the island-world of blacks, inhabited chiefly by Negroes, or races cognate with the Negro, yields to none of the other divisions in extent, beauty, and capability of improvement. It includes the great island, or islands, of New Guinea, the Solomon Isles, New Britain, New Ireland, the New Hebrides;—and three groups, which we mean specially to consider, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Isles, and the Fijis.

V. All the rest (and their name is legion) from New Zealand on the South to the Sandwich Islands on the North, Samoa, Tonga and the Tahitian group (better known to us as the Navigators, Friendly and Society Isles of Cook,) the Marquesas, and hosts of others, are classed under the name of POLYNESIA.

There are many and most interesting questions connected with the first peopling of these fair isles of the sea, with their very peculiar habits and social institutions; with the original races, at certain points boldly and distinctly defined, at others in almost every imaginable stage of fusion and strange commixture; with their languages, showing singular and novel caprices in grammar and idiom, and alphabets and a literature of yesterday compiled by foreigners, yet wonderfully alike, and intelligible over many thousands of miles; but most of these questions have been dealt with by the masterly hand of Latham, and to his book we refer our readers as the best that has been written on the ethnology of Oceanica.

Recent political events have directed public attention to the Fiji and New Caledonian groups; and as these are but recently and imperfectly known to us, and the glimpses we obtain full of the most startling interest, and of incidents which recall the perils and the triumphs of the apostolic age, we shall attempt a brief and faithful (though it may be a somewhat rugged and hasty) sketch of Melanesian life and society, and of what has been done and what is doing there.

The islands of Melanesia, and indeed all the islands of the Pacific, are of two, or rather of three, distinct formations. They are low, and then almost certainly coralline. They are high, or at least have high ridges in the interior, and are then usually *volcanic*: or a lofty island is surrounded by a barrier reef, leaving a channel between it and the island, calm and unruffled as an inland lake.

The formation of a coral island is easily conceived. The building, or aggregation, of the coral insect at last reaches, and is flush with, the surface of the sea. The violence of the waves breaks off portions from the outer surface, and flings them up on the reef. Sand and debris are thus formed. The sand left dry at low water and heated by the sun, is drifted into heaps by the wind. Birds and turtles deposit guano. Drift-weed adds to the heap. Plants, from some neighbouring islet, with germ or root still vital, are thrown upon its shore. Rain water collects in the hollows, and percolates the new soil; and vegetation begins, and completes the process. This, however, is but the commencement of wonders. The coral insect, naturalists assure us, can only live and build in comparatively shallow water: about a hundred feet below the surface it dies. But within a ship's length of the strand, the reef sinks down a thousand feet in a perpendicular wall. Now the lowest part of this wall *must* have once been within 100 feet of the surface; and there is no other way of accounting for this, but by a slow, gradual, almost imperceptible sinking of the sea bottom, keeping pace (so to speak) with the gradual building of the coral insect, and casting back the mind to periods of time for which it has no measure. The coral insect, however, has no intelligence and no claim to be an architect. They simply grow out of each other, like buds from a branch, and, when they die, harden into stone. The vast extent, over which this process is going on, may be judged of by a single example. The great barrier reef runs along the eastern coast of New Holland for a thousand miles, and goes almost choke-up to New Guinea, leaving a majestic ship canal between itself and the main, and having safe and practicable openings to the outer sea. We can picture to ourselves a time when this vast reef shall have risen into a thousand miles of island, habitable by man; when its passages shall be marked by lighthouses, and the energy of our Australian fellow-countrymen shall cover the inner channel with steamers, and draw into it the yet undeveloped riches of the great Malay Islands, of Siam, Cochin, Japan and China.

If there be truth in the theory of subsidence, (and none else attempts even to account for the phenomena) we are led irresistibly to the idea of a vast continent that once stretched from the Hīmalaya to Tasmania, and of other vast tracts of land, over which the waters of the Pacific now roll, and which are represented but by the microscopic islands spread thinly over its vast surface.

All the larger islands of the Melanesian group have a central mountain ridge, and oftenest a barrier reef. 'They rise,' says a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine*, No. 271, " into lofty peaks 'and ridges, grass-grown but bare of trees, from which radiate 'many buttress-like ridges, separated from each other by 'deep and precipitous ravines, that open into valleys, as they 'proceed towards the sea. Each radiating ridge has its sides 'also closely and deeply furrowed by rocky glens, that run 'straight from its crest on either side into the valleys, and each 'ends frequently in a craggy promontory that juts into the sea, 'with dark precipices of black rock, separating the valleys from 'each other. Over all the lower parts of the ridges, as well as 'in the depths of the valleys and ravines, spread dark umbrage'ous forests, while groves of cocoa-palms, bamboos, bread fruits 'and the broad leaved banana, extend across the more open and 'level tracts. If such an island have an encircling reef, the 'lagoon between it and the land forms a tranquil sea-lake, or 'natural harbour, in which the natives may disport themselves; 'while, as the reef often closes in upon the land, and cuts this 'off where the precipitous dividing ridges, that bound each val'ley, strike into the sea, it not unfrequently happens that ad'jacent valleys have no easy communication either by land or 'water, and are thus apt to form isolated districts, the inhabi' tants of which are often at enmity with each other."

As a general rule the people on the coast know little or nothing of the tribes that dwell on the mountains. In Sumatra or Borneo this was to be expected: but it is singular that in islands of such comparatively small extent as the Fijis, missionaries, who had been many years on the islands, have nothing but fables to report of the tribes in the hills.

The FIJIAN may be taken as the type of the Melanesian race in its fullest and most perfect development; if indeed some mixture of Polynesian blood may not have improved and elevated it physically and mentally. The Fijian is a negro, because he has a black skin and frizzled hair; but the thick lips in many cases disappear, the facial angle improves; and among the chiefs and women, models of manly and feminine beauty are to be found, which satisfy the fastidious æsthetic standard of educated Europeans. Their nature is fiercely energetic; and, with customs that fill the mind with horror, and are too revolting to be literally recorded, they show a candour, an eagerness to improve, a readiness to receive new truths and to abandon old falsehoods, which redeem them into humanity, and show that the pitiless cannibal has in him the germ of a noble nature, and is designed to be, at no distant period, the master race of the great island-world. They are not braver; they are neither so polished nor so intelligent as the Malay type. But the Malay mind (we may say, the Asiatic) is stereotyped and effete, vain, slow to move, and corrupt to the very core. The Melanesian, little inferior in intelligence, is fresher, more assimilative, more energetic, and opens his mind freely to every impression from without. Compared with the Polynesian again, harsher, uglier, less amiable, he is harder and not at all effeminate. But, instead of talking about him in this vague fashion, let us try to make the Fijian stand out in our pages, as he lives and acts in the beautiful islands where God has placed him. Nothing more beautiful, more exquisitely beautiful, is to be found on the earth.

It is reported of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, that she had a female friend, whom she loved so dearly that she had her portrait placed in her bedroom, so that it might be the first sight to meet her eye every morning. The ladies quarrelled: their love changed into hatred; and the Duchess in pure spite had the face of the portrait painted black, fixing to the frame this label—"She is blacker within." Nature has painted the skin of the Fijian a "blue black:" but, we fear, there is no room left to doubt that he is blacker within. The truth, in plain simple matter of fact, is like a horrid dream in nightmare.

We begin with his dwelling place. There are fully 280 islands in the Fiji group, of which about 80 are inhabited. They cover a surface in square miles larger than Belgium, a very little less perhaps than Holland and Belgium together. The population is estimated (probably under-estimated) as about 170,600; and, like that of all the Melanesian islands, is, and must be, rapidly decreasing. So far however is this from being caused by contact with Europeans, that it is from being brought more closely into contact with Europeans, that the only conceivable check to the gradual extermination of the indigenous population can arise. The whole group, or rather the collection of groups, known as the Feejee, or Fiji, or Viti isles, lies mostly between 16° and 19° South latitude, and extends about six degrees eastward from the meridian of 177° East of Greenwich. From the comparatively lower temperature of the Southern hemisphere, their insular position far away from any other land, their height above the sea and the cooling influence of the S. E. trade-wind, the climate is something between that of Calcutta and Canton, and developes with Northern strength and tropical profusion every form of animal and vegetable life. The two largest islands, Vanua Levu, and Viti Levu from which the group is named, are on the Western or Leeward side. From the West point of Viti Levu in 177° E. long. to the North-East extremity of Vanua Levu in long. 180°, an immense number of small islets and reefs sweeps in the arc of a circle, leaving within a large gulf or bay. Viti Levu is about 90 miles from E. to W., and about 50 from North to South. It covers nearly 5000 square miles, and has a population (certainly underrated) of 50,000 souls. The hills in the interior rise to a height of 5000 feet; the scenery is of the most diversified loveliness; and here the dominant chiefs and tribes reside. The seat of empire is on the little island, or city, of Mbau, little more than a mile square, and joined to the main by an isthmus, dry at low water, and always fordable. How this little spot came to be the capital we shall afterwards notice. Close to it on the main is Rewa, next in influence to Mbau. North-East from Viti Levu, and separated from it by a channel full fifty miles wide, lies Vanua Levu; or "great land." It is 100 miles long, with an average breadth of 25; is indented by a bay that runs forty miles into the land, and is called by the natives "the dead sea." It is the only island in the group that produces sandal wood, is said to have a population of about 30,000; but is really very little known. On the East of this island, rises Tavium or Somo-somo, about 25 miles long and 5 broad. It is simply a mountain, gradually rising to a height of 2000 feet above the sea level; on the summit is a lake, supposed to have been the crater of a volcana. It has two outlets; one on the West forming a beautiful fresh water stream, which glides gently through the chief town, and another on the East forming a small but fine cascade. Mr. Williams declares that the most glowing imagination could not conceive scenes of more luxurious beauty than this Eden of the isles. Striking out from Somo-somo in a direction to the South and East, we find the Eastern or windward group, consisting chiefly of very small islands, of which Lakemba is the chief. The inland sea or gulf between the Windward and Leeward groups, is called the sea of Koro. It is on the whole open only to the South, and from Kandavu to Vulanga, both on the parallel of 19°, must be full 150 miles wide. Lakemba is nearly round, six miles in diameter, with a population of 2000 souls.

On these beautiful islands, writes Mr. Williams, a missionary who lived for thirteen years among the Fijians, are found "high mountains, abrupt precipices, conical hills, fantastic 'turrets and crags of rock frowning down like olden battlements, 'vast domes, peaks shattered into strange forms: native towns 'on eyrie cliffs, apparently inaccessible; and deep ravines, down 'which some mountain stream, after long murmuring in its stony 'bed, falls headlong, glittering as a silver line on a block of jet, 'or spreading, like a sheet of glass, over bare rocks which re-'fuse it a channel. Here also are found the softer features 'of rich vales, cocoa-nut groves, clumps of dark chestnuts, state-'ly palms and bread fruit, patches of graceful bannanas or well 'tilled taro-beds, mingling in unchecked luxuriance, and form-'ing, with the wild reef-scenery of the girdling shore, its 'beating surf, and far-stretching ocean beyond, pictures of sur-'passing beauty."*

Here is a stage for the theorist: gardens lovely as Eden, where man in primeval innocence might enact the golden age, where no fierce beast disputes his superiority, where the lightest labour supplies his needs profusely, where his eye feasts on sights of loveliness, and where life might be supposed to glide away sweetly, with dance and song, amidst perpetual sunshine and perpetual spring. The glowing tales brought home by Captain Cook's companions, of men innocent and brave and stately, of maidens kind and fair and free, dwelling joyously and without a care amidst scenery of almost unearthly beauty, seemed to fix down such visions into living palpable reality; and tempted many a poor sailor to a miserable and hideous fate. For this paradise was a fool's paradise: each island was a brothel: their normal state was a state of internecine warfare; the men were cannibals, without remorse, without pity; and there was no law, for the most part, but the law of the strongest. In the Fijis, as the most energetic race ruled there, vice and devilish malignity in crime sprung up in gigantic and unnaturally luxuriant proportions: and the cruelties of a Nero, or a Dominic, seem tame and insipid beside those of any average Fijian chiefs.

In a certain (shall we call it) civilization, the people of the Fijian group rank higher perhaps than any other savage race. They have fixed laws of succession, well defined division of land, a criminal code, somewhat arbitrary but generally enforced probably because, in most cases, punishment takes the form of a bribe to the chief and a mulct to the injured party, and a richly endowed ecclesiastical establishment. The temples are large imposing buildings; and each temple has its own oracle, worked by the priests, like that of Delphi of old, and firmly believed in by the vulgar. It is to be understood, however, in all cases, that the chief's will is supreme; and woe to the priest that opposes. Their literature, being oral, is not very extensive: but they have not a few sharp sarcastic proverbs, and songs and poems, with a recognized metre, not altogether contemptible. The bard, indeed, is a luxury of several great men, and his effusions, usually extemporary, are very popular. Invention is undoubtedly a common gift among them; and all authorities seem to agree that for lying and boasting they are unparalleled. They have faith in the white man; but none in each other. They build excellent houses, construct canoes that carry 300 warriors, carve every kind of weapon exquisitely, make beautiful cloth in almost incredible quantities, and print it with singularly elegant and graceful colours and patterns. They are adepts in cookery; and eager to introduce every foreign custom, or contrivance, that seems better than their own. With all their fierceness, the greater number are rank cowards, and liable to sudden panics. When a missionary had his house full of people, the slamming of a door sent them all flying into the fields, as if for their lives. The approach of any stranger frightened a whole village; and well it might, for he might be a messenger from the chief, demanding a wife, or daughter, or a victim.

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* Fiji, and the Fijians, Vol. I. p 6.

The people of Fiji have a stereotyped ceremonial, and a code of etiquette most elaborate and minute, with a formidable sanction. If any one fails, even accidentally, he is clubbed. Society is divided into six distinct classes: kings and queens; chiefs of large districts, or whole islands; chiefs of towns, priests, and *Matani-Vanuas* (something between a prefect and a collector); distinguished warriors of low birth, and chiefs of the carpenters and fishermen; the common people; and, last and lowest, slaves.

Rank is hereditary, but descends through the female line. The reason for this is that a chief may have 100 wives at once, taken at random from every class, even from slaves. As in Turkey, when a lady of royal race is married to a distinguished warrior of inferior birth, she does not always bear her honours meekly, and often testifies her contempt for her lord and master by words more emphatic than elegant, and by deeds more unequivocal still. Let us introduce to our readers Goli-wasa-wasa, that is, "skimmer of the sea." "The queen was a most 'beautiful woman, both in countenance and person, and very 'fair compared to the generality of Fijian women. She was of 'the royal blood of Mbau, and aspired by hereditary right to 'the throne and title of Radi-ni-Mbau (Queen of Mbau). 'She never liked Tui Drekete (her husband), but adhering to 'the rules of betrothal, and Rewa being next in rank to Mban, 'she of course became the wife of its ruler, who was next in 'power to Tanoa, or "Old Snuff," king of Mban. She was of 'an amorous temperament, and carried on her intrigues wher'ever and with whomsoever she thought fit, not concealing them 'on her own account, (because she despised the idea of having 'any restriction laid upon herself by Tui Drekete, whom she al'ways thought and called a comparative slave,) but for the safety 'of her accomplices."

Jackson, an English sailor, who was kidnapped by the savages, and lived many years naturalized among them, and whose terribly interesting and well corroborated narrative is to be found in Captain Erskine's book, was well acquainted with this Fijian Messalina, and barely escaped with his life. Her caprice ranged through every shade of colour and every stage of life, white, black and yellow, young, middle-aged, and old. While the *Ava* was preparing for Her Majesty to get drunk with, she had a little cripple *improvisatore*, who composed verses according to her mood. "I have seen her" says Jackson, "at 'one moment shedding tears, or melting with love, and at another 'foaming with rage."

Jackson's adventure with this truculent savage ushers us at once into Fijian court life. It so happened that a Tongan canoe came to Rewa, having a "black, thick-lipped, ugly, American negro" as one of the crew. Queen Gola-wasa-wasa took a fancy to have this man as a curiosity in her palace; and, to induce him to remain, gave him several slave girls to be his wives. One of them, a pretty intelligent girl, ran away twice in dislike and horror. Jackson was present, when she was brought back the second time. This was what happened. "The queen came 'out with two chiefs, jumped on the woman's neck, got a burn'ing stick from the fire, and began to abuse the woman, who 'was lying on her back, in the most brutal manner.—She then 'ordered the two chiefs to lay hold of the woman's knees (as she 'lay with her knees up writhing with pain), and *to break her 'legs.* These men were about *to do it,* the Christian Ton'gans muttering against this brutal usage; when I, paralyzed 'and speechless for the first few seconds, jumped up from 'where I was sitting, and with almost supernatural strength 'knocked one of the chiefs down like a bullock, and shov'ed the other from the woman. The queen turned black 'and red and white in turn, before she recovered the use of her 'tongue," utterly confounded at Jackson's presumption. At last she broke out into a tempest of foul abuse, calling him, "a shark-eyed excrement of the ocean." He was led by her order, bound hand and foot into the palace, to be tortured to death at once; but, by Fijian custom, the poor girl was saved. It may be that this act of the wild rough sailor will be remembered to him in the judgment of the great day. Fortunately for Jackson, the black interfered; and there was a passage of arms between them in English, which so provoked the negro, that he eagerly asked to be allowed to kill Jackson with his own hand. Female curiosity was aroused; the queen asked Jackson to tell her in Fijian what he had said. He told her (and the Tongans chimed in,) that he was an English gentleman, and the negro a vile slave; and that he had interfered, because vexed to see her degrade herself by espousing the quarrel of a *low* (white man's) cook.

The queen's rage passed off like a thunder-storm. Jackson was released; and death threatened to any one, who should upbraid him for what he had done—and, first of all, to the negro cook. On the same day, "when the *ava* was preparing, 'and the king had returned from Ra, the queen called me up to 'sit beside her; and, the king not moving to make room for me, 'she began to abuse him, and called him "Kaisi, Mata Vaka puaka" (you pig-faced slave,) such expressions being quite com'mon with her, *especially to her spouse*,"—who was much older than she was, and a lazy, luxurious effeminate savage. There can be no doubt that this portrait is drawn from the life.

As a pendant, we add a day in the life of the lady's father. "Tanoa, or 'old Snuff' (a name the white people gave him on 'account of his snuffy appearance and squeaking noise through 'his nose, when speaking)—used sometimes, after drinking his '*ava* in his palace, to call out (clearing his mouth with the last 'of the cupfull) 'a crust, a crust.' Sometimes he would say '' bring a virgin;' and he was immediately supplied. At other 'times he would sing out in the same way for 'long pig' (a 'human body): and forthwith some poor fellow lost his life to 'accommodate him: at other times it would be only 'puaka 'dina' (a real pig)." If there were no dead enemies at hand, a slave was killed; or, if that was inconvenient, one of his own people.

It is not pleasant to write of such things; but we have a purpose to serve, and will not shrink from relating truths, however revolting. The horrid practice of devouring human flesh prevails amongst those islanders to an extent scarcely credible. It originated, no doubt, in those famines to which heedless and indolent savages are peculiarly liable. The annals of shipwrecks warn us not to be too ready to condemn. Once done, the fierce revengeful fury of savage warfare seized upon it, to gratify malignity and to disgrace and insult opponents; and it becam a vent for fiendish passion. But both these are comparatively weak among the Fijians. It is not only now the "boar's head," the "stately peacock," in every royal feast; but it is longed for and relished for its own sake, and stands in the epicure's code on the same footing as our turtle, or venison. The scale, on which it enters into Fijian life, makes one shudder. Nearly every island and district is in a chronic state of war with its neighbour. Every man that falls, whether killed or wounded, is eaten. No feast is complete without human victims. Every time that tribute is brought to a great chief, 30, 40, 50 or even 100 human beings are devoured; a smaller number disgraces the chiefs. One chief was pointed out to a missionary as having laid down a stone for every victim he had eaten; 872 were counted. He claimed to have eaten them himself; but it seemed certain that he had at least been present when 900 human bodies had been devoured. For the slightest involuntary offence, at the nod of a chief, a man is clubbed and eaten. "A 'chief of Tai Vungalei," writes the Missionary Williams, "sat 'down to eat with his father-in-law, and a cooked guana was 'provided for each. In passing the one intended for his father, 'the young man broke off part of its tail. A dark scowl covered 'the old man's face; and, at an early opportunity, he slew his 'son, having first told him that he could not brook the insult 'put upon him by the breaking of the guana's tail." At another time, Tanoa, the grim old savage of whom mention has been made already, took offence against his own cousin Mothelothu: the unhappy creature begged for forgiveness with prayers and tears, but Tanoa was inexorable. Calling Mothelothu to him, he first kissed him (!), then cut off one of his arms at the elbow, drunk the blood, threw the limb upon the fire, grilled and ate it before the living victim, and then had him dismembered, limb by limb, enjoying his agonies with pitiless brutality.[*] Afterwards he put to death one of his own sons, making an elder brother club him, and angrily upbraiding the slowness of the execution. Almost the last words of this murderous wretch were;—"How many will follow me?" that is, "How many of my wives are to be strangled when I die?" and hearing that there were to be five, he died satisfied.

Jackson was present at many of these cannibal feasts, always testifying the utmost abhorrence, and succeeding, at the risk of his own life, in saving 3 or 4 of the victims. One of them became his wife, or rather one of his wives. Her rescue illustrates the sudden transitions from ferocity to levity, from rage to laughter, seen so often in minds unrestrained by principle or reason. Somehow the people had got it into their heads that Jackson was not a real man, but half a devil and half a white monkey, with a tail which he carefully concealed. This provoked the sailor intensely, but gave him a power, which he was not slow to make use of.

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[*] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. 1, p. 20.

One day he came upon the materials for a feast, and among them, was "a young virgin sitting on a heap of yams, oiled ‘all over, her skin decorated with leaves, her face painted, her ‘hair dressed and stuck full of flowers, and clad in a new and ‘gaudy dress." Jackson rushed up to her, helped her down from the pile, swore that he was the real man and they were devils, threatened to shoot the first man that approached, and demanded her of the chief for his wife. Things looked very serious: but, while he stood with his gun cocked, and his back against a tree, panting with rage and excitement, "they all ‘burst out laughing, and said they were sorry to see me put ‘myself in such a rage, adding ‘Watima, Watima'—she is your ‘wife, she is your wife:" and so her life was saved.

The details of these cannibal feasts are too revolting for detail. Sometimes a town is taken, from which the warriors have escaped. If any public ceremonial is near, all are killed and eaten, children, girls of 18, grey-headed old men of 70. The King of Mbau wants human bodies to entertain an embassy from Somo-somo. They have no war at that time; so Navindi, chief of the fishers, sails in his war canoe, comes to a part of the coast where the trees come down to the sea, lies there in ambush, till a party of women (fourteen) comes down to the shore, seizes them all, and carries them to the slaughter house. They are too few; so he sails again, falls in with an unfortunate canoe, and returns in triumph with eleven more victims. All were eaten.

Worse remains to be told. When a war canoe is to be launched, it is inaugurated always, if possible, with human victims. We again have recourse to the graphic pen of the sailor, whose fearful statements are confirmed and if possible out-done in horror by the missionaries, some of whom have lived among them for seventeen years.

> "Many escaped," writes Jackson, "but upwards of forty were secured. They were laid for ways, each being kept in a straight position, between two banana trees, one at his back, the other on his belly. The cries and screams of the first few, that were crushed, if they uttered any, were completely drowned by the howling song and demon-like laughter of the bloodthirsty victors; but afterwards, when the song was less clamorous, one could hear distinctly the piercing shrieks of the unfortunate creatures for half a mile. After all was over, a kind of spell seemed to come over me—and I walked back looking at the bodies. The bottoms of the canoes, being round, had been dragged over the people, who were all lying face upwards,

so as to fit, as it were, into the soft part of the body, from the breast to the crutch. They were all dead, and not many of them outwardly lacerated; but their entrails were completely pressed out at either extremity by the enormous weight of the large double canoes. It is needless to say what became of the bodies."

Another diabolical custom is burying alive. When a chief's house is built, deep holes are made for the posts which support it. To the foot of each a living slave is bound in a standing posture, lowered down into the hole, and covered up with earth. The nearest relatives bury each other alive, when death is supposed to be at hand, apparently for no other reason than to be saved the trouble of nursing during sickness. The death warrant depends often on a superstition, or a caprice. Mr. Williams writes* "If sick persons have no friends, they are simply left to perish. Should they be among friends, they are 'cared for until they become troublesome, or, through weakness, 'offensive; and then they are generally *put out of the way*. The 'people near to Vatukali decide the question of a sick person's 'recovery by a visit to a famous *mulamula* tree, which is the 'index of death. If they find a branch of the tree newly broken 'off, they suppose that the person on whose account they pay the 'visit must die. The death of the patient being thus determined, any appeal is useless. Ratu Varani spoke of one 'among many, whom he had caused to be buried alive. She 'had been weakly for a long time, and the chief, thinking her 'likely to remain so, had a grave dug. The curiosity of the 'poor girl was excited by loud exclamations, as though something 'extraordinary had appeared: but on stepping out of the house, 'she was seized, and thrown into her grave. In vain she shrieked, 'with horror and cried out "do not bury me! I am quite well 'now!" Two men kept her down by standing on her, while 'others threw the soil in upon her, until she was heard no more."*

Jackson was present at a similar scene; but the patient was a voluntary victim. He was a young man, not very ill, but weak and emaciated. "At last we reached a place where several graves 'could be seen, and a spot was soon selected by the man, who 'was to be buried." (The leading motive in his mind seemed to be that the girls would jeer at him and call him a skeleton.) "The old man, his father, began digging his grave, while his 'mother assisted him to put on a new dress, and his sister besmeared him with vermilion and lamp black, so as to send him 'decently into the invisible world. His father announced that 'the grave was ready, and asked him in a surly tone, if he was

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* Fiji and the Fijians, vol. 1, p. 185.

'not yet ready. He said, 'before I die, I should like a drink of 'water.' The father ran to fetch the water, remarking in a surly 'way, 'you have been a trouble during your life, and it appears 'you are going to trouble us equally at your death.' The son drank 'the water, and looking up to a tree, covered with tough vines said 'he would rather be strangled with a vine than smothered in the 'grave. The father then became excessively angry, and spreading a mat at the bottom of the grave, told him to die like a 'man. The son stepped into the grave—and lay down on his 'back. About a foot of earth was shovelled in upon him as 'quickly as possible. His father stamped it down solid, and 'called out with a loud voice 'You are stopping there! You 'are stopping there'! The son answered with a very audible 'grunt. Then about two feet more of earth was shovelled in 'and stamped down by the loving father, who called out again, 'and was answered by another grunt, but much fainter. The 'grave was then filled up, and I myself called out; but no answer was given, although I fancied, or really did see, the earth 'crack a little on the top of the grave."*

When a chief or warrior dies, it is a time-honoured custom that his wives should be strangled. If there are many, a few may escape. The children of a strangled wife are counted as indisputably legitimate. At one chief's death fifteen women were strangled; at another time, eighty in one village. Female heroism dignifies even this fiendish practice.

A brother of Tui-kila-kila died. He had thirty wives, all willing to die. The most beautiful was a young girl, for whose sake the chief proposed a plan, by which fifteen were to be spared. But the girl refused to live. She asked Tui-kila-kila, where was the man worth living for, now that his brother was dead! This taunt so enraged the chief, that he ordered her to be strangled at once. When she was in the agony of death, he had the cord slackened, hoping she would change her mind, but the resolute girl seized the cord, and tightened it herself; and the furious savage had her despatched quickly. This was in Somo-somo. Jackson says that nothing could surpass her beauty; and that her husband was the handsomest man in the islands, where in his judgment there were men who surpassed all he had ever seen before. Add that female infanticide is universal; and that every man or woman thrown upon the coast by shipwreck are invariably killed and eaten, be they white, black, or yellow.

It may be asked how it is that human nature can ever become reconciled to such enormities? The enigma is explained by universal custom, and early training. Children have captives given to them, bound hand and foot, to torture to death; and he, or she, is accounted highest, rewarded, and caressed, who is most forward and pitiless in the brutal work. It is the girls who dance round the bodies of the victims, with foul songs, and fouler unutterable insults. The Fijian drinks in the bloodthirst with his mother's milk, and has as much remorse, or pity, as the tiger. But we shall find that, after all, his better nature is only overlaid with this devil's varnish. Within that savage breast beats a warm and noble heart; and from these cannibal dens, souls have gone up to Heaven, that sit near the KING's right hand.

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* Erskine, p. 477.

Some idea may now be formed of the social state of the Fijians, before they came into contact with the European. To club and eat others was his normal life; to be clubbed and eaten, his ordinary death. No woman's honour was safe from a chief's lust; no man's life from his idlest caprice. The father killed the son; the son struck down the father. Brother murdered brother. All the land was one vast slaughter house, and there was the continual going on of killing, eating, strangling, and burying each other alive. They lived without faith, truth, or mercy; and their belief was, that their gods devoured their souls after death, and that a very very few ever reached the Fijian paradise. Strange to say, every bachelor was doomed to be eaten by the gods. The wonder is, with so many destructive agencies continually at work, not that the population was decreasing, but that it was not totally exterminated. This was not the white man's doing. To an educated Christian man of our race, life, such as this, would be a physical hell. The wildest imagination would shrink from conceiving it, *a priori*, as possible, or real, and yet we have drawn a veil over its chief horrors. Now comes the white man into the cannibals' den.

The group was seen for the first time by Tasman in 1643. Captain Bligh next saw them, after the mutiny, communicating with an island supposed to be Kandavu. The missionary Ship *Duff* visited the Windward Isles in 1797, and brought home a rough incorrect chart. But the first lasting influence brought to bear upon them was by the sandal-wood traders, and especially by the survivors from the wreck of an American brig in 1808: and the first authentic account of them was written by M. d'Urville, who was there for two months in 1827.

The first grafts of our civilization were the introduction of fire-arms, and of the lowest and most desperate villany of Europe and America. The natives and the foreign traders vied in treachery and bloodshed. The chief articles of export were sandal-wood, and *beche de mer*; and the history of the trade for a time was greed and overreaching, restrained by massacre. It is now in better hands, and forms a real civilizing nucleus among the wildest islands. From the elaborate survey of t United States' exploring expedition, the recent visits of Briti ships-of-war, the journals of the Missionaries, and the work forming the heading of this Article, the Fijis are now perhap better known than any other group in the Pacific.

A French vessel having been destroyed, and all the crew murdered (not however without great provocation), a frigate was sent out to seek redress. The offending town was burnt; but the whole population had fled to the mountains; and the loss of their property did nothing but enrage them.

All this time the little island of Mbau was growing up to power, out of its original insignificance. It has a history, even a chronology, which go back for more than 60 years. The earliest remembered king was Mbanuvi. He was succeeded by his son Na-Ulivou. He was an energetic chief, and reigned from 1800 to 1829. In his reign (about 1806) a number of convicts escaped from New South Wales, with fire-arms and powder, and landed at Mbau. With such auxiliaries, Na-Ulivou made conquests on every side, and Mbau rose to acknowledged supremacy. The white men were desperate ruffians, more cruel and vicious than the worst of the cannibals; and they died out rapidly, killed, drowned, or assassinated. His brother, Tanoa, or "Old Snuff" came to the throne in 1829, was driven into exile by his own people, and restored with great slaughter by the reigning monarch Thakombau (evil to Mbau, from the severe punishment he inflicted on the rebels) an able, determined, and remarkable man.

He owed his high standing to the fire-arms which he purchased from the Sydney traders. He told Jackson that he had 5000 muskets, and several hundred kegs of powder; and thus he armed his warriors; and, until other chiefs also obtained ammunition, crushed all opposition, and was always successful. Most likely the number of muskets was mere Fijian boasting; but he certainly had a large collection.

Not much good yet from the white man! Expeditions for human bodies were more frequent, because, from the new weapons, more successful; therefore more blood feuds and more frequent cannibal orgies, and a dread of the white stranger intense as their hatred and thirst for revenge. All the old men declare that fifty years ago, Fiji was comparatively peaceful, life and property more secure, and the stain of blood far lighter. It is full time for the Missionary. But who will have the courage to dwell among these men of blood?

The first movement was in Tonga in 1834, immediately after a remarkable time, when thousands, the King and Queen at their head, embraced Christianity; and many of the new converts went forth to preach the gospel in the heathen islands, with the zeal, perhaps with the spirit, of the apostles. There was a friendly and frequent intercourse between Tonga and Fiji. Quite a small colony of Tongans, mostly Christians, had settled in Lakemba, one of the windward Fijis; and certain Fijians, in Tonga, had been baptized, and approved themselves sincere earnest men. These things directed the thoughts of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Tonga to the Fijis. The Rev. William Cross and the Rev. David Cargill were appointed to this trying mission; and they landed at Lakemba on October 12th, 1836, *with their wives and families.* They had a letter to the King of Lakemba from King George of Tonga, and found that he and many of his people could converse with them fluently in the Tongan tongue.

We are not going to write the history of the Fijian Mission. A few incidents will show what these heroic, self-denying men and women, "God's nobles," were inspired to suffer and to do. It is hard to tone down the mind, in writing of them, to simple recital, while the heart swells with the proud thought that they were of our own faith and race. We are not given to hero-worship: but so far as man may admire and worship his fellow-man, we feel and cherish revering admiration for the Wesleyan Missionaries of Fiji.

After years of great danger and sore trouble the Mission was firmly established in Lakemba. The Missionaries were not raw, ignorant, improvident enthusiasts, but men with a determined will, and strong practical common sense. They selected Lakemba for its large Tongan population, and because its king and many of the people were able to speak and to understand the Tongan tongue, with which they were familiar. They were able to introduce Tongan books into their schools, and to distribute at once Tongan translations of the Sermon on the Mount, and other portions of the Gospels. They mastered the Fijian dialect speedily, and formed an alphabet for it, serviceable at once if not very philosophical. They took with them a supply of axes, hatchets, planes, chisels, knives, razors, iron pots, calico and prints, which they exchanged with the natives, (who were mad after them) for food, labour, mats, curtains, &c.; so that in a short time Lakemba became the envy of the neighbouring islands, and its fame reached even to Mbau and Somo-somo. No doubt also the warm and zealous friendship of the redoubtable King George helped to preserve the Missionaries from plunder and violence, in spite of the bitter hatred and threats of the idolatrous party.

How strange, high and incomprehensible to these fierce murderous cannibals must have been the spectacle of a well ordered, cultivated, loving Christian family, and the divine breath of the Sermon on the Mount. Again and again, their constant pleadings for those about to be slain, their fearless rebukes, their openly shown abhorrence and detestation of the bloody customs of Fiji, drew involuntary exclamations of astonishment and respect from the most savage and implacable of the cannibal chiefs, at whose slightest nod they would have been cut to pieces.

The time came at last to make the plunge, and, alone and unsupported, to go forth, risking life and honour, to dwell among a people more like fiends than men, amidst sights of frightful devilish cruelty and horror. In 1837, Mr. Cross and his family left Lakemba to settle at Rewa. The notorious chevalier Dillon exacted £125 from this poor Missionary family to carry them across from Lakemba to Mbau, a distance, with a fair wind, of less than a day's sail! In July 1839, carrying out the same noble policy, Mr. Hunt and Mr. Lyth landed in Somo-somo. "Here the Missionaries found all the horrors of Fijian life in 'an unmixed and unmodified form; for, even in the other 'islands, Somo-somo was spoken of as a place of dreadful canni- 'balism."*

Immediately after their arrival, news came that the King's son had been shipwrecked, killed and eaten. Remonstrance and entreaty were vain. Sixteen women were strangled, and most of them buried within a few yards of the Missionaries' door. On February 7, 1840, writes Mr. Hunt, "almost before we 'had time to think, eleven men were laid on the ground before 'our house, and chiefs, priests and people met to divide them 'to be eaten." The manner, in which the poor wretches were treated, was most shamefully disgusting. They did not honour them so much as they do pigs. When they took them away to be cooked, they dragged them on the ground. The ovens, on which they were cooked, were quite near the Mission house; and all they could do when these cannibal feasts were held, was to close the blinds, and to lift up their hearts to God. Their rebukes and avowed detestation roused the natives to fury. The King's son was specially angry. Mr. Waterhouse gives us his picture. "Such a Goliath I had never seen before. 'We measured together and I found him to be the head and 'neck taller than myself, and nearly three times my bulk, every 'part indicating the proportions of a giant." Such a monster, all but stark naked, might well frighten Mrs. Brooks, who saw him for the first time, especially when he took "her child (seven months old) into his arms, and put his great tongue into its mouth." One day he came in a fury to kill Mr. Lyth, who had to hide himself till the savage's rage had cooled down. Mr. Lyth had another narrow escape from the old King's wrath. Provoked by Mr. Lyth's pertinacity in urging him to become a Christian, he suddenly started up, seized and clung to him, calling for a club, and had not the Missionary's dress torn in his grasp giving him time to flee, he would have been a dead man. One night they heard they were all to be murdered. "A 'strange and memorable night was that in the great gloomy 'house where the Missionaries lived. Those devoted men and 'women looked at one another and at their little ones, and felt 'as those only can feel, who believe that their hours are numbered. One after another they called upon God through 'the long hours of that terrible night, resolved that their murderers should find them at prayer. Just at midnight, each 'pleading voice was hushed and each head bowed lower, as the 'stillness outside was broken by a wild and ringing shout. 'But the purpose of the people was changed; the cry was to 'call the women to dance; and the night passed safely."* What nerves could endure such constant and fearful excitement? Abominations, too hideous to record, were forced continually on their sight. What they suffered God only knows. Well might Commodore Wilkes write of them;—"There are few 'situations in which so much physical and moral courage is required, as those in which these devoted and pious individuals 'are placed; and nothing but a deep sense of duty, and a strong 'determination to perform it, could induce civilized persons to 'subject themselves to the sight of such horrid scenes, as they 'are called upon *almost daily* to witness. I know of no situation 'so trying as this for ladies to live in, particularly when pleasing and well informed, as we found these at Somo-somo." Some may question whether women ought ever to have been exposed to such terrors and perils: an old adage is the best answer—*Respice finem*, "look to the result." Our own belief is that their influence, gentler and less combative, and it may be less practical, had a powerful, subduing, elevating effect upon the hardest natures; and that they were true help-mates and worthy companions of those noble and high-minded men, to go with their wives and children as hostages among the Heathen. This was what women could do, and did, among raging murderers and cannibals. The story should be written in letters of gold.

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* Fiji and the Fijians, Vol. II., p. 25.

"The report crossed over to Viwa, and reached the Mission 'house, 'Fourteen women are to be brought to Mbau to-morrow,

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* Fiji and the Fijians, Vol. II., p. 38.

‘to be killed and cooked.’ Mrs. Calvert and Mrs. Lyth were ‘alone with the children. Their husbands were many miles ‘away, on another island. The thought of the horrid fate that ‘awaited the poor captives roused the pity of those two lone wo‘men.” But what could be done! Every moment was precious.

Amidst such fiendish excitement, it would be a desperate thing for any one to venture into Mbau for the purpose of thwarting the bloodthirsty people. Those two noble women determined to go. A canoe was procured; and as they went poling over the flat, they heard, with trembling, the wild din of the cannibals grow louder as they approached. The death-drum sounded terrible, and muskets were fired in triumph. Then, as they came nearer, shriek after shriek pierced through every other noise, and told that the murder was begun. Fear gave way to impatience at that wild warning, and the Englishwomen's voice urged the labouring boatmen to make better speed. They reached the beach, and were met by a *lotu* Chief, who dared to join them, saying, “Make haste! Some are dead; but some are alive!” Surrounded by an unseen Guard which none might break through, the women of God passed among the blood-maddened cannibals unhurt. They pressed forward to the house of the old King, Tanoa, the entrance to which was strictly forbidden to all women. It was no time for ceremony now. With a whale's tooth in each hand, and still accompanied by the Christian Chief, they thrust themselves into the grim presence of the King, and prayed their prayer of mercy. The old man was startled at the audacity of the intruders. His hearing was dull, and they raised their voices higher to plead for their dark sisters' lives. The King said, “Those who are dead are dead; but those who are still alive shall live only.” At that word, a man ran to Ngavindi, to stop his butchery, and returned to say that five still lived; the rest of the fourteen were killed. But the messengers of pity could not leave their work unfinished. They went to the house of the murderer, and found him sitting in state, in full dress, but evidently very uncomfortable. He winced under the sharp rebuke of the Missionaries' wives, and muttered something about his friendliness to the *lotu*. Even in cannibal Mbau, all did not consent to the deed of darkness. Thakombau's chief wife and Ngavindi's wife had already secured the life and liberty of two of the victims; and when Mrs. Calvert and Mrs. Lyth left, there were others who blessed them for their work of love. What the doing of it cost those intrepid hearts, none may know: but their deed stands in this record above all praise. They have their reward.”

Thakombau, dominant chief, emperor, or feudal superior of nearly all the group, and usually known as King of Fiji, was a fierce and remorseless warrior, stained with almost every crime. A freethinker himself, and personally despising the priests and their lying oracles, he upheld them publicly with all the weight of his power, and insisted on the full performance of every abomination of their bloody ceremonial. Cannibalism was the great state institution, and therefore to be upheld and enforced. He listened to the Missionaries with respect, bore their reproofs, while he winced under them: but would not permit them to settle in his capital, and, for about twenty years, wherever his authority extended, was the stern, resolute, unceasing opponent of Christianity. The strange conflict in his mind, and the involuntary and unwonted risings of remorse, are powerfully illustrated by the events that followed the death of Tanoa, his father. To prevent the strangling of his widows, Mr. Calvert and Mr. Watsford entreated the King again and again; they offered ten whales' teeth, twenty muskets, and the new whale boat of the Mission. The haughty chief listened in uneasy silence, but would give no promise. The Missionaries will tell what followed:—

> "Hastening on to the house where he lay, Mr. Watsford saw six biers standing at the door, from which he knew that *five* victims, at least, were to accompany their dead lord to the grave.
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> Within the house the work of death was begun. One woman was already strangled, and the second was kneeling with covered head, while several men on either side were just pulling the cord which wound round her neck, when the Missionary stood on the threshold, heart-sick and faint at the ghastly sight. Soon the woman fell dead. Mr. Watsford knew her. She had professed Christianity, and shrunk from death, asking to go to prayer. But when the fatal moment came, she rose when called, and, passing the old King's corpse, spat on it, saying, "Ah, you old wretch! I shall be in hell with you directly!" The third was now called for, when Thakombau caught sight of the Missionary, and, trembling with fear, looked at him in agony, and cried out, "What about it, Mr. Watsford?" Mr. Watsford, with great difficulty, answered, "Refrain, Sir! That is plenty. Two are dead. Refrain;—I love them!" The Chief replied, "We also love them. They are not many,—only five. But for you Missionaries, many more would have been strangled." Just then the third victim approached, who had offered to die instead of her sister, who had a son living. She had sat impatiently; and, on hearing her name, started up instantly. She was a fine woman, of high rank, and wore a new *liku*. Looking proudly round on the people seated in the apartment, she pranced up to the place of death, offering her hand to Mr. Watsford, who shrunk back in disgust. When about to kneel, she saw that they were going to use a shabby cord, and haughtily refused to be strangled, except with a new cord. All this time the assembly gazed at her with delight, gently clapping their hands, and expressing, in subdued exclamations, their admiration of her beauty and pride. She then bid her relatives farewell, and knelt down, with her arms round one of her friends. The cord was adjusted, and the large covering thrown over her; and while the men strained the cord, a lady of rank pressed down the head of the poor wretch, who died without a sound or struggle. Two more followed. Throughout the terrible scene there was no noise or excitement; but a cheerful composure seemed to possess every one there, except Thakombau, who was much excited, and evidently making a great effort to act his murderous part before the face of God's messenger. He ordered that one of the victims should live; but she refused; and her own son helped the King and the rest to strangle her. Mr. Watsford, by a painful effort, stayed to the last, protesting against the heartless butchery, which he and his brethren had so long striven to prevent.

The following is a fair example of the perils to which the Missionaries were constantly exposed. Mr. Calvert determined to land among a very fierce tribe, partly to preach the Gospel, and partly to warn them of an approaching attack of their enemies.

The beach was a considerable distance from me, and the water was in
some places over knee deep. As I proceeded towards shore, many more
persons made their appearance, some running fast towards me from two
directions. As they neared me, they looked very fierce, and made gesture
indicative of evil intentions towards me. I could not get to the boat
therefore went on towards the shore. One was swifter than the rest, and cam
near, with his gun uplifted to strike me. I expostulated with him. Quick
ly several were up with me, some of whom had clubs uplifted to club m
some with hatchets, some with spears laid on in a position to throw. O
came very near with a musket pointed at me, with desperate looks.
trembled; but protested loudly and firmly that they ought not to kill m
that in me there was no cause of death from them; that their killing
would be greatly to their disgrace. I was surrounded by upwards o
hundred. The features of one I recognised, and hoped he was frien
(This man had thought that it was my boat, and he, knowing the exaspe
ed state of the people against the whites for meddling in the present w
fearing that I should be in danger, had run towards me; but was lat
reaching me from having run a sharp shell into his foot.) He took hol
me, recognising me as the husband of the lady of the wooden house at Vi
who had frequently purchased food of them, and treated them kindly,
he said I should live. I clung to him, and disputed for my life with th
who clamoured for my death. Another man's face, through a thick cov
ing of soot, exhibited features familiar to me: but a fearful-looking hat
axe he held in his hand attracted my eye. However, I laid hold of him,
advised and urged them not to kill me. Thus I was between two
might be friendly. I told my name, my work, my labours in various wa
again and again, on their behalf; my having offered Tui Levuka a very la
looking glass if he would let them alone; my having entreated Mara and
Mountaineers not to attack them, and my preventing an inten
attack. I told them that I had interceded with the Mbau Chief to s
them the help by which they were now strengthened, and that
full knowledge of being one and friendly with them led me to come
shore; that no white man who had been active in the war against th
would have dared to come on shore there. Matters were in a hopeful sta
when a very ugly man drew near with great vehemence. Many had av
ed themselves in my favour. He appeared resolutely determined, in sp
of opposition, to take away my life. He was extremely ferocious; but his ar
were seized and held by several. He struggled hard for a length of ti
to get his musket to bear on me, which indeed he once or twice manag
but it was warded off before he could fire. At length his rage subsid
All then consented to my living. But their thirst for killing had got u
and, as they could not kill me, they wished me to return towards the b
intending to accompany me, hoping to get one or more of my natives
my stead. I refused to go, and persisted in approaching towards the sho
led by two. One untied my neckcloth, and took it. They pulled my co
felt me, and I fully expected to be stripped. My trousers were wet a
heavy. I was weak with talking and disputing with them, indeed qu
hoarse. As we still went on in the sea, they commenced their death so
always sung as they drag along the bodies of enemies slain. I feared th
might increase their rage, and desired to stop it. It was most grating
my feelings, and I stood still and entreated them to desist. After a sho
time they did so, and we proceeded to the beach. Those who had run
destroy me, departed towards their own town.

"I found Ratu Vuki, a Chief of Mbau, had just arrived. He was ve
with those who had treated me so, and would have punished them.
begged he would not. I desired him to send me to Viwa in a canoe, a
was sure Mrs. Calvert would be anxious. My boys had seen the dang

> to which I was exposed. They also were pursued by the natives, and hastened to Viwa, where they arrived about seven o'clock. Mrs. Calvert felt much at the alarming intelligence; but feared to send the boat to inquire, lest my death might be followed by the killing of those she might send."

On another occasion, Mr. and Mrs. Moore were driven out of their house by the savages, saw it destroyed before their eyes, and were only saved from being clubbed by the cupidity of the murderers, and his own presence of mind in persuading them to make off with the spoil.

At last, after many a weary year, Thakombau himself yielded to the power of the Gospel, and was publicly baptized, having dismissed all his other wives (or rather concubines,) and publicly married his chief queen, who was baptized along with him on the 11th January 1857. The scene is graphically pourtrayed by Mr. Waterhouse.

> "In the afternoon the King was publicly baptized. In the presence of God, he promised to 'renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh.' He engaged to believe all the articles of the Christian faith; and solemnly vowed, in the name of the Holy Trinity, 'to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of his life.'
>
> "In accordance with my request, previously conveyed, the King then addressed the assembly. It must have cost him many a struggle to stand up before his court, his ambassadors, and the flower of his people, to confess his former sins. And, in time past, he had considered himself a god, and had received honours, almost divine, from his people; now he humbles himself, and adores his great Creator and merciful Preserver.
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> "And what a congregation he had! Husbands, whose wives he had dishonoured! widows, whose husbands he had slain! sisters, whose relatives had been strangled by his orders! relatives, whose friends he had eaten! and children, the descendants of those he had murdered, and who had vowed to avenge the wrongs inflicted on their fathers!
>
> "A thousand stony hearts heaved with fear and astonishment, as Thakombau gave utterance to the following sentiments:—'I have been a bad man. I disturbed the country. The Missionaries came and invited me to embrace Christianity; but I said to them, 'I will continue to fight.' God has singularly preserved my life. At one time I thought that I had myself been the instrument of my own preservation; but now I know that it was the Lord's doing. I desire to acknowledge Him as the only and the true God. I have scourged the world.' He was deeply affected, and spoke with great diffidence."

Before leaving Fiji, we would lay before our readers a picture, however feebly drawn, of the kind and degree of Christian into which converted cannibal may be changed. It is an exceptional case, not an ordinary example: but such was Paul's

If Thakombau was the Agamemnon of the Fijian Chiefs, Vera ni was the Achilles. He was the nephew of the crafty Namosi Malua, King of Viwa, and the chosen friend and right arm o Thakombau. The terror of his name, the appearance of h war canoe paralysed the bravest. No Fijian warrior had stru down more foes, or devoured more numerous victims. His heart was stone, and had no room for pity. Of all the cannibals he was the most ferocious, the most formidable, the most hardened. Talking often with the Missionaries, this terrible Chief began to feel the power of the Gospel. He often stole to the woods to pray alone, and, at length, entreated his beloved friend and chief to consent to his baptism. Thakombau, knowing the man, asked him only to delay: but for this he was too much in earnest; and on March 21st 1845, the far-dreaded Verani, as humble as a child, bowed his knee before God, and was publicly baptized, renouncing Heathenism and all its abominable practices. His sincerity was soon and severely tested. His brother-in-law, with his aged father, were treacherously murdered. There could not be a more deadly insult to Verani: "but the arm, once so quick to strike in bloody revenge, was now unmoved. The man so jealous and so furious in his wrath was now another man; and when his own widowed sister and the other wives of the slain gathered round Verani, and wildly urged him to strangle them, he stood firm, saying calmly. 'If you had come some time since, I would readily have done it; but I am now a Christian, and the work of death is over." When the news of his baptism reached Thakombau, all expected an explosion of fury: but he only said "did I not tell you, that we could not turn Verani? He is a man of one heart. When he was with us, he was fully one with us: now he is a Christian, and not to be moved."

" Verani's crimes had been of no ordinary kind and number. Few men's history had been so blackened with every kind of outrage and abomination, and few men's hands were so stained with blood. His grief and penitence were proportionate to the enormity of his sins, and amounted to agony, as he wept bitterly before God, while every remembrance of the Saviour's love drove the stings of remorse deeper into his broken heart. If few men had ever sinned more, no man ever repented more deeply. His high-souled pride was gone, and in his lowliness "this poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles." Verani continued in prayer day after day, until he found salvation by faith in Christ's atonement, and went out before his fellows a changed man, rejoicing in the blessedness of having his iniquity forgiven. He now verified the judgment of his heathen friend, and became a thorough Christian, using every effort to lead others to the same gladness which filled his own heart. About a month after his conversion, he had an interview with Thakombau on board a trading vessel lying off the coast. Verani told him all he knew and felt of religion; and when he had done, the Chief said, "Go on, go on!" The next day he visited him again, and told him that the Christians would obey all his commands, if right; but they would do nothing wrong, and could not take part in cruel and barbarous wars. The Chief said, "Very good: you stay at home, and learn your book well;" and promised that he would eventually *lotu*.

"Though Verani refused, on behalf of himself and the Christians, to engage in war, saying, "I have already fought too much: I have done now;"

yet his was too earnest and active a nature to remain idle. But he had now espoused another cause. One day, less than two months after his conversion, Verani ordered his great war-canoe to be launched; but not to go on its old work of bloodshed and crime. A dark day was it, in time past, for some town or island, when the great sail of that canoe went up to the wild shouts of the painted warriors who thronged the deck; but it was far otherwise now. Verani, with his energy of soul directed by the new power of love to God and man, was setting sail to carry the Missionary to the distant islands under his charge; and wherever the war-canoe of the dreaded Chieftain touched, it brought "the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of peace."

"At his baptism, Verani chose the name of Elijah, and when he built his new, large house, called it Cherith. Here he lived in great happiness, with his wife, of whom he was very fond Their daughter was regular and attentive at the school. Family prayer was never neglected: so that this household became a pattern to the natives, and its master went in and out among them an example of what the grace of God could do in reclaiming the worst of men. He was always happy and kind, and thought no trouble too great, and no distance too far, if anything could be done to heal a quarrel, to prevent a war or strangling, or any other of the horrors in which he had formerly taken so active a part."

At the death-bed of Mr. Hunt, Verani was by, with mighty pleadings. Deeply he loved the dying Missionary, and now he prayed aloud, "O Lord, we know *we* are very bad; but 'spare thy servant! If one must die, *take me, take ten of us;* 'but spare thy servant to preach Christ to the people."

Eight years after his baptism, this noble Chief was treacherously shot, and then clubbed to death, when visiting, on an errand of peace, a tribe so treacherous, that the Missionaries besought him not to run the risk. He knew his danger, asked Mr. Calvert to pray with him, and left him weeping to die, as so many others had done by his own arm. It might perhaps be difficult to pick out in Christian England a man to measure with this converted cannibal. Here is part of one of his prayers, taken down *verbatim* by Mr. Williams, earnest, direct from the heart:—

"O Jehovah, hear us for His sake, Thy Son, whom Thou didst give that through Him we also might become Thy children. O hear our prayer, that the wicked may consider, and that the impenitent may become penitent, and come to Christ, and be saved. From Thee we came, and our mind is that we may return to Thee. We would enter where Christ has entered, and be with Thee. O Holy Ghost, descend upon us, and prepare our hearts for that place. Tell us that our names are written in the Book of Life: we do not ask to know this at some time that is yet to come; do Thou speak it to us now, as we do not know the continuance of our lives here. O tell us now that we are saved through Jesus!

"And bless the Christians at Lakemba, and Moala, and Kandavu, and Mbau, and Nakorotumbu, and Rakiraki, and Nandi; and be with Lazarus and those at Ndama; and be with those who live here. Bless Ra Hezekiah, and give him Thy Spirit, and teach him in his goings, and help him to cast away the old strength in which he used to trust, and to trust in Thy strength only,—the strength which we never knew until we heard the name of Jesus.

"And, O Lord, bless Thy people in Viwa; and if one is sent to-day to preach Thy Gospel in Mbau, go Thou with him, that the words of his mouth may be of use to the Chiefs of Mbau.

"And we pray Thee for our Ministers: they see much evil by living with us in Fiji, and they suffer, and are weak in their bodies, and there is nothing with us that we can give them to strengthen them. This only we can do, we can pray for them. O Lord Jesus Christ, hear our prayers for them. Mr. Williams is weak; do Thou strengthen him, and let his life be long, and make our land good for him; and bless the lady, and the children, and let Thy Spirit be always with them to comfort their minds.

"These are our prayers: O hear them; do Thou hear them for Jesus's sake. O hear them for Fiji's sake! Do have love for Fiji. When our minds think of Fiji, they are greatly pained; for the men and women of Fiji are Thy people, and these Thy people are strangled, and clubbed, and destroyed. O have compassion on Fiji; and spare Thy servants for the sake of Fiji, that they may preach Thy true word to the people. And, O Holy Spirit, give light to the dark-hearted, and give them repentance. And set us in motion, that we may not be so useless as we have been; but that we may now, and for the time to come, live to extend Thy kingdom, that it may reach all Fiji, for the sake of Jesus Christ, the accepted offering for us. Amen."

It remains for us to notice the most marvellous portion of this tale of marvels. God has honoured those few high-minded men and women, who laid their lives at his feet for Fiji. Within less than twenty-five years, throughout a great part of Fiji, cannibalism is *entirely extinct;* and polygamy and infanticide are fast passing away. Human life is no "longer 'reckoned cheap, and the avenger of blood comes forward now, 'invested with the solemn dignity of established law." Murder is punished by death on the gallows; and other practices, once familiar and unreproved, are now recognized and punished as crimes. Last year there were in Fiji SEVEN THOUSAND Church Members, TWO THOUSAND more on trial, and SIXTY THOUSAND stated hearers of the Gospel.

Fiji is not now a paradise; at best only partially cultivated, and partially and superficially Christianized. But such a work has never been done, in a like period, since the age of the Apostles: and not Paul himself showed more zeal and devotion, or wrought out more marvellous results, than the handful of Wesleyan men and women of our own day, who went forth like lambs into a den of raging wolves, endured to look on butcheries and wild frightful horrors, that made their hearts sick and their eyes dizzy, and lived and prayed them down.

Brave men are proud of the civic wreath, the Victoria Cross, the clasp and the medal won by deeds of daring done before their fellows, honoured by a nation's gratitude and praise. But for the men who, without hope of reward, sympathy, emulation *or companionship*, have stopped the cannibal feast, and saved the lives of thousands—for the women, without defence, with the worst to fear from savage lust and fury, who entered Tanoa's den, and wrested from his cruel grasp the doomed and despairing victims—for those who are an honour and a glory to the nation to which they belong,—to the vast majority of that nation their names and their deeds are utterly unknown, or classed perhaps with those whom it has pleased Mr. Dickens and his school, to represent as designing knaves and silly dupes, who send out flannels to the negroes of Burribooloo. Yet these are the real heroes, the true salt of the earth; and they have their reward too, given by the King's own hand. They succeeded, not because they were white men—hundreds of white men were killed and eaten—but because the Lord was with them. If ever the hand of God was seen in history, it was seen in the recent history of Fiji.

The sovereignty of this interesting group is now offered to England; partly in consequence of a fine (£9000) demanded from the King by America; which, if levied, would infallibly give rise to a wide spread rebellion, and but too probably turn Fiji into a slaughter-house again. Its value to our Australian Empire would be considerable, were it only as a coaling station on the steam path to China, Japan, Panama, California, and the British gold fields in North America. If England should refuse, France will be less scrupulous; and, we must confess, there are few questions in regard to which we have such serious misgivings as French colonization and Roman Catholic Missions. True wisdom would be to leave Fiji to the Missionaries, to help them by occasional visits of ships of war, commanded by officers, such as Erskine, Pollard, Fanshawe, Wilkes and Macgrubber, and to guarantee their independence, as in the case of the Sandwich Islands.

Leaving the Fijis, we pass to the new French Settlement (scarcely yet begun) on New Caledonia. This large island, more than two hundred miles long and thirty-five broad, like the great Fijis, has a high central ridge, and a barrier coral reef almost entirely encircling it, connecting its S. E. extremity with the Isle of Pines, and stretching out 150 miles from its N. W. end. The reef has many openings, giving easy entrance to the largest ships, varies from 2 to 12 miles in distance from the shore, and the interior lagoons have almost everywhere good anchorage ground. Its harbours are excellent, and command the Australian trade with India, China, and Western America. The larger island is a little bigger than Sicily, has two navigable rivers, and many smaller, which the natives make use of for irrigating their fields, and which never dry up. South East from it, and separated by a channel of 30 or

40 miles, swarming with reefs and shoals, lies the Isle of Pines, about 30 miles in circuit, and running up to a high central peak, which can be seen 50 miles out at sea. The best port and most accessible is Assumption Bay on the South side of the island. Many vessels came here for sandal wood, which grows abundantly, as well as the tall pillar-like araucarias, from which the Isle received its name. It was infamous at one time for several massacres of ship's crews, probably not unprovoked. But Mr. Towns, a Sydney merchant, establishing a factory for the collection of sandal wood, trepang, &c., and treating the natives kindly and with good faith, "an unarmed man," writes Captain Erskine, "may now walk over the whole island without apprehension;" and the French Missionaries reside there in perfect security, having been twice driven from the larger island by the savages. Many islets, some inhabited, stud the barrier reef; and the three Loyalty Islands, Lifu, Wea, and Mare (in our charts Chabrol, Halgan, and Britannia) lying 45 miles to the Eastward, properly belong to the New Caledonian group.

The parallel of 21° South runs through the centre of the large island. Its longitude is 162° East. Its distance from the coast of New Holland is only 3 or 4 days' sail. Though the scenery is grand and beautiful, the soil is comparatively barren; and there is as little as may be to tempt the colonist or the trader. The population too is inconsiderable, being estimated variously from 15,000 to 50,000 souls. The tribes on the sea coast differ little from the Fijians. and like them are cannibals; but they are far inferior in intelligence, vigour, and civilization. They live in the same state of constant internecine warfare, expose or bury alive their sick, are polygamists, and their rude legends of the gods and the state after death, do not differ materially from those of the Fijis. Of all savages they seem to be the most improvident. When they have a good crop, they send invitations to the surrounding villages, with which they happen to be at peace, to come and help them to eat it up; and for the rest of the year they live upon fish, lizards, grubs, worms, spiders, and human flesh. But they are too poor, too few and too isolated to hold cannibal feasts. These form no part of the state ceremonial. They eat their enemies, chiefly from sheer famine, and do not object to white flesh, as the Fijians do. One of them said to a French Missionary, "If you say that to eat human flesh 'is wrong,—good! we say nothing against you; but if you say 'it is not pleasant, you lie."

Little is known of the interior; but the high ground to the South West is held by a different race, who originally held all the island.

but were driven to the hills by invaders from the isles to the North East. The people of the Isle of Pines are thought to belong to the original race, and are milder, more docile, and more civilized than those known to us as New Caledonians. There are five harbours on the East coast, and one at the Northern end called Balad. The principal on the East coast is Yengen.

These are the islands which the French have formally taken possession of, with the intention of turning them into their chief naval station in the South Seas, and of using them (but this is less certain) as a penal settlement, in preference to Guiana. It is understood that Tahiti is to be subordinate, as a Station, to New Caledonia, and that the Marquesas are to be virtually abandoned; France keeping up only a nominal Protectorate. We shall attempt a brief outline of what has been actually done. The French began with a Mission. The *Bucephalus*, commanded by Captain Julien La Ferriére, was sent to visit various islands, where Missionaries were to be landed; and on *the* 19th December 1843, she reachad Balad. There she left on the island, M. Donarre, titular Bishop of Amata, two priests, P. P. Viard and Rougeyron, and two lay brothers. The Mission was not successful, except in baptizing unconscious children without the knowledge of their parents, and dying persons. Mr. Viard writes;—"in my various journeys, I have ‘ baptized about 270 infants, of whom a considerable number ‘ have already gone to heaven to pray for the success of the Mission."[*]

> "Their instructions," writes M. Brainne, "were to be very circumspect in administering the sacraments, and to baptize (as far as possible) adults only at the point of death, to avoid the risk of their afterwards becoming bad Christians! What was the natural consequence? almost every savage, that was baptized, died immediately after. Nothing more was necessary to raise the cry of sorcery; and, as the Caledonians put mercilessly to death all among themselves whom they even suspect to be sorcerers, it was not likely that they would be more favourable to foreigners, whose dress and religious practices must naturally have excited their suspicion."[†]

We have no wish to be unjust to the French Missionaries; but, while we admire their courage and cheerful endurance of danger, famine, and every privation, it is impossible to approve of the measures they pursued. It is best and fairest to speak from the book of M. Brainne. The natives were exceedingly troublesome: the men forced their way into the Mission House, and stole whatever they could lay hands on; and naked women hung about the door, pretending to beg. A nautical friend made them a present of *a huge bull-dog*. This brute hated the natives, and at the slightest signal, rushed upon them and fixed his fangs in their flesh. They sent for more; and the dogs became the body-guard of the Fathers.

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[*] Brainne ; La Nouvelle-Calédonie, p. 82.

[†] P. 92.

"One day, a native of a different tribe stole a tool from the Mission carpenter, and fled at full speed: but the cry, "Here, Rhine!" (the dog's name), produced its usual effect. The bull-dog, and his companions, were off at once. The terrified culprit dropped the tool, and finding the dogs gaining on him, hastily ran up a tree. The other savages, who happened to be present, although perfectly innocent, thought it best to take to their heels. The dogs rushed in pursuit of these poor wretches, and seized them by the calf of the leg. They gained the bank of a river, and plunged into the water. The dogs followed them; in vain the poor creatures dived beneath the surface; as soon as they came again to the top, a dog's head was sure to be near them. It was a comical confusion, not easy to stop; for it became very difficult to call back the aggressors, who were quite excited by the chase. This little piece of practical moral teaching had more effect on the natives than all the sermons that were preached to them on respect for the property of others."*

The moral is not ours.

At another time, the natives were hard pressed by famine; they were angry with the Missionaries for not procuring them rain, as they were sorcerers, and therefore had the power to do so; and they believed the Mission house to be a complete storehouse of food, and of rare and precious treasures.

"One evening a large number of savages gathered round the house; and, in spite of all that could be said to them, refused to go away. The Missionaries were in a terrible fright. Father Rougeyron went to the threshold, and, dropping his usual mild and courteous manner, ordered them imperiously to disperse, otherwise he would without pity burn them all up. At the same rubbing a lucifer match on the palm of his hand, he kindled it. The savages fled rapidly and at once. The story spread to all the villages. "Yes, said the spectators, we have seen Father Rougeyron draw flames from his hand; and, if we had not run away, we should have been burnt."†

On another occasion, when a threatening demonstration was made in open day (it was before the time of the dogs,)

"Father Rougeyron, who was the man for expedients, called in a solemn tone to one of the brethren to bring from the house a barrel of salt meat, which had just been opened, and to place it near him. Then, pulling up his sleeves, he drew out in each hand, all dripping with brine, two legs of pork, and holding them out to the astonished and terrified savages, he told them that such should be their fate, if they did not flee for their lives. All ran away immediately, believing they had seen pieces of human flesh taken out of the barrel."‡

Such "expedients" as these did no good, and served only to exasperate the savages. Evil came to the Mission. In 1845, a bishop (Mgr. Epalle) was killed in one of the small islands, when landing, by a party in ambush. Later, a boat's crew of 12 men and two officers belonging to a French Corvette, were destroyed and eaten on another of the islands; and more than one trading vessel was captured, and all on board devoured. An epidemic broke out, which was peculiarly fatal. The blame was laid on the Missionaries, unfortunately a large supply of iron tools, provisions, and other articles of barter arrived in a French vessel, and was stowed away in the Mission house. The missionaries hint that their Protestant rivals calumniated them, and a somewhat ridiculous allusion is made to the "affaire Pritchard." There is no need to go beyond the facts already narrated to understand what followed, and why it followed. Mad with eager greediness, as soon as the protecting vessel was gone, the savages conspired to plunder the house and murder the Missionaries. They attacked the Mission house, pillaged and set fire to it, and mortally wounded M. Blaise. The Fathers retired into their little chapel, recommending their souls to God, and confessing each other; but, finding the savages entirely occupied with plundering, they fled for their lives, and escaped with great difficulty to a station farther down the coast. The treacherous natives put out the fire before it did much damage, that the sight of the house, uninjured, might tempt vessels into the bay, and decoy the crews to land. Encouraged by their success at Balad, the savages agreed to seize the station house, to which the Missionaries and other Europeans had fled, and not to leave one man alive. At this critical moment, when all hope had fled, a French armed vessel hove in sight, and they were rescued: but not without a conflict in which 5 seamen were severely wounded. Thus they were driven from this inhospitable shore, and conveyed to Sydney. This was in 1847.

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* Pp. 86 87.
† P. 88.
‡ P. 89.

A second time they set out with increased courage and numbers. Some wandered about the neighbouring islands, the Loyalty group, and the New Hebrides, and even ventured to land once more at Balad, where they were received with treacherous joy and pretended repentance. But in none of these places could they find rest or safety: and a second time they had to flee for their lives from the savage cannibals of New Caledonia. Another party, more fortunate, landed on the Isle of Pines, where they were well received, and dwell in security; and there, in 1850, all the New Caledonian Mission was established. The native Protestant teachers from Samoa and other Christianized islands were not more successful; and the Gospel seems to have made little or no progress in the New Caledonian group. It is pleasant to read M. Brainne's estimate of the Wesleyan and other Protestant Missionaries. As a Roman Catholic and a Frenchman he cannot help wishing for the success of his co-religionists, and the increased influence of his own nation. But he cheerfully acknowledges that the Protestant Missions have been of immense use among the Polynesian islanders, and allows that they are better liked and more successful than the Roman Catholic. According to him the Catholic, teaching only supernatural dogmas, fails: the Protestant, striving first to improve the physical and moral condition of the people, succeeds. To solve that problem, candid, clear-headed M. Brainne, you will have to go deeper.

A new name now appears on the scene, and the priest gives place to the sword. On the 24th and 29th September 1853, the French flag was hoisted on shore at Balad and the Isle of Pines, and formal possession of New Caledonia, the Isle of Pines and all their dependencies, in the name of Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, was taken by Admiral Febvrier-Despointes, amidst the firing of cannon and shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" The Admiral, after mature consideration, fixed on Balad, as on the whole best fitted for the head quarters of the naval power.

His first act, after surveying the river and the neighbouring coast, was to build a strong block-house of brick and stone, which could defy the assembled tribes of all Caledonia. Inside is a magazine, sufficiently large to hold arms and a year's provision of food for 600 men. On the top of the magazine are fortified barracks; and the fire from the block-house and barracks sweeps all the surrounding plain: and here once more, under the shelter of the guns, the unwearied Missionaries are for the third time settled in New Caledonia.

The French Government demi-officially avow their intention of establishing here a penal settlement, and a first class naval station for ships of war. The reports published, but not yet acted on, recommend the transportation of ten thousand felons, but slowly, and spread over many years. The island cannot yet support so large a European population. Another wild utopian proposal, is to hire (or kidnap) 20,000 Papuans from New Guinea, male and female, to be to New Caledonia what the coolies are to the Mauritius. It is too absurd for serious consideration. It does not appear that the French have sent any of their convicts to Balad; and that idea may therefore be supposed to have been abandoned. There can be little doubt that the real object of the Emperor, in occupying these islands, is to form a great naval station, easily defended and perfectly secure, from which armed cruisers may issue forth, in the event of a war with England, and inflict incalculable injury on those great lines of commerce, which connect our Indian and Australian Empires with China, Japan, the Malay islands, California, and the proposed new routes through the Isthmus of Panama and our North American possessions. Our Australian cities, also, Sydney, Melbourne, Launceston and Hobart must look to their own defence, which, as yet, is of the slightest. The enemy will be almost at their doors.

In another aspect, the French sovereignty can scarcely fail to be a blessing to New Caledonia. The fierce cannibals, who inhabit it, have no fire arms, and are too few and too divided to struggle against the power of France. They will be persuaded, or compelled, to abandon their abominable practices, brought under the strong arm of the law, and, let us hope, will soon cease to be idolaters.

ART. II.—*The Yadgar-i-Chistie, or the Manners and Customs of the Mahomedans in the Punjaub, in plain and simple Oordoo.* By MOULVIE NOOR AHMUD CHISTIE. Lahore: 1859.

THE Yadgar-i-Chistie is an Oordoo work purporting to set forth the peculiar customs, religious and social, of the Mussulmans of the Punjaub, in so far as they are either deviations from the original laws and traditions of the Mahomedan Faith, or have been directly borrowed from the followers of the heathen creeds of India, or have sprung up, as local customs do, so silently and gradually that their growth was unremarked. It treats of the sects of the Punjaub Mussulmans, their castes, their superstitions, their trades and their social customs, from the moment when the first summons to prayer is shouted into the ear of the newborn son of the faithful, to the hour when he is lowered into the tomb to be put through his catechism by the dread angels Moonkir and Nakeer. The writer of the book is a Moulvie of Lahore, and the author of several minor educational works in Oordoo. Observing the eager interest with which English gentlemen endeavoured to make themselves acquainted with the history and habits of the various tribes of India, he was induced to commence the composition of the Yadgar-i-Chistie. The work was originally intended to be an account of the manners and customs of the people of the Punjaub, in three books, treating first of the Mussulmans, secondly of the Hindoos, and lastly of the Sikhs. But the author did not meet with the encouragement he expected, and he never continued the work beyond the first book, which treats of the manners and customs of the Mussulmans in the Punjaub. It possesses considerable merit, and gives a faithful and minute picture of the Mussulman customs. The author is unsparing in his censure of whatever he considers objectionable in the faith or practice of his countrymen, and has in many instances drawn upon himself the hatred and execration of his co-religionists by the uncompromising manner in which he has exposed their follies. He mourns deeply over the want of earnestness and piety, the degeneracy, the superstition and credulity of the present age, and especially the sects and factions which rend the bosom of the congregation of the Faithful. His own creed is that of an eclectic. He is not free from the taint of scepticism, and might perhaps be called a Sofee. Quaint and curious is his confession of Faith;—

"I am not a heretical Sheah, yet I fear to be called a Soonee. The *Sheahs* pray with unclasped hands, but I fold mine during prayer; nor

> do I, like the Soonees, shave the middle of my moustache. I am a servant of God, let that profession of Faith suffice. Party spirit in religion is pitiful. The bigotry of both Sheahs and Soonees is blameworthy, because each conceals the merits of the other, and neither considers his own creed to be defective, but believes it to be the oracles of God. I lean to both, and find many of the principles of both sects in our sacred books. Each holds the truth with a large admixture of error, and those men of both sects are most to be admired, who are free from bigotry."

In the preparation of his work, the author has confined his observations almost exclusively to Lahore and its neighbourhood. Undoubtedly Lahore is the best field for observing the peculiarities of Punjaub Islamism, because there the mixture of Mahomedans, Hindoos and Sikhs is most complete. Long the imperial city and the seat of Government, Lahore occupied, in the earlier days of the Mahomedan Empire, a position similar to that of Delhi under the Moghuls. It is fabled to have been built by Balo, son of Ram Chunder, some 1,600 years before the Christian era, but its political importance dates only from the Mahomedan invasion. The city was raised from ruin by Sultan Mahmood, and it was the imperial residence of the two Chosroes, the last of the house of Ghuznee. The Gaurian dynasty abandoned it again for Ghuznee, but in the early years of the Moghul Empire it was restored to its former importance. It was fortified by Akbar, and was for some years the imperial residence of Jehangeer. But of all the Mahomedan Emperors, Alumgeer contributed most towards the splendour and magnificence of Lahore, by the erection of mosques and spacious edifices, and by the construction of large embankments to save the city from the inundations of the Ravee. It is said that during the reign of this Emperor the repairs and improvements of the city were carried on uninterruptedly for a period of 40 years. Although Lahore again sank into comparative insignificance under the late Moghuls, Mahomedanism had already taken so firm root, that its existence no longer depended on locality or political support. But it could not be expected long to retain its purity. There is a common element in all religions, by which creeds the most opposite assimilate and combine. Religions borrow rites and ceremonies from each other as languages borrow vocables. Even the Christian religion has assumed forms and imbibed errors and corruptions varying with the countries into which it spread. Islamism therefore, fiercely propagandist though it was, could not escape the influence of foreign creeds. Nowhere in India is Mahomedanism found pure—least of all perhaps in the Punjaub, where two distinct attempts have been made to found a new religion on the ruins of Brahminism and the faith of Islam.

Many causes have combined to produce this corruption of the

Mahomedan Faith. Even when the mountain hordes poured down from their fastnesses on Northern India, Islamism no longer retained that purity and vitality which it displayed in the days when the ferocious Omar swept with his cavalry the Persian plains. Discord and faction had long divided the soldiers of the Crescent. The Soonees and the Sheahs turned against each other those swords which should have been unsheathed only against the common foe. Their hatred of the infidel was as nothing compared with the scorn and ferocity with which those two sects regarded each other. But they seem to have become mutually more tolerant when they settled in the Indian plains, as will be seen from the following account which our author gives of the distinctive tenets of the Soonees;—

> "The Soonees[*] are also called the people of the circumcision, the congregation, the Charyarus or adherents of the four friends and successors of Mahomed, and are considered by the Sheahs to be a heretical sect. They consider Mahomed as the true Prophet, and venerate every one who enjoyed his intimate friendship. They believe that the four successors of the Prophet, Aboobukur, Omar Khitab, Osman Ghunee and Mortaza Alee are equal in rank, but they put Aboobukur first and Alee last in succession. As Mahomed is considered by them to be the last of the Prophets, so Alee is the first of Fukeers, though in truth they are quite ignorant of Alee's real dignity. They usually associate themselves with some Fukeer, as his disciples, and respect Fukeers, who excel in virtue, as the peculiar children of God. They observe the fast of Rumzan, make the pilgrimage to Mecca read the Koran and acknowledge its authority, and assemble together for public prayer. They believe in the resurrection, that the people of God continue on earth till the last day, that the Most High God will judge the world and send the good to Paradise and the wicked to Hell, that the Prophet will intercede for them, and through him they will obtain salvation. They say that on the day of judgment all the other Prophets will cry 'O God, save us, save us,' whereas Mahomed will cry 'O God, save my disciples.' They consider it unlawful to make the image of Hossein's tomb and to read the funeral eulogium, and though they believe it forbidden to beat the breast during the Mohurrum, they do not think it unlawful to shed tears. Many of them even drink the wine of Imam Hossain, and make offerings and oblations. They look upon the Sheahs as heretics. Their patron saint

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[*] It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that, when Mahomed was on his death bed, it is supposed that he nominated his son-in-law and vicar, Alee, as his successor, but that Ayesha, the Prophet's wife, through hatred of Alee and jealousy of the fair Fatima, carefully suppressed this declaration, and secured the appointment of Aboobukur, her own father, to the Caliphate. To him succeeded Omar and Osman. Alee was the fourth who filled the office. Mowaveeah disputed Alee's right, and on the quarrel being referred to arbitration, a decision was fraudulently obtained in favour of Mowaveeah. The fraud being apparent, recourse was had to arms, and a battle ensued which ended in the death of Alee. For some time after this, the Caliphate continued in the family of Mowaveeah, and the Imamate, or spiritual dignity, in the house of Alee. From this contest with Mowaveeah arose the two sects of the Sheahs and the Soonees. The Sheahs consider Alee to be of right the immediate successor of the Prophet, and that Aboobukur and the others were usurpers. The Soonees (so called from following the Soonut or traditions, which correspond with the Misnah of the Jews) believe that Aboobukur *and his successors* were lawfully elected.

is Mohee-ood-deen Geehanee, for whom they carry their veneration to an extravagant degree, though some of the less credulous venture to say that he was in truth a heretic. Wine, bhāng and intoxicating liquors are proscribed by them. They do not curse Meer Mowaveeah, Governor of Syria, and father of Gezeed Boolund the murderer of Hossein ; at least if they do, they never profess it."

But the disputes of the Sheahs and the Soonees were not the only seeds of weakness which the Mahomedans brought with them to India. Many other sects had sprung up to dispute the doctrines of the Faith and even to deny the authority of the Koran. Fierce and hot had been the disputes[*] in Arabia and Persia regarding that book which the Prophet had published as a revelation from the Most High God. Nor were these disputes left behind by the invaders. Besides scepticism and internal divisions, however, other causes contributed to weaken the vitality of Mahomedanism as a Propagandist creed. In the conquest of Persia, the Saracens had absorbed into their religion many ideas well known to the educated classes of India, and these corruptions were conveyed with the Mahomedan creed to the mountain hordes who afterwards overran the plains. Mahomedans, especially of the Sheah sect, began to believe that the Imams were incarnations of Deity. Even the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul[†] was not rejected by them, and is believed at the present day by the sect of the *Mortanasikhas*.

From all these circumstances, Mahomedanism had lost much of its early fierce, propagandist character. 'Paradise was' no longer felt to be 'prefigured in the shade of the scimitars.' We find accordingly that the invasion of India was the result of political and social necessities rather than of religious fervour. Mahmood indeed professed great religious zeal. But in early life he was an avowed infidel, and the sincerity of his conversion is doubtful. It is probable that he was less influenced by the ambition of saving heathen souls, than by the desire of filling his coffers with Pagan spoils. With few exceptions, the Mahomedan conquerors of India did not attempt to force their religion on the people of the country. The Emperor Akbar even endeavoured, by combining the Mahomedan and Brahminical religions, to introduce a new creed, not unlike that of Nanuk. Islamism thus quietly took its place beside the creeds of the Hindoos, not as the exclusively true religion, but as one faith of many. The natural consequences ensued. In the days of exclusive bigotry, when the Faithful rode to battle with the sword in their hand and the Koran at their saddle-bow, the Faith of Islam had been unable to resist the silent corrupting influence of Pagan creeds. Can we, therefore, expect that it would long retain its purity, when it became tolerant of Brahminism? "The Mahomedans became Indianised......Nor did the proud distinctions of caste and the reverence shown to Brahmins, fail to attract the notice and the admiration of the barbarous victors. Sheikhs and Seyuds had an innate holiness assigned to them, and Moghuls and Pathans copied the exclusiveness of Rajpoots. New superstition also emulated old credulity. 'Peers' and 'Shuheeds,' saints and martyrs equalled Kirishna and Bheirav in the number of their miracles, and the Mahomedans almost forgot the unity of God in the multitude of intercessors whose aid they implored."[*] With the mass of the people, Mahomedanism has now become as little a religion and as much a superstition, as the worship of Vishnoo and Mahadev. There are seventy-two acknowledged sects of Mussulmans, who hold all possible shades of opinion, from absolute Atheism to unquestioning devotion to the Faith of Islam. Some, like the *Arbeeas*, deny the mission of Mahomed; others acknowledge no moral distinctions. Many sects deny the divinity of the Koran, while the *Juzameeas* dispute even the existence of God. Mahomedanism has indeed become a mere superstition.[†] Prayers are almost entirely neglected, or are regularly performed only by those who aim at a reputation for sanctity. Music and dancing, which were strictly forbidden by the Prophet, now compete with the Koran, and attract larger assemblies than the prayers of the Moollas. More offerings are made, and more valuable, at the shrines of the saints than at the mosques, and amulets and incantations are considered more efficacious than prayer and fasting.

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[*] We quote the following illustrative anecdote from Taylor's History of Mahomedanism p. 139, Vol. 45. "Abou Yacoub relates a curious account of a public controversy on the subject, between Shafaï, the Poet and Theologian, and Hafs, a sectarian preacher at Bagdad. Hafs asserted that the Koran was created at the moment of its revelation. Shafaï quoted the verse 'God said *be* and it was' and asked 'did not God create all things by the word *be* ?' Hafs assented—'If then the Koran was created, must not the word *be* have been created with it ?' Hafs could not deny so plain a proposition. 'Then,' said Shafaï, 'all things according to you were created by a created being, which is a gross inconsistency and manifest impiety.' Hafs was reduced to silence, and such an effect had Shafaï's logic on the audience that they put Hafs to death as a pestilent heretic."

The eternity of the Koran is one of the leading doctrines of orthodox Islamism, and tradition says that the Koran was written from all eternity on a table which is kept before God, and which the Prophet was allowed to see once a year, and twice during the last year of his life.

[†] "The doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul of one chief of religion into that of his successor, was applied to the Imams, as it had been from unknown time to the Lamas of Thibet."—*Taylor*, p. 212.

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[*] Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pp. 30—31.

[†] It is a remarkable fact that the Mahomedan cry is and was from very early times '*Deen Deen*,' not '*Iman Iman*.' Now Iman is properly the religious creed or Faith, Deen is the religious practice, including all rites and ceremonies, superstitious or otherwise. Mahomedans thus adhere more to the external formula, than to the essential truth to be believed.

The Mahomedans preserve caste with almost as much scrupulous exclusiveness as the Brahmins.* Most Mussulmans would consider themselves ceremonially polluted by sitting on the same carpet with a sweeper. The Seyuds, or descendants of the Prophet, are held in a veneration almost approaching to worship. It is considered impiety to assume their manners, and many Moghuls and Pathans, who affect to be Seyuds, are held in execration. Such is the superstitious respect for this class, that it is popularly believed if you were to set fire to the clothes of a true Seyud, he would not be burnt; and all this notwithstanding that the Seyuds lay no claim to extraordinary piety, but have substituted wine-bibbing and debauchery for the virtue and continence of olden times. They receive disciples, by whose bounty they subsist. On the 11th of every new moon, they take tithes from the people, and vows and offerings are made to them as to gods. They guard the purity of their sect with the utmost jealousy, and though they will take women from other classes, they will not marry their daughters into other castes. They keep regular genealogical tables of their descent from Mahomed, and when any man brings discredit on the caste, his name is expunged from the family tree. The same strictness of caste is observed among several other classes. The Mooltanee Arasens will not intermarry with the Kuwalees, nor the Kuwalees with the Kumbos. There is a notorious caste of Lohars called *Surdecas*, who are considered so impure and of such evil omen, that if they come into any house and sit on a couch or smoke a Hukka, the couch and Hukka are broken up on their departure.

In regard however to the relation of caste to trades, particular trades are not so strictly confined to fixed castes, as among the Hindoos. A Goldsmith may betake himself to the handicraft of the Lohars, and a Khoja may follow any calling he chooses, from that of an old-clothes-man to a priest or a doctor. But when a man adopts a trade, which is usually followed by persons of a different caste from his own, he does not adopt the new caste name. Caste goes by birth not by profession. Thus many Zurzurs will be found to work in old iron instead of the precious metals, while a dealer in lace or a trader in horses may be called a Potter or Kulal. In most cases however certain trades are followed by men of certain castes. Statuary, carving, gunmaking &c. are usually reserved for the

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* The adoption of caste distinctions was probably one of the earliest corruptions of the Mahomedan Faith in India. It is most amazing how rapidly such distinctions arise. Martin says that in Bahar the distinction of families who admit and who reject inoculation has already become hereditary.—See *Eastern India*, vol. I. p. 113.

Lohars and Trukhans, shoemaking for the Mochees, and horse-dealing for the Kukezaees. It is strange that horse-dealers should bear a questionable reputation all the world over. The Kukezaees are not more celebrated for honesty than their brethren in trade elsewhere. The following extract from the Yadgar-i-Chistie regarding horse-dealing may not be uninteresting.

> "In Lahore most horses are sold through the agency of the *Kukezaees.* The part of the city when they live is well known and contains three or four horse-markets. Any one who wishes to sell a horse usually sends for the horse-dealer and fixes the price, or he takes the animal to the market and informs the dealer of the sum for which he will part with him, and it remains with the dealer to dispose of the horse. In bargaining for the horse, the buyer lays hold of the dealer's hand, which is concealed under a sheet, and the price is agreed upon by signs with the fingers. If the buyer wishes to give a short price, the dealer, after bargaining in this underhand way, informs the owner. Should he agree to the reduced price, well and good; but if not, the dealer refers again to the intending purchaser. At last, after haggling in this way sometimes for two or three days, the transaction is closed and the dealer receives a commission of 4 per cent., occasionally less. In every market there are several such horse-dealers in partnership, and the profits are collected monthly and equally divided. The condition of the partnership is, that if any one of the partners sell a horse or a pony out of the market, he will not appropriate the commission to himself, or if he do and be detected, he will be expelled from the partnership in disgrace."
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> "When a horse is sold, the blanket, mouth bag, currycomb and martingale are included in the price of the horse. All horse transactions are for cash, and the animal cannot be returned after sale. On fixing the price, a pice or a rupee or a ring is given in earnest, and after giving earnest money the horse is considered sold and cannot be returned. Having received the money, the owner transfers the animal to the purchaser in the following way. The buyer spreads out the skirt of his garment, and the seller, after laying hold of the head rope of the horse and giving it to the buyer, throws a little grass into the lap of the purchaser's robe. By this symbolical act, the transfer is completed."

Since the annexation of the Punjaub, many native trades have been almost entirely discontinued, and articles of manufacture formerly in great demand cannot now find a market. This is particularly the case with articles of luxury and sumptuous display. The native gentry are decaying, and the eye is no longer delighted with the brilliant processions and gay cavalcades which adorned the native courts. An English Magistrate or Commissioner wears less jewellery on his person than a menial did in the court of Akbar or Runjeet Sing. The trades which have more particularly suffered are lace-making, cloth-flowering, gold embroidery, gold-working, &c. From these trades the Sikh Government used to derive a large revenue. Originally they were all followed by men of particular castes, who formed a kind of guildry. But in later times any one might learn these crafts on payment of the usual entry fee to the guild. This fee was known by the name of *sail*, and ranged in the different trades from 10 to 50 rupees. The fees were collected once a year, when the master workmen made up their books, and were all paid into the common treasury. Of the whole sum thus collected, half went to the Government, and the remainder was spent in a grand entertainment to the brethren in trade. This impost has not been levied by the English Government,* and these trades are now thrown open to all who choose to follów them. The market for such articles, however, is extremely limited, and consequently very few are desirous of learning these crafts.

We may notice in passing a curious kind of apprentice law which prevails among some classes, and specially the Cashmerce shawl-weavers. It is the custom in this trade, when an apprentice changes masters, for the new master to pay all his debts to the old. Advantage is taken of this to keep the apprentice in a state little better than slavery. The master advances him large sums of money, which he is expected to repay in work at certain fixed rates. The boy thoughtlessly squanders the money in pleasure, and before it is half repaid in work he has to take a new loan from his not unwilling master, who begins to find his services valuable and wishes to fetter him still more securely. The unfortunate boy falls deeper and deeper into debt which he can see no hope of repaying, while the master, knowing that he has him in his power, exacts work from him with the most merciless severity. The apprentice is driven to despair and at last runs away in the hope of making better terms for himself, or at least of beginning the world anew and free from the burden of debt. But the old master follows him like a bloodhound and compels the apprentice by law to return, unless his new master agrees to pay up the debt. A good apprentice law is required to check this lending of large sums to young men, which they can seldom hope to repay. The present practice is productive of much evil. Masters traffic in apprentices as in slaves.† Young men are often torn from their homes for years, because their parents are too poor to pay the ransom money. In districts where the Cashmere shawl trade is extensively carried on, it will be found, that by the civil suits instituted in our Courts, a large proportion of those troublesome cases, called *Ghair-zillah* cases, arises out of this injurious law of apprenticeship.

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* We believe that Goojrat is almost the only place in the Punjab where the English have kept up the direct tax on trade. It is there imposed in lieu of the usual *Choongee* or municipal tax.

† A case recently came to light in which the master actually fettered his runaway apprentice and compelled him to work in chains like a slave. It is said that this is not an uncommon practice among the shawl-weavers in some of our large cities.

To return from this digression to the consideration of some of the religious customs. When a Hindoo becomes converted to the religion of Mahomed, he retains many of his old habits, circumcision in fact being almost the only sign of his change of faith. This rite is rigidly enforced, because, when once performed, the convert cannot relapse into Heathenism. These Hindoo converts are called Sheikhs, a name which descends from father to son. They are very numerous in Lahore and also in the Jetch Doab. In their dress they resemble the Hindoos more than the Mussulmans, and their women wear the Hindoo *Luhunga* or petticoat, instead of the flowing trousers. Many of the Sheikhs are gold-beaters, which is generally considered a Hindoo trade. They address their father as '*Lala Jee*' instead of '*Bawa Jee*' like the Mussulmans, and on festive occasions they present cakes on platters of sewed leaves, after the fashion of the Hindoos. But of all the practices which have corrupted the Mahomedan religion, the most outrageous is the actual worship of the small-pox under the name of Devee Mata. Indeed this worship is not far removed from Fetishism ;—

> "Among the lower classes, as among the Hindoos, it is customary to worship the small-pox, under the name of *Devee Mata*. When the child falls ill, no one is allowed to enter the house, especially if he have bathed, washed, or combed his hair, and if any one does come in, he is made to burn *Hurmul* at the door. Should a thunderstorm come on before the pox have fully come out, the sound is not allowed to enter the sick child's ear. Copper plates and utensils are violently beaten to drown the roar of the thunder. For six or seven days when the disease is at its height, the child is fed with raisins covered with silver leaf. When the pox are fully developed, it is believed that Devee Mata has come. When the disease has abated a little and the pox have become dry, a little water is thrown over the body of the child. In the Punjaub this is called 'Giving the *Phoor* or Drop.' The parents then send for kettle-drummers and Merasees to make a procession to the shrine of Devee. The musicians march in front beating the drums, and followed by all the relatives, men, women and children, carrying the sick child dressed in saffron-coloured clothes. A man goes in advance with a bunch of green grass in his hand, from which he sprinkles a mixture of milk and water. In this way they visit some fig tree or other shrine of Devee, to which they tie red ribbons, and which they besmear with red-lead and paint and besprinkle with curds."

Many of the popular superstitions are very remarkable. Not only the ignorant, but the educated classes have a firm belief in the influence of evil spirits, more especially of the evil eye. Iron is believed to be the best antidote. When a woman has just been delivered of a child, she is supposed to be very susceptive to evil influences. Accordingly, during the whole period of the *Chibla* or 40 days of purification, a knife or a key is tied to the bed, and she is never allowed to move about without having a piece of iron attached to her person. Many castes have peculiar superstitions of their own. The Dhobies and the Dirzees believe that snakes will not bite them, and they will not intentionally injure a snake. But the most widely spread superstition of all is the veneration for Peers. It is not always easy to define what is meant by a Peer. There are Peers Tureekut, and Peers Hukeekut, and Peers Movarufut. Often the word signifies only a spiritual teacher or guide, or a pious old man, but not unfrequently it is superstitiously applied to the spirits of the departed. Nearly every caste has its own Peer. The Dyers venerate Peer Alee Rungrez, the Lohars Huzrut Daood, the Mehturs Lall Peer and Baba Fukeer. In almost every Mussulman house there is a dreaded spot called the Peer's Corner, where the owner erects a little shelf and lights a lamp every Thursday night, and hangs up chaplets of flowers. Sheikh Sado is a favourite Peer with the women, especially those who wish to gain an undue ascendancy over their husbands. Whenever a woman wishes to have a private entertainment of her own, she pretends to be shadow-smitten, that is, that the shadow of some Peer, generally Sheikh Sado, has fallen upon her, and the unfortunate husband is forced to give an entertainment, called a *Baithuk*, to which neither he himself nor any man is allowed entrance, for the purpose of exorcising him. It is believed that the Peer enters the woman's head and that she becomes possessed, and in that frantic state can answer any question which is put to her. All the female neighbours accordingly assemble to have their fortunes told by the Peer, and when they are satisfied, they exorcise him by music and singing. In connection with this, we cannot refrain from quoting the following amusing story related by the sceptical Moulvie:—

> "One day about three years ago, as I was riding along near Umritsur, I met a poor friend, who on seeing me burst into tears and said 'Sir, I have no money and I stand greatly in need of a Rupee, kindly bestow one on me.' I drew one from my pocket and gave it to him, asking what was the cause of such distress. 'Alas Sir,' said he, 'my wife has been ill for two months and has been nothing bettered by all the medicines of the physicians. Twice every night and day she falls into fits and says there is a Peer in her head. She is shadow-smitten and calls herself the 'Red Fairy.' I asked him 'what is your wife's name?' He told me 'Kureema.' I perceived that his wife was playing him false and endeavouring to gain the ascendancy over him. So I said to him, 'Hussein Buksh, my good friend, be comforted. I possess a charm so potent that if I only breathe on any person who is possessed, the Peer immediately takes to flight.' On hearing this he was delighted. 'God bless you, Sir' said he, 'if you will come with me to my house and breathe upon my wife, I shall esteem it a great act of charity.' 'I must first go home and bathe' said I, 'but

go you home and ask all the women whether they have any objections to my coming.' The helpless, simple-minded man went home and on asking the women, he found that they all consented except his wife. Feigning fits, she maintained that if any one came to breathe on her she would break his head. The wretched husband came to my house and told me of his ill success. I was convinced that the poor man's wife was playing him false. So I took a whip in my hand and accompanied him home. He placed a chair for me; sitting down I looked fixedly at the woman. Her eyes were red and her brow contracted with excitement. She abused everybody, and I did not escape my share of foul language. 'The shadow of a Peer,' she said, 'has fallen upon me, who is not to be driven away by breathing. This Lahore Moulvie had better go home, for if he breathes on me, he will himself be seized with the sickness.' On hearing this I smiled and told her husband to make her sit down in front of me. He did so and I said to her 'now tell me what your name is.' In great anger she replied 'I am the Red Fairy.' I kept gently muttering for half an hour and blowing on the whip, after which I gave her a smart blow across the shoulders. She remained perfectly silent. Again I read her another such lecture, breathing all the time on the whip, and then gave her two hard blows on the back. She immediately came to her senses and exclaimed 'my dear Moulvie, for heaven's sake don't beat me any more. I am quite well now.' I said to her 'O Red Fairy, what is now your name' and she meekly replied 'my name is Kureema.' Then said I 'Twice I have breathed on you and I must do so a third time, that the shadow may never fall on you again,' and I made as if I would beat her the third time. But she swore a thousand oaths that she was now perfectly recovered and would never be visited by the sickness again, adding 'Moulvie, you are undoubtedly a very wise man.' At last I took my leave, convinced that women being shadow-smitten was all a deception, for I never had any previous practice in such cases, neither had I any charm, but applied remedy solely of my own contrivance."

The Fukeers in the Punjaub are very numerous and possess great influence over the people. Asceticism recommends itself to human nature by the feeling of deep earnestness which its tortures and macerations inspire. It finds its origin in the natural feeling that the body is the seat of evil and sin, which acts as a drag on the pure spirit. We have many senses by which to perceive the world in its countless seducing forms, while the eye with which alone we can see God is scaled over. Our spiritual vision is to be restored only by tearing off the scales of sense. The body must be 'kept under'; the pleasures of sense and the cares of the world must be shunned; life must be spent in a constant death, a perpetual separation of soul from body. Among earnest minds this asceticism has assumed all forms from the hair shirt and scourge of the devoted monk to the trim peaked beard of the Puritan, and the drab coloured clothes and shovel hat of the Quaker. In the history of Eastern creeds we expect to hear of Jogees and Beiragees, Fukeers and Durveshes, as we expect to read of the palm and the date tree in descriptions of Eastern scenery. Every roadside well has its shady *Tukeea* giving shelter to some devotee, who piously offers refreshing draughts to the scorched and dusty wayfarer. The Fukeers usually take up their abode near the tomb of some saint, and live on the charity of those who come to make vows and offerings at the shrine, and spend their life in worship and meditation. They are often bound together into orders or brotherhoods, which take their name from some real or supposed founder in olden times, and for admission into which there are fixed initiatory rites and sometimes even a noviciate.[*] Not unfrequently however the Fukeers are mere impostors and endeavour to make up for the want of purity and piety of spirit by the severity and outrageousness of their macerations. Many of them are no better than cheats and mountebanks. Of all the orders of Fukeers in the Punjaub, the largest, most singular and most esteemed is that of the *Nowshabees*. They are very numerous in Lahore. They usually assemble at the great annual religious fair held at the Jumma Musjid in the city, where they astonish the worshippers by their ecstacy and gesticulations. The Yadgar-i-Chistie thus describes their frantic behaviour :—

> "At what time the minstrels commence their singing and music, some Fukeers, mostly of the Nowshabee order, become wild with excitement, tossing their heads and shouting, 'God is great, God is great.' Others seize them by the loins and drag them to their feet, still beating and shaking their heads. To such an excess do some of these Nowshabee Fukeers carry their enthusiasm, that they tie their feet with ropes, and allow themselves to be strung up by the heels to trees, and go through their frantic gesticulations in that position. Others on hearing the music are affected to tears. These are called by the people Sheikhs. In former times these Sheikhs were able, wise and virtuous men. But now if you look, you will find them to be a set of shoemakers and tailors, who never even pray. In my opinion this is all hypocrisy. For it is written in our sacred books, that when any Fukeer becomes perfect and has immediate communion with God, it is then he is transported with ecstasy. But in these days it is the general belief that inspiration is obtained by becoming a disciple of the Nowshabees. The custom of the Nowshabees, when any one is desirous of becoming a disciple, is to give him treacle to eat, as if that would make him perfect in virtue. On hearing this, I several times ate their treacle, but I ween that I never even once became inspired. From these circumstances, I lost all faith in the Nowshabees. But their great founder Nowsha is said to have been a good and perfect man."

Great difference prevails among the Mussulmans in the manner of treating their women. The upper classes of course, especially the Seyuds, and even the Lohars although a low caste, keep them jealously secluded. Poverty however often prevents them from enforcing that seclusion, which the dignity of their caste would otherwise require. Modest, respectable women of almost all classes cover their shoulders and head with a sheet when they walk abroad. But in some castes no effort is made to veil the face. The women of the agriculturist classes, and especially the Goojurs, whose duty it is to milk the lowing herds and gather the cow dung for fuel, walk about bare-headed and never hide their fair features except from the gaze of a European. Only on two or three occasions during their whole life, such as their marriage or their home-coming, do they wear a veil. Their usual dress is a blue petticoat and a boddice which covers only the breasts, leaving the belly exposed. This dress is not considered at all immodest by the peasant women. The women of the Merasee caste are professional singers and of course never veil their faces. But they must not be confounded with the dancing-girls. The Merasee women sing chiefly at the assemblies of females, they never dance and are not less virtuous than the women of other castes. Without being actually unchaste, the most immodest class of women is that of the Kulalees. They are notoriously quarrelsome, and possess as choice a vocabulary of abuse as the viragoes of a well known London fish-market. Contrary to universal oriental custom, these women are supreme in the household, and if the character which our author gives of them be correct, we pity those lords of creation whose misfortune it is to be united to them in holy matrimony. Says the Moulvie:—

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[*] In some places they have actual monasteries. There is one in the Goojrat district at the tomb of Saint Hafiz Hiyat. The brotherhood live on the produce of a small patch of land. Curiously enough they are possessed of an excellent breed of mares!

> "When these women quarrel, they generally throw mud into each other's Zenana and thrust the soles of their shoes in each other's faces. In this country indeed, every termagant is nicknamed a Kulalee. If these women meet at any friend's house on occasions of joy or grief, their quarrels are brought up, and do what one will, it is impossible to prevent a brawl. The women wear fashionable clothes. Their men also dress fashionably but are very dishonest. In Lahore the Kulal's law is notorious. If you go there, you will see the women sitting in the street with bare heads, and without tunics, spinning or singing a snatch of a song. With us this is considered very immodest."

There is in all countries a large class of unfortunates who live by the wages of infamy. The recent disclosures at Monghyr[*] reveal the revolting means by which the numbers of this class are kept up in India, even under the British rule. In the Punjaub, prostitution is carried to a deplorable extent, and previous to the annexation, not only was a traffic in young girls carried on, but boys even were bought and sold for unnatural purposes. This vice is still the chief cause of the crime of child-stealing. Child-stealing however is rapidly decreasing. The statistical returns for last year show only 10 cases, being a decrease of 11 from the previous year. The openness and shamelessness with which prostitution is practised in the Punjaub is perfectly revolting. Till recently, the upper flats of all the houses in the principal bazaars were rented by women of abandoned character, who shamelessly exposed their persons on the balconies. The evil became so great as to call for a remedy by law. The Commissioner of the Peshawur division accordingly ordered all these women in Peshawur to remove to more secluded streets, under pain of punishment, the extent of which was left to the discretion of the Magistrate. This measure was found to work so well in Peshawur that it was speedily introduced into all the principal towns in the Punjaub, and though perfectly inoperative for the suppression of vice, it has driven it to the dark lanes of the cities, and the eye is no longer offended by open, shameless unchastity.

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[*] See *The Friend of India* of June 3rd 1858, in an Article entitled 'Susannah and the Elders.'

We purpose now to give an account of some of the chief events and ceremonies in the life of a Mussulman. On every occasion of sorrowing and rejoicing among the people of the Punjaub, it is customary to give an entertainment to the whole of the brotherhood. When a birth is expected in a house, great care is taken of the mother during the months of pregnancy. If it is the first child, an entertainment is given in the 7th month to all the female relations. This feast is called the *Kunjee*. The woman is dressed in new clothes given by her parents for the occasion, her head is bathed, her hair braided and her hands stained with *Mehdee*. The rejoicings are kept up the whole night long, and next morning there is a grand feast of bread, flesh and rice. Towards the close of the 9th month preparations are made for another banquet. No male is allowed to enter the house, and the woman is furnished with various charms to ensure her safe delivery. During the *Chibla*, or 40 days of purification after the birth, the woman is carefully watched and never suffered to be alone, as it is supposed that during this period she is particularly susceptible to the influence of evil spirits. Every person who enters the house is obliged to burn *Hurmut* at the door, which is believed to be a great specific against the evil eye. During the *Chibla*, the woman must bathe five times, and she is fed on a kind of ceremonial food called *Punjeeree*, of which no one is allowed to partake except the very nearest relatives. On the 6th day after the birth, there is a great assembly of all the kinsmen and neighbours, male and female, to what is called the *Akeeka* feast. The Moulvie thus describes this feast :—

"The primitive and true custom in the *Akeeka* feast is as follows. A he-goat is brought into the house and killed. The blood, entrails, skin and offal are buried, and the head with the rest of the flesh, the feet, liver and stomach

> are cooked together, and after prayers are given to the people to eat. The bones are all collected and buried in a hole, that they may not become offensive, nor be eaten by cats and dogs. For the near relatives, a separate banquet is prepared, in which there is not the same circumspection observed. ... Before commencing the *Akeeka* feast, notice is given the preceding day through the Chowdree to the people of the square and the kinsfolk. Accordingly next day the host causes elegant carpets to be spread and an awning and screen to be erected in a separate house, where the company meet. The beggars assemble outside as uninvited guests, but they receive nothing till the entertainment of the brotherhood is ended. As soon as the relatives and friends are assembled, a servant brings a basin and water to wash their hands, after which dinner is brought in. Dinner over, the servants, whose duty it is, remove the dishes and again present a basin and water to wash, and after smoking the Hukka, the company disperses. The fragments of the dinner are then divided among the beggars."

On the completion of the *Chibla*, the friends of the parents make presents of jewellery and dresses to the baby, and the woman and child are taken to reside for some time with the maternal relatives. Among the poorer classes, it is customary for the woman to be led in joyful procession to the shrine of some saint on the 40th day, where she makes offerings of treacle and flour.

When the child is to receive its name, the father carries it to the mosque with a present of treacle and flour for the Moolla. The priest takes the Koran and opens it at random, and the first letter at the top of the page is the letter with which the name must begin. It is necessary to choose a name which contains some reference to God or the Prophet. It is usual for the parents to bore the child's ears as a sign of their love and affection. There are usually three incisions, one in the right ear and two in the left; sometimes also one is made in the nose. The Dirzees however never bore their children's ears without the consent of the head man of the caste.

Of all events in the life of a Mussulman, the most important is the observance of the rite of circumcision. Although not required by the Koran, it is yet considered the essential condition of being a true Mahomedan. There is no fixed period for the performance of the rite. It may be observed at any time from birth till the boy is ten years of age. At the time of the operation, the boy is well drugged with *bhang* or wine, that he may not feel the pain, and pieces of iron are tied to his person as charms, which are not removed till the wound is perfectly healed. So long as the wound remains sore, the boy is never bathed, and is kept at home and never allowed to go out of the house, and no stranger is allowed to enter unless he burn *Hurmut* at the door. When he has completely recovered, he is bathed, dressed in gay attire and taken to the mosque, when the kinsmen give presents called *Tumbol*. The name of the donor and the amount of the gift are registered, and the father of the boy is expected to return an equivalent* when the like occasion happens in the house of any of the kinsmen. From the mosque, the boy is taken to some tomb to do obeisance. The wealthier classes mount him on horseback, and make a grand procession with music and dancing to the tomb and from the tomb to the house. The expense of the ceremony is of course regulated entirely by the means of the parties. Some are so poor as to be unable to afford to pay for any festivities, and have no ceremonies beyond the mere rite of circumcision.

When the boy† is four years, four months and four days old, he is sent to school to learn the *Bismillah.* When the father goes to enter his name, he usually takes a present with him for the Moolla. After reading prayers the Moolla proceeds to teach the boy the Alphabet. When he has been made to repeat it once, a holiday is given to all the scholars in honour of the new pupil. Having mastered the Grammar, the boy is put through the *Seeparahs* or 30 sections of the Koran, and on the occasion of this advance to a new book, the Moolla receives another present, and the boys again get a holiday. For teaching the whole Koran, the Moolla gets a present of 30 rupees, besides his monthly fees and food every eighth day. The instruction in the Koran being completed, the closing ceremony, called the Amen, is performed. The parents give a grand banquet to all their relations, to which they invite the Moolla and his pupils. Dinner over, the boy gaily dressed, his brow encircled with a coronet of flowers, is made to stand with folded hands before the teachers. The Moolla then recites some complimentary doggrel couplets, to each of which the boy and his fellow pupils respond Amen. Having spent about an hour in this way, the Moolla pronounces a blessing over his pupil, and the guests depart, after offering their respects and congratulations to the parents.

The boy's education being completed, he is ready to enter life. If he have not been already betrothed in his infancy, his father looks out for a suitable family into which to marry him. The marriage is preceded by the ceremony of *Koormâee* or Betrothal. It is considered etiquette on the part of the girl's parents to refuse the alliance on the first proposal, and in some cases consent is withheld till it is asked the fourth time. Consent being obtained, the betrothal is ratified by drinking milk and sugar, and among the peasantry by the distribution of treacle.

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* These gifts can be recovered by suit in our Civil Courts, if not duly returned. See Punjaub Civil Code, Section XXII., 7.

† In the Punjaub, female education exists to a small extent alike among the Hindoos, Sikhs and Mussulmans. See Punjaub Report 1849—51, pp. 143, 376.

The girl also receives presents of clothes and fruits. The parties are now considered engaged to each other, but the marriage may not take place till years afterwards, the interval depending very much on the age of the betrothed. When the wedding day is fixed, the bridegroom's relatives are invited to his house, when an entertainment is given, and the youth makes his appearance gaily attired, with a wreath of flowers on his brow and jewels in his turban. From that day till the marriage, the friends are all busily occupied in preparing the wedding dresses. In the meantime wreaths of flowers are hung on the doors of the houses of all the friends. The Bihishtee makes as many garlands of leaves as are required, and goes from house to house, fastening one to each door, for which he receives a small gratuity of grain and treacle. Musicians also are hired to play before the houses of the friends. Meanwhile, in the residences of the bride and the bridegroom, various ceremonies are performed, of which we will only mention that called *Teil.* This is observed in the house of the bride and bridegroom on alternate nights. The bridegroom (or if in the bride's house, the bride) is seated on a chair with a rupee in his hand and pice and cowrees under his feet. The women then take a red cotton sheet by the four corners and stretch it out over his head, like an awning. A large dish of *Mehdee* is brought with which the boy's hands are stained, and the *Kaleree*, or strings of cowrees and cocoa-nuts, are tied to his hand. In various ceremonies of this kind the time is spent, till the day of the marriage procession comes round. On that day the bridegroom is dressed in saffron-coloured clothes and gay slippers, a garland of flowers hangs from his neck to his feet, an arrow and a sword are put into his hand, and in this attire he is brought into the midst of the assembled company. Presents, called *Tumbol*, are then given by the friends, which are registered in the same way as on the occasion of the circumcision of a child. When everything is ready, the bridegroom is mounted on horseback, and the procession, headed by the musicians, after whom follow the bridal party and last of all the bridegroom, proceeds with torches and music to some shrine, where the bridegroom is made to worship, make offerings and invoke a blessing. From the shrine, the procession moves on to the bride's house, at a short distance from which it is met by all the bride's friends. After mutual embraces and drinking of milk, the procession is conducted to the bride's house, where it is welcomed by a display of fire-works.

The priest is then summoned by a Vakeel and two witnesses to perform the marriage ceremony, and to settle the marriage portion. The Moolla faces the bridegroom and makes him repeat the confession six times, and reads the service on the attributes of God, and also the Laws and Traditions of the Prophet regarding marriage. The bridegroom is then made to acknowledge with a loud voice, that he takes the woman to be his wife, and that he endows her with such a portion. The dower fixed by Mahomed was equivalent to 26 rupees, but it is customary among all classes to agree to immense nominal sums.[*] After reading prayers and blessing the bride and the bridegroom, the marriage service is completed.

Next day, the bride and bridegroom are seated in state. Previous to this ceremony, they have several amusing games. A small piece of cake is put into the bride's hand, and her hand is closed by her sister and well oiled. The bridegroom's part is to force it open. Amidst universal laughter and derision he with difficulty succeeds. When at length he does open it, he takes the cake and eats it, and puts a silver ring, called the bachelor's ring, on the bride's finger. The young couple are then well pelted with peas and rice. The young wife's drawers are next brought to the husband, and he is expected to string them without using anything as a bodkin. The abortive attempts to perform this by no means easy task, especially amid the jeers and jests of the women, produce uproars of laughter among the wedding guests. With sports like these the day is beguiled. At last a large bedstead is brought and the bride and bridegroom are seated in state. Finally the bridegroom carries away his wife amid the tears and lamentations of her relatives.

Interesting though they are, it would occupy too much space were we to describe all the festivities usually accompanying the celebration of a marriage. Let the above meagre sketch suffice as a specimen of the subjects treated of in the Yadgar-i-Chistie.

We turn now from these innocent joys to the closing scene of all, the last sad rites performed over the departed. If the deceased is a young child, the funeral ceremonies are few and short, and there is much more grief on the death of a boy than of a girl. The body is merely washed, shrouded and carried to the grave, great care being taken that the shadow of the bier does not fall on any child by the way. On the death of an adult, or any one above 12 years of age, all the friends, male and female, assemble to perform the last offices to their deceased relative. Water is warmed in two earthen vessels with which the body is washed, and a quarter of an hour after being washed the corpse is enshrouded. Then follows what is called the *Iskât*. The body is sprinkled with rose-water and laid on a couch before the door, and the chief mourner brings a copy of the Koran, and as much money as he can collect, and gives it to the priest. The priest then asks the age of the deceased. If he were, say, 42 years of age, 12 years are struck off as the period of Mahomedan legal minority, and the remaining 30 years are divided into three periods of 10 years each. The priest, with the Koran in his hand, takes his place at the head of the corpse, and all the friends stand round in silence. Holding up the money and the Koran, the priest says; 'Within the first 10 years our departed brother observed certain prayers and fasts, and certain he neglected. His day of grace is now gone, but this Koran and this money shall stand in place of his repentance.' The same ceremony is performed for every period of 10 years, and the priest prays for the soul of the departed. This is called the *Iskât*. On the conclusion of this ceremony the body is carried to the tomb, and, after burial, all the friends meet for prayer, condolence and fasting. During the 40 days of mourning, prayers are read every Thursday, and the women meet for lamentation every Tuesday and Saturday. On the 40th day, the relatives put off their mourning dresses and send the clothes of deceased as a present to the priest. At the end of six months, they again have prayers for the soul of the departed, and ever after once a year.

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[*] The object of this is to prevent a divorce without just reason. By the Mahomedan law (which in this case is also the Civil Law of our Courts) if a man divorce his wife for any cause, except adultery, he must pay her the stipulated marriage portion. It is however discretionary with our Courts to enforce payment of the whole or part of the amount, and in general the Court is guided by what it considers reasonable on a full view of the circumstances of each particular case. Divorce is by no means infrequent, and the wife seldom thinks of claiming her rights in Court. Among the lower classes especially, the position of a married woman is in many cases far from enviable. Instead of being treated with affection, or even respect, she is too often considered as only an instrument of ministering to impure passions. Nothing is more common than for a husband to divorce his wife in favour of another man for a pecuniary consideration. We boast that we have put a stop to the actual and open sale of women, but a species of sale is countenanced by our laws and acknowledged by our Courts, which is no less degrading and dishonouring to the character and feelings of woman, and no less demoralising in its effects than the more open and scandalous traffic.

We must here take leave of the Moulvie. The Yadgar-i-Chistie draws aside the veil which has concealed the private and social life of the natives of India from our view, and gives us an insight into their daily thoughts, feelings, customs, superstitions and domestic life, which we could never have acquired by years of unaided observation. With regard to the literary merits of the book we regret that we cannot speak in terms of unqualified praise. The style is not fluent or graceful, and the book exhibits marks of great carelessness and haste in many of its chapters. The chapter on the seventy-two sects of the Mussulmans is little better than a catalogue of names. The book is by no means exhaustive, and in treating his subject, the author does not follow any fixed and regular method. He commences by considering the manners and customs of the Mahomedans according to their different castes. But as most customs are common to all castes and only the differences worthy of notice, the author is led to repeat himself in several of the chapters. Towards the middle of the book the original method is abandoned, and we are furnished with an account of the religious sects and their different practices and rites, while at the close of the book the author enters on the description of some most interesting social customs, which would have been more appropriate in the earlier part of the work. On the whole however we consider the Yadgar-i-Chistie to be a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of native manners, customs and modes of thought, and we sincerely hope that Moulvie Noor Ahmud Chistie may meet with sufficient encouragement in his literary labours to induce him to complete the original plan of his work, by adding Book II. on the manners and customs of the Hindoos in the Punjaub, and Book III. on the manners and customs of the Sikhs.

ART. III.—1. "*Curry and Rice," on Forty Plates; or the Ingredients of Social Life at "Our Station in India,"* by GEORGE FRANCKLIN ATKINSON, Captain, Bengal Engineers. 1859.

2. *Report from the Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement (India); together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Index. Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed,* 9th August 1859.

AFTER a century of possession, British Settlers in Bengal are to be counted by tens. Be the cause a climate inimical to the European constitution, the restrictive policy of the late East India Company, or a want of sufficient inducement to settle in a foreign land, the fact remains. In the great rebellion of 1857, the English were fairly rooted out of the land in many districts of Upper India. It was only when collected in groups in fortified places that they maintained themselves against fearful odds till succour reached them. The question of climate as opposed to European settlement, has been argued with perhaps equal force on both sides; the enervating effect of the heat of Bengal being as clearly proved, as the facts are undisputed that men who have lived the best part of their lives in its plains are proverbial for longevity when they return to England, and that those who are most exposed to the climate, taking out of door exercise freely at all seasons of the year and at all times of the day, are the most healthy of residents in Bengal. With so much to be said on both sides the climate may be left as a neutral ground. The restrictive or prohibitive policy of the East India Company has been exposed, argued on, condemned and defended ad nauseam. There is no doubt but that the policy of the great Company was restrictive, partly from selfish, partly from patriotic motives. The East India Company no longer exists, the policy is likewise of the past, and it can serve no good purpose to discuss it as a whole. The question whether want of sufficient inducement to settle in a foreign country is not in part at least the cause of the small number of Europeans in Bengal, is practical. It may reasonably be discussed, and with profit, in its bearings on the present and the future. We think want of sufficient inducement has always been one main cause of India remaining so long a *terra incognita* to British enterprise, and that the great want of inducement was the nature of landed tenures in India, and especially the prohibition of Europeans to possess land.

The prosperity of an infant community, once raised above savage life, depends primarily on the extent of property in the land on which they live and which yields them sustenance, possessed by the members of such community. The gipsy wanderer claims no right in the soil, and does not understand such claim on the part of others. The wild Indian's only conception of it, is a demand in behalf of his tribe to hunt and fish in certain tracts; the hill side, the cave, the shady grove being enjoyed in common, as places for temporary sojourning. But no sooner does the community settle, than right in the soil becomes the cement by which the little colony is formed. The first arrangement is to portion out the land, such partition being held sacred. It depends on the industry and agricultural skill of the individual to make his land profitable or the reverse. As the community increases, its wants, its interests increase in a corresponding ratio. Agriculture, still the foundation, is not then the sole source of prosperity. New wants arise; the practice of various arts becomes necessary for the convenience and comfort of the community, and by degrees the different phases of civilized life appear, with the thousand problems in the solution of which the brains of philosophers and philanthropists are and ever will be at work Where this right is most recognised, there is the greatest field for the development of the energy and skill of man. In a civilized state of society the rights of many will soon merge in one, the indolent and stupid giving way to the industrious and clever; but these qualities must be allowed to raise or sink their possessor without the interference of the ruler. The absolute form of government which recognises a king's or an emperor's right in the soil, can never be so genial to the spirit of a people as that form by which right to the soil is vested in the subject, the claims of the Government being satisfied by taxation of its products.

An arbitrary interference with the rights of a people in the soil, is the unhinging of society. India has never had the good fortune to have this great law fairly recognised. Under its ancient dynasties the ruler was the landholder, and his rights were exercised through various hands, oppression accumulating on the head of the unfortunate cultivator. When the East India Company obtained the Dewany of the provinces of Bengal, the landed tenure was the question which most puzzled its administrators. They could not give up the land tax, which, as now, was the sheet anchor of the revenue. Sir John Shore and others strove in vain to solve the difficulty. The abolition of the land tax would have entailed bankruptcy and expulsion from the country, and, however a abstractedly desirable, would not have suited oriental ideas. Its optional redemption even was impossible in a country where millions of acres were waste and whole districts depopulated. Under the circumstances it can hardly be imputed as blame to the East India Company, that among the conflicting land tenures and customs of the country, they were unable to secure the cultivator's rights. The perpetual settlement, with all its faults, endeavoured to do so in the recognition of the Khodkust tenure. The grand error was in making the settlement perpetual. The start was false. On an unsound foundation a fabric has been erected, too substantial to be knocked away as rubbish, but thoroughly unsatisfactory and unsafe as an institution. The prohibition against the holding of land by Europeans was the greatest drag on the prosperity of British India, with which any Government could have clogged its wheels. In spite of every disadvantage, had such restriction not existed, the present advancement of the country would have been attained long ago. The general principle of Government interference in the soil was carried out too in detail, in the most vexatious manner. How,—a perusal of Mr. Forbes' evidence before the Colonization Committee of the House of Commons will explain. It remains for the Queen of England, now directly Sovereign of India, to lay the sound and solid foundation of India's prosperity. This may be done, not by destroying existing interests, nor by breaking faith with the native landholders, but by some well devised plan of disposing of the right in the soil, which the sovereign now wisely or unwisely possesses, and for vesting such right in those who will purchase it, to remain the property of such and those to whom it may descend or belong by further purchase, free of all claim on the part of the state. We saw tendencies to such a policy in some of the speeches and despatches of Lord Stanley, and a positive adoption of it in his directions to the Government of India to grant waste lands in fee simple. We hope his successor will carry out his views. The sooner such a policy is acted on, and the wider the scope given to it, the sooner will the finances of India assume a buoyancy they have never yet known. It may be long ere our fellow subjects appreciate the boon, but it is for our rulers to confer it, satisfied of the benefits to the country which must result. The next Viceroy's reign may well be inaugurated by a change which would come ill from the author of the Oude Proclamation. Lord Canning's "clemency" may be excused or defended, but his confiscation of the right in the soil of a whole people but lately brought under British rule, evinced little knowledge of the just principles of Government, and merited the unpopularity the act brought on its author. Till the leaden weight of Government claims is removed from the soil no permanent prosperity can be hoped for. The land-tax, as constituted in Bengal, bears too as heavily on the Government as on the governed, the revenue being cramped by an impost which has no elasticity; the perpetual settlement limiting it to a fixed amount altogether unconnected with the prosperity of the country. The conditions of the perpetual settlement seem even to be interpreted by Government as preventing the laying any additional taxes on the Zemindars. Europeans can now possess land in their own right, and the change we have been advocating must ere long take place. Railways are progressing; with these arteries of commerce and communication, and the influx of Europeans and with them the introduction of European arts and sciences, English life in India will soon assume an aspect very different from what it presented during the first century of our possession of the country.

A picture of English life in Bengal some twenty years ago would not be difficult to draw. The principal figures are few, and the lights and shades easily filled in. European society in Bengal, out of Calcutta, consisted of the Civil Servants of the Company and some score of planters scattered over the district. The "station" comprised Judge, Magistrate and Collector, a commercial residency, the Resident, perhaps an assistant, and the Doctor. Wherever there chanced to be a native regiment we must add its officers. "Society" comprised the Civil and Military servants of the Company; the Planters as a rule were outside the pale, and were not associated with on intimate terms even by the isolated Resident. We have heard an anecdote of one of these grandees who kept statistical information as to the European population of the district, by marking down in a book whenever a Sahib passed on the road near his dwelling which led to the station, the date on which the stranger was seen, the color of his horse, peculiarities of appearance or dress, all noted by a man posted for the purpose with a telescope.

The isolation of the Civilian threw him almost entirely on the society of the natives. Waited on by a tribe of obsequious servants, and a set of men called "Chaprassees," who were always in waiting behind doors, in passages, and at every corner where the Huzzoor was likely to pass, the Civilian soon adopted oriental ease and indolence. A cough or a sigh would bring a Chaprassee with joined hands and bended body to know the desire of his Lord. These attendants were or are, for they still exist, paid by Government; some ten or twelve being formerly allowed to each Civilian. Natives are generally fond of children, and these men are now-a-days very useful as nursery-maids, but were in old times merely the symbols of official authority, always hedging the thrones of the divinities, their masters. The Chaprassee is an institution of the country, which deserves attention in these days of financial difficulty. Look up in a Directory the number of Civilians in Bengal and multiply by eight, then the number of uncovenanted officials, European and native, and multiply by four, then all Military men in Civil employ multiplied by four, add up the three totals and multiply by four, which is a low rate, and your grand total gives you the cost in rupees of this "institution."

The hookah and the charms of the dusky beauties of the land helped to while away our Nabob's leisure hours. The arrival of a home packet, with letters and magazines, would raise him into biannual fits of animation, old associations for the moment brightening while they saddened the luxurious exile, and his magazines interesting him for a while with a dreamy peep into the busy life of his native land. The Doctor's life was different. Educated for a profession, he was generally more active, he studied the phases of disease in a tropical clime, was often given to scientific pursuits, and was generally much occupied in trade. Unless the Civilian were a sportsman, and many were, the ennui of such a life as we have described must have been far more corroding to his energies, and injurious to his health, than the effects of the climate, and so it was. Our silken Civilian was a wretched, sallow, peevish individual, whose nerves could ill bear the least excitement, and whose great horror was to come in contact with the active, ruddy, rollicking planter. They seldom met; the planter regarded the Civilian with a feeling of awe mixed with contempt, the sallow aristocrat quite returning the latter sentiment. Cutcherry life was little more than a counterpart of what we have described. The great man would go forth, about one in the afternoon, in a luxurious palkee, preceded and followed by the whole band of Chaprassees. The same laziness, the same dependence on others which we have seen in private, characterized the official life of the old Company's Bengal Civilian. He sat panting under his punkah, sighing and signing. The native officers of the Court dispensed justice or something else in its stead. If there is one quality in which a native excels it is in the judicious administration of flattery. Soft words soothed his labours, and we have no doubt that the Civilian of the olden day felt when he received the obeisances of a crowded Court on his departure after two hours of martyrdom, that he had worked hard, that every signature of his initials represented the thorough investigation of a case, and that he was rather a hard-worked public servant than not. The lassitude of sheer indolence was mistaken for the fatigue of intellectual exertion. It was only when a refractory Planter was of necessity summoned to the Court, or himself came to prefer a complaint, that the official was roused into exertion and had to think or act at all for himself.

The Resident did little more than his judicial brother. Natives managed the advances; natives managed the manufacture of silk, invoiced and despatched it, and took care that a good proportion of boats should always start from the Factory in the stormy months, to be surely, according to their accounts, wrecked before reaching Calcutta. Those were golden days for Company's Gomastahs. It was only now and then that our friend, the Resident, was roused into activity by complaints coming from the Honorable Court, that the trash which reached England (the best quality of silk was generally wrecked) was unsaleable, and that unless an improvement took place the factory had better be closed. The prospect of five thousand a month dwindling to two thousand had a wonderful effect for a time; but matters soon settled into the old routine. Such were the men who administered affairs in the good old days in the districts of Lower Bengal. But there were Civilians to whom the above description will not apply—those of whom Sir Charles Metcalfe may be called the type, who were employed in the diplomacy and administration of our higher provinces. Their duties, severe and multifarious, were executed with an ability and zeal which contributed greatly to the consolidation of British power. But the plains of Bengal were not a field for such energies; though possibly the same men who wasted their time in indolence would, under different circumstances, have been the Metcalfes and Malcolms of their time.

There were few non-official European residents in Bengal in those days. They were generally of the "adventurer class," many of them with little either of education or polish, but with a large stock of Anglo-Saxon energy. They were mostly Indigo Planters, who secured a footing in the Mofussil with the joint help of native landholders and the rupees of the Calcutta Merchants, many of them indeed being merely agents of the latter. The Planters increased in number when the Company's servants, being prohibited from trading, transferred their Indigo Factories to the Interlopers. The Planter's time was occupied in warding off aggressions, in counter-aggressions, in attending to the cultivation of his lands and the manufacture of his indigo. He exercised more or less judicial control over his dependents. His was summary justice at the best, and we fear that much of such duty, with the pecuniary profit they knew so well how to reap from it, was delegated to the native servants, under whose names and by whose means the Planter was alone able to hold landed property. Much has been said of the oppression and cruelty practised by the Indigo Planter. We doubt much whether the rough unpolished Planter of the old times deserved the character given to the class. Many of the worst of them were seafaring men who, leaving their ships, took service as factors with the Calcutta agency firms. The British seaman, though rough in manner and not over courteous sometimes in speech, is proverbial for honesty and kind-heartedness. Accustomed to board-ship discipline, he readily fell into the despotic style of living which it was necessary for an isolated Englishman to adopt among the natives. We must remember too that the Indigo Factories of the Civilians were taken over with all the defects of system inseparable from a management, in which the use of official influence and dependence on native servants were the principal features. Whatever were the faults of the old Planters, we doubt their conduct having been marked as a rule by unnecessary severity and wanton cruelty. For their social habits we fear we cannot say much. Hospitality has always been a characteristic of the class. The meetings of the Planter fathers were full of good fellowship and kindness, but it was too much the fashion in those days to test a man's worth by his capacity to drink. On the whole we fear there was little polish, nor could much be repeated where the refining influence of European female society was unknown. So much for the past.

English life in Bengal, as it now is, is very little understood as regards the relations subsisting between the English and the natives. The official class, as a rule, are isolated from the latter. The natives associated with by the Civilians are Cutcherry officials or domestic servants. Few, even now, among the Government covenanted servants, can talk the vernacular. Their experience consists mainly in the knowledge of certain traditions which they receive as articles of faith. As the Civilian rises from the Mofussil routine to the responsible posts of Calcutta official life, these articles, hitherto comparatively harmless, become injurious, tainting even the policy of the Government. The career of many officials is almost entirely passed at the Presidency. He who has lived fifteen or twenty years in Calcutta can know little practically of the Mofussil, be he official or non-official. The former may rise step by step in the Secretariat till he obtains a seat in Council; the mercantile man, entering "the house" under the favouring auspices of the senior partner, may work his way up to the rank of a merchant prince, but such men's practical knowledge of India is exceedingly small. Though, as Secretary to Government or as Member of Council, the one may unfortunately guide the counsels of Government, or as a merchant, the capital of the other may assist in developing the resources of the country, they can know little of the land in which they dwell. The language they hear spoken is a mongrel dialect; the higher class of natives with the gloss of an Anglo-Indian education, with whom they come in contact, are not a fair sample of the native community. Intercourse with them gives them no insight into native feelings or habits; the lower classes as much resemble the peasantry in the Mofussil, as the dregs of a large manufacturing town in England resemble the agricultural population. The merchant, if he succeeds in amassing a fortune, cares little for being thought an authority on Indian matters. The Civilian must feel on his return to England, that if he is not, he is expected to be so, and of necessity takes rank as an Anglo-Indian of "experience." His influence is equally noxious in India and at home. It was felt in India in 1857. Since the Rebellion has been overcome, the traditional policy retains its ascendancy. In England the old Indian official's influence is specially felt on the religious "neutrality" question. His opinions on this point are respected by many either too timid or too deficient to judge for themselves. The public at home have been taken quite by surprise lately, to find Sir John Lawrence, the Governor of a large Province lately subjugated and peopled by men enthusiastically attached to their religion, strongly imbued with an opinion diametrically opposed to the tradition. The official class in the Province he governed know the people they are appointed to rule, but the Lawrence School differs from that in which the Bengal Civilian is trained.

In endeavouring to give an idea of English life in Bengal as it is at present, we must first describe life as it is in "a station." This life has its peculiarities which are in themselves a marked feature of Anglo-Indian life. In the book we have placed at the head of this Article "our station," though burlesqued, is not on the whole unfaithfully portrayed. These sketches aim only at depicting everyday life as it is among the English members of the station society; the effect of English influence on the native mind is not alluded to except in the sketch of "our Missionary," though we may be sure that such characters as are caricatured in "Curry and Rice" have an influence and a very considerable one for good or evil. The personal sketches begin with the Judge, in rank "a tremendous dignitary," antiquated as to the fashion of his external man, the horizon of his official responsibilities bounded by the circle of Court Omlah. The old gentleman's "judicial soul being saturated with appeals, criminal cases, decrees, circular orders and the like," he is conscientious in the discharge of his duties, but decidedly contracted in his idea of what those duties are. We must pass over the Judge's wife and the other ladies, only remarking that we think our artist might have spared the infliction of the satire of his pen and pencil on the fair sex; his introduction behind the scenes in the Illustrations is specially ungallant.

"Our Magistrate's" weak points are represented to be, conceit of his position, a penchant for repairing station roads, and love of architecture shown in the erection of elliptic arches "spanning a tremendous watercourse, fully eighteen inches in depth, and seven feet in width," or in the capture of a pillar of the state in the person of my Lord Coriander. This sketch is unjust; the Magistrate is more open to hits at his chronic jealousy of the Judge's interference in his decisions, and his inclination now and then to find the corner of his district where pigs or leopards most abound, the corner most in want of his presence. The Magistrate, we think, is as a rule the official most given to real useful work, and least to display of silver plate and impudence. Our "swells" and "fast" youths are represented rather by the Assistant or "our Joint," as our artist has it. This sketch is about the best in the book. The conceit of the young puppy whom fortune has pitched into "the best service in the world," is well hit off. He is a bit of a dandy, curls his hair, cherishes the rudiments of a moustache, and nourishes oleaginously the sprouts of an early whisker. Being sportingly inclined he possesses a stud of horses, and cultivates dogs rakish in cut and hairy in pretension. The youth in déshabille hearing his "reports," is the subject of the illustration, and is good. The old Omlah is gobbling as if for dear life, the solemn Chaprassee behind, and the Burkundaz in the distance, are members of that body which, as Sir Charles Napier said, cost the state what would pay an army. The next person illustrated is "our Missionary," a good natured satire—its chief point the bad pronunciation of English on the part of "little Fruitz" who, it is said, preached a sermon all about a winny-ya-ard. On one occasion "Hawrister of ours" so far forgot himself as to evince merriment at the worthy German's conversion of "Jewish rabbi" into "Jewish wabbi." We would not be hard on Hawrister, for we remember that it was with very great difficulty we ourselves, who are of a sedate nature, could hear with becoming composure the exhortation of a German Missionary, "Bredren let us bray," especially as it was followed by the opportune hee-haw of an irreverent ass outside the church. There is no ill-nature in this sketch, and no more than justice is done to the Missionary when our author says;—"He defies the rigour of the scorching wind, and 'at any hour of the day you may find him in the highways 'and byways holding forth to the native community on the 'subject of his mission, scattering the seeds, as he will tell you:" and again;—"Fruitz has established a school in the bazar which, 'I am told, is populously attended; and Mrs. Fruitz takes under

‘ her protecting wing the little orphans that Fruitz in his labors ‘ carries home to cherish and bring up.” The sketch concludes in a kind spirit ;—“ and so amidst toil and travail, and disappointment with contracted means, exiled in a foreign land, but with ‘ hopes bright and a firm faith, do this good worthy couple minister individually and conjointly in what is to them a labor ‘ of love, working with willing hearts in the arduous duties of ‘ that state of life to which they have been called, to the benefit ‘ of their fellow-creatures and the cordial good wishes of the ‘ society of our station.”

“ Our Colonel” may be a fair specimen of the Commander of a sepoy Regiment—we cannot take upon ourselves to say. After 27 years in Civil employ our old friend may be excused if “ of battalion and brigade manœuvres” he knows about as much as the Grand Lama. We fear that many of our crack sepoy Regiments were commanded by old Capsicums, good-natured old gentlemen, content to look back with complacency to their days of real or fancied usefulness when “ in Civil employ,” but whose more mature intellects and riper energies were wasted in thermantidotes or other contrivances for the increase of domestic comfort. “ Our Padré” is a gentleman of happy disposition who, in the execution of his clerical duties, by no means cuts himself off from the world and its pleasures. Certainly overdrawn, the sketch may still be founded on fact. “ Our Doctor” is a close-fisted acquisitive Scotchman, and it is hinted his doings as director of the Kabob Bank are not altogether immaculate. We protest in toto against this sketch. As a rule the Scotchman in India loses his national characteristic, and is a liberal hospitable fellow, and certainly quite as honest as his neighbours, clannish no doubt, but his generosity is by no means confined to the mass of his native land. The Doctor has often a considerable native practice, and perhaps more than any other official has opportunities of social intercourse with the natives. Most stations have their Charity Hospitals attended gratuitously by the Doctor. We have known station Doctors, English, Scotch, Irish, but never saw one of the genus depicted by our artist. “ Our coffee shop” or our “ gossip shop,” as we have frequently heard the institution more truthfully called, is perhaps the best sketch in the book. For scandal, commend us to “ our station” all over India. Presidency towns are bad enough, but for gossip with its attendant jealousies and bickerings, cuttings and reconciliations, our station will carry off the palm all the world over.

The “ burra khanna” elucidates about the heaviest social scene Anglo-Indian life can boast of. The rest of the sketches are more or less amusing, appropriately closing with “ our departure for home.” Always excepting the drawing aside of the social veil which exposes to profane gaze the Judge's and the Magistrate's wives both in déshabille, the former engaged in her morning household duties and the latter undergoing an eastern toilet, (the other caricatures of female life are more harmless) we think "Curry and Rice" on the whole does credit to the artist's skill. We believe it has had a large sale. It is we know fearfully abused, which is not a bad criterion of the faithfulness of its portraiture. The artist, we can easily believe, has been pronounced "a horrid man" by many a Judge's and Magistrate's wife. Allowing for the exaggeration of caricature, it is not an untrue picture of station life among our Anglo-Indian Mofussil aristocracy!

If we wish to learn something of native customs, manners and habits, we must seek the knowledge from those who live among the natives. The Indigo and Sugar Planter or the Tea Grower have opportunities denied to other classes. They know nothing of Central Asian politics or of court intrigues, little if anything of young Bengal; but mixing with the ryots, transacting business with the higher classes, Zemindars or others, brought into contact with native officials and Court Amlah, constantly rubbing against the police, they really do acquire a practical knowledge of native character. The Planter lives among the people. In business he is connected with them. In the sports of his leisure hours, pig sticking or leopard hunting, he mixes with them. In default of a dish of "Curry and Rice" concocted from "our Mofussil," we will try to give our readers an idea of some features at least of Anglo-Indian life in Bengal.

The residence of the Manager of an Indigo Concern is commonly a commodious upper-storied house, without the luxurious fittings or furniture of the Calcutta palace, but with every thing necessary for substantial comfort. The out-houses share this appearance. The kitchen, bakery, sheep-pen, fowl-house, and last, though not least, the stable give you the idea of the appurtenances of a substantial Indian farm house. The houses for the domestic servants are in the compound, and the whole, arranged without stint of space and generally on a convenient plan, has an air of roomy comfort differing much from the cramped, walled-in accommodation of a Calcutta house. Attached is a large piece of ground, tastefully laid out, comprising flower and vegetable garden and generally a neat pond or tank, fruit trees of various kinds, the peach, mangoe and leechee the most common, being planted about, making the garden partake often of the appearance of a park. No six-feet wall encloses the whole, but a mendie (native myrtle) or other hedge, or a light railing, separates the factory grounds from the fields outside. Houses of this description are dotted, now-a-days, pretty thickly at intervals of ten and twelve miles over the indigo districts of Lower Bengal. Their residents live in social harmony, differing very greatly from the stiff artificial style of Calcutta life. A planter drops in upon his neighbour in a friendly way to pass the day, with or without invitation, and except when "sowings" or "manufacturing" keep all hands at home, there are frequent social gatherings for sport. Once or twice a year there may be grand meets on an extensive scale, nearly every resident in the district and many from neighbouring ones assembling. The creature comfort arrangements of such parties are generally managed by subscription. Two or more tents, or a mangoe tope, accommodate the hunters for temporary refreshment or rest, and if, as is generally the case with such parties, the meet extends over two or three days, an out-factory dwelling house is borrowed for the general accommodation. Whatever may have been the style of entertainment in olden days, these parties at present are characterised rather by hearty and well regulated joviality than by libertine excess or bacchanalian license.

These however are not a fair type of the gatherings which form an important feature in Mofussil life. A pig-sticking meet comprises generally some ten or twelve keen sportsmen, such parties being got up sometimes by one, sometimes by another, of the sporting fraternity. We remember being present at such a party, and we must say that the impression left on our mind as regards the social good feeling among the sportsmen themselves, and the apparently cordial relation between them and the ryots, was very favorable. While on a visit to an Indigo Factory, our host one day announced that his friend A. intended to be at the Boarrum jungle on a early day, and had included us in an invitation to join the party. We could manage a horse well, and could go across country to perfection, but had never "ridden a pig." A.'s parties were notoriously first-rate, and the Boarrum jungle the famous cover of the district, so we anticipated great pleasure and gladly welcomed the eve of the day on which the hunt was to take place. We were to meet at A.'s house at dinner on the previous evening that we might start fair and have the day before us. An eight mile canter brought us to A.'s residence, which was a large two-storied house, a fine river flowing past it. The grounds were elegantly laid out, the flower beds bearing evidence of female taste. Most of the guests had arrived before us, and were collected in a knot near the stable, discussing the merits of two noble animals that had just arrived from Calcutta. We were received by A. and the rest with a bonhommie very different to the stiffness and formality of a Calcutta first reception.

Within an hour we were assembled at dinner, our host, his wife and two daughters doing the honors with a frankness and kind sociability which put every one on terms with themselves and each other, strongly contrasting with the ennui and icy reserve of a Calcutta "burra khanna." After dinner, music chess or billiards amused the company till they retired to rest.

The next morning we were roused at dawn. Our friends of the previous evening equipped in sportsmanlike attire, flannel shirted, sola topéd, booted and spurred, were discussing the merits of their steeds and speculating on the chances of sport. The spears were being examined, the spare ones and the spare nags being forwarded to the scene of action. Elephants were trumpeting, horses pawing, servants hurrying to and fro. The scene in the early dawn was singular, and would have made a capital oriental subject for our Curry and Rice artist. The elephants, twenty of which had been collected, were moving off to the ground, most of the sportsmen seated on the *charjammas*, and *guddies*; the horses being led behind were neighing and fretting at the sight of the huge quadrupeds before them, the elephants on the other hand equally frightened, and hurrying on at twice their usual speed. The cover was a large tract of "benna" jungle, and a fine open maidan to the South and East gave promise of a good run. In addition to the elephants there were some five or six hundred men to act as "beaters," many of them "bonooa" coolies, but a full half, ryots from the neighbouring villages, who are always delighted to join the sport and assist in destroying the pigs which are very destructive to the crops. The sun was well up when we reached the ground. Considering the number of people and animals assembled, sportsmen, coolies, ryots, elephants, horses and dogs, for the bonooas are generally accompanied by their canine friends on these occasions, the preliminary arrangements were soon made. "Line kurro—line kurro" (form line) was shouted on every side; a non-rider among the Sahibs undertook, seated on one of the elephants, to keep those animals in line, and our host had organised a set of sirdars to perform the same office for the coolies. The twenty elephants and some five hundred men, each man with a stout lattee in his hand to force his way through the jungle, and if necessary to be used in self-defence, formed a line, a third of a mile in length.

The business of the day was now fairly commenced. The air resounded with the peculiar shout of the coolies and the shrill trumpeting of the elephants. The riders rode, apparently listlessly, down the plain, but with eye carefully scanning the line of jungle, and spear in hand. Soon a "tally ho!" was heard, and two or *three pigs* broke cover. The apparent listlessness now gave place to ardent excitement; "tally ho!" again, and five or six pigs were scouring the plain, but only two of these were pursued, the others being sows which are no sport. We followed as best we could, saw the first spear taken, and witnessed a splendid charge. The rider drew blood, and passed on. The boar turned and charged down upon the next man. The creature had a pair of splendid tushes and fought well, now charging, now rushing away frantically with two or three spears sticking in his flesh. After severely cutting two horses and showing noble fight a fatal thrust at last rolled him over. The one who first drew blood had galloped after another pig, leaving a man to secure the tushes. Encounters similar to the one we have described were taking place in different places within a range of two or three miles. When the party assembled for tiffin, it proved that six fine boars were the result of the morning's sport. The carcases were seen in the distance, slung on bamboos, and being conveyed by the bonooas to their respective *paras*, to be hacked up and broiled for their night's entertainment. Refreshment was now the order of the day; beef, mutton, hams; in fact everything that could rather satisfy than tempt the appetite was in abundance, with a plentiful supply of soda water and beer wherewith to wash the solids down. The pops of the soda water and well drawn beer corks mingled with the loud talk and discussions on the morning's sport. "Purls" and "headers" were discussed with little sympathy for the victims. One unfortunate youth, rigged out in the very height of sporting fashion, was unmercifully joked for having drawn blood from a sow; his excuse that she was "very big," and therefore, as he thought, worthy of his prowess, was received with roars of laughter, and he was recommended next time to look at the head as well as belly of the pig, and see if the animal could show a pair of tushes. The youth took it in good part and promised to profit by that day's experience.

We sat quietly "taking notes" all round, and soon became interested in a discussion, which we were told was characteristic of such parties. One sportsman was vehemently laying claim to a first spear which another, he said, had taken by "cutting in" between him and the pig. It appears to be a fundamental rule in the sport that such "cutting in" is unfair, and he who does it, is not entitled to the honor of a first spear so obtained. The knotty point is to determine what the distance was between the first rider and the boar when the second rode between. If a rider is abreast of the pig, say within six feet, with his spear poised, the boar being in fact "in hand," it is unfair for another party to rush in. The pig by jinking may alter the relative positions, and the rider then loses his chance which is taken up by the next man. On this occasion the discussion waxed warm, and it was eventually decided, as regards the possession of the tushes, that they should be handsomely set and presented by both parties to our hostess. While we were all refreshing ourselves, arguing, laughing, and chatting, A. had withdrawn from the party and was the centre of a group of natives who were urging something on his attention. Curious to know the subject of discussion, we drew near and were admitted within the circle. A deputation from two or three villages were begging A. to construct a "bund," or embankment, to keep out the river till August. They declared they had lost their Oous Paddy three consecutive years by inundation, that every cold weather they had determined to raise the bund, but they wanted unanimity. All agreed as to the necessity of the undertaking and that it would cost money; the difficulty arose when the time came to collect the rupees. They could not settle among themselves the proportionate shares of the expense, nor to whom the general fund should be entrusted; they wished A. to make the bund, and to collect the cost from them as he liked. We were surprised at their expressions of confidence in A.'s judgment, and at the apparent affection their language evinced. He was their ruler, their father and mother; they basked in the sunshine of his protection. The oriental vocabulary of dutiful phrases was in fact well nigh exhausted. A. received it all with smiles of contempt, which showed us that he looked on the whole as "Vox et altogether nihil." He told them he should like to oblige them, but he had been very scurvily used on a late occasion in which he had helped certain ryots in a similar strait. "Oh!" said one "you mean the ryots of Allapore—they are great rascals. Do not liken us to them. We are not false slaves to abuse our benefactor, to seek to obscure the rays of the sun that shines upon us. They, Sir, are liars, we are truth tellers and honest men." The result was, that A. agreed to their request, and they were directed to come to the factory the next day, when the necessary arrangements would be made.

When we returned to the tiffin ground, preparations were being made for an afternoon campaign. We were satisfied with our share of the morning's sport, and were pleased enough to join our host on an elephant. We had thus an opportunity of seeing the "beating," which in its way was a sight as amusing if not so exciting as the "sticking." We fell into line, and it was curious to watch the measured forward tramp of elephants and men, the jungle falling under them, and to hear the shouting and yelling of the latter. We had a good view too of the chase, when the pigs were started, and could observe the *different* runs, as first one, then another, boar was driven from its shelter. We found time for conversation, and we were greatly interested in our host's views of men and manners in the Mofussil. We had heard a good deal about Indigo planting, mostly what was to be said against the Planters, and were glad to see "the other side" of the picture. We asked A. what he alluded to in his conversation with the ryots, as to his having been badly treated in a matter similar to that about which they asked his help. His story is worth repeating. It showed us how careful people should be to ascertain beyond doubt the truth of their facts, before making deductions from them. The Rev. Mr. ——, said A., was last year on a Missionary tour in this neighbourhood; he passed a day with me and very glad was I to have the company of so intelligent and agreeable a man. We discussed Mofussil politics in a friendly way, and in the afternoon he started for the Allapore *haat* to preach to the natives. It was the month of October. Near the *haat*, was a *khal*, through which a *bheel* drained into the river. The current had lately turned, as the muddy deposit showed. On it a man was scattering Indigo seed. Mr. —— commenced scattering his seed, as the good Fruitz would have said, by endeavouring to draw the people into conversation, but was unable to command attention; the warning and the hortatory styles were equally unavailing, Mr. —— was about to give the poor heathen up in despair, when his knowledge of human nature suggested that if he could work on their every day feelings, he might at least establish himself in their good opinion, which would be a step gained. He called himself their friend, one who desired to better their condition in life, one who was travelling about with the express view of learning their grievances and striving for their redress. Were they happy? Was their Zemindar just? Was the neighbouring Planter fair in his dealings? Were the Zillah officials a terror to the evil doer and a protection to them that do well? Mr. —— had found the key to their tongues at least, if not to their sympathies. To judge by the flood of rustic eloquence which was poured forth, there never were ryots so steeped in misery, so fearfully oppressed. The Zemindar and Planter were in this case one, our friend A.; as to rent they paid fourfold what was paid by their forefathers, and the incidental exactions of the Sahib's servants again almost equalled the amount of rent; their best lands were all forcibly taken for the cultivation of Indigo. "This season, to crown our misfortunes" cried the spokesman, a garrulous Mussulman with a fukir's beads round his neck, "our paddy was all destroyed by inundation." "Very sad," said Mr. — "but how did that happen?" "The Sahib cut this khal and let the water in. It overwhelmed all the paddy in six hours." "Shocking—shocking," said my reverend friend, " but when this was done, did you not go to the magistrate? Did you not seek help from those whom a paternal government has placed over you to protect you from oppression?" This speech created great excitement. There was no *tusbeej* they said; the omlah ruled the magistrate, and the Sahib paid the omlah; the officials were one and all unapproachable, except through the omlah. When the magistrate came to the Mofussil, Mr. —— asked, could they not explain their grievances? God forbid, they cried, that the magistrate should visit their village; the vicinity of officials was the signal for untold oppressions and extortions by their blood-sucking chaprasees. If a ryot did chance to get into the presence, they declared it was of no avail, as the magistrate could neither understand them nor make himself understood; he spoke an unintelligible jargon, not Hindustanee they were sure, for many of themselves understood that language; but it was supposed to be a dialect spoken in a far off eastern district among the Mhugs. " Well, well" said Mr.——" but about the khal, surely the object in cutting it, was not to injure your paddy." " The Sahib did not think much about our paddy probably," they replied, " you can see his object however plainly enough," pointing to the man scattering the Indigo seed, " It was to get deposit over these lands, make them unfit for paddy, and to sow Indigo on them which, you may see with your own eyes, is being done." " Dreadful, dreadful" said Mr.—— to himself. " How this confirms my opinions and those of my brethren regarding the ungodly system pursued in the cultivation of Indigo. How sad that nominal Christians should so disgrace the Christian profession. I cannot return to the board of the oppressor. Fitter is it that I should in this place shake off the dust from my feet as a testimony against him!"

The whole matter seemed plain. The ryots' complaint was clear, the circumstantial evidence as to its truth was undeniable. There was a sheet of water without so much as a blade of paddy visible. There was the khal, the cutting of which had cut so deeply into the welfare of the poor people, and there too was the very instrument of the oppressor sowing the seed which was to bear fruit as the ungodly gain of the tyrant. The worthy Missionary did not of course appear again that day, A. said, and the next he heard of him was the above story from a neighbour. The reverend gentleman felt it to be a sacred duty to report the circumstance, 'a sad Mofussil experience' he termed it, to the secretary of his Society. The real circumstances were as follows. The sheet of water was a large bheel, which was never dry throughout the year. The ryots had begged A. to cut the khal to drain it. This had been done two years before, and already some two or three hundred beegahs of fine loam had been redeemed. A. had not yet received one-half of the money he had paid for cutting the khal, and it appeared the redeemed land did not belong to his villages, but to those of a neighbouring Zemindar. It was held under a *pickusta* tenure by his ryots, so that he had no interest in the rent of the redeemed land, which had been duly sown with Oous paddy and reaped in July.

We had much interesting conversation with A. on the relations between Planter and ryot. We asked him how he accounted for the feeling which could prompt the ryots so grossly to misstate and invent. He thought it might partly result from antagonism of race, but was more the effect of the traditional feeling that oppression was their birthright. They could not realise any other condition. Under the old native dynasties they had been ground to the dust. Many of the worst features of those cruel despotisms were grafted on the Zemindary system. Though nominally under the British Government, the ryot was the slave of the Zemindar. When he came under the control of the European he could not readily realise the change, and even under the most favorable circumstances the native servants of the European Zemindar practised, unknown to their masters, much injustice on the ryots. The Government system of collecting the land tax confirmed, if it did not increase, the Zemindar's power. The quarterly instalment of rent must be paid in by sunset of a certain day or the estate was sold, while punctuality was so ruthlessly exacted from the Zemindar it was necessary to give him power of immediate realization from the ryot. The law was strong, and the illegal power exercised under its shelter was ten-fold more so.

In such conversation the time passed and we were soon at home. It appeared that we had lost the most animated scene in the day's sport. While trying to turn out a pig which had taken shelter in a village, a leopard was roused. A somewhat corpulent gentleman, but none the less keen a sportsman, had exchanged the saddle for the charjamma. The only gun which chanced to have been brought was with the mahout, but unfortunately there were no bullets. A few charges of snipe shot was the only ammunition. These were soon lodged in the animal, and the last shot slightly lamed him. Roused by fright and pain, he flew at the elephant;—the last shot was gone, and our corpulent friend had only his spear; he wounded the brute on the shoulder and then, to the amazement of those who had by this time come up to see what was going on, coolly dropped off the back of the elephant, and had what we can only describe as a hand to hand encounter with the leopard, and at last succeeded in literally pinning the infuriated animal with his spear to the ground. All agreed that no similar instance of physical strength and pluck existed in the sporting annals of the district, and the victor's health was drunk with honors. Thus closed one of the most agreeable days we ever spent, and we appeared, so much had we seen and heard of Mofussil life, to have spent months in that one day.

The above sketch of a day spent in the Mofussil by one to whom all he saw was novel, contains many hints regarding the mode of life of the Mofussil resident, and his relation to the ryot. The Planter is ever ready to assist those around him; his medicine chest is at the command of the poor; his name is sure to be found on subscription lists for Charity Hospitals or Schools, from which the natives solely derive benefit. The Indigo Planter may be a despot, but his rule is a mild despotism; his system of business, in itself not unfair, does no doubt in its working often become oppressive. This is owing as a rule to the nature of his instruments and the character of those he has to deal with. There is nothing more unfair than the line adopted by the anti-Planter. He takes for his text an act of severity, say, as an extreme case, the imprisonment of a ryot; he argues on it from an English point of view, denounces the illegality, commiserates the victim, and cries shame on the oppressor. His arguments, pity and wrath would be all reasonable if the scene were in England; but are thrown away when Bengallee ryots, a "Company's" Court, and a "Company's" Magistrate compose the tableau vivant.

On the question of the relations between the Indigo Planter and ryot, we would quote the evidence of Mr. E. Underhill before the Colonization and Settlement Committee of the House of Commons in April 1859. This gentleman is one of the Secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society, and his testimony may be received as impartial. If he had a bias, it might be presumed to be rather against than for the Planter.

"*Question.* 4755. Is the system of Indigo planting detrimental to the best interests of the native population ? It ought not to be, on account of the expenditure of money which always takes place in an Indigo factory, nor do I think it ever would be, were the state of the law favorable to fair and equitable dealings between the Indigo planters and the persons they employ. But owing partly to the state of the courts, and partly to the claims of the occupying tenants to manage the land as they please, and not subject to the will of the Zemindar, or the Indigo planter, if he be the Zemindar, there are perpetual conflicts as regards the cultivation of Indigo upon their lands, and hence there has arisen a large number of cases of great illegality and great oppression upon the part of the Indigo planters, and on the other hand undoubtedly, on the part of the ryots themselves, acts of resistance to the just rights and claims of the Indigo planter to the produce of the soil, for which probably he has already advanced money or deed. *Question.* 4770. *You do not mean to say that the planter has any interest in oppressing the ryot ?* No, the planter's interest is on the other side ; nor do I think that those acts of oppression are committed from a mere wanton desire to oppress, I think they, generally speaking, arise out of the difficulties in which the Indigo planter is himself placed by the circumstances of the country, and also partly from the character of the people. The people are not usually truthful and not usually ready to fulfil the obligations into which they enter. The system of advances, which is everywhere prevalent, in all trades, and in all matters in which common people are employed, is a system fraught with mischief, employers are very frequently wronged, and their advances often made in vain. *Question* 4771. Has there not been much controversy between the Indigo planters and the Missionaries, arising out of these circumstances ? There was a great deal just previously to my leaving for England, arising from the statement of a German Missionary in Kishnaghur, that the Indigo planting system was a system of great oppression and extortion on the ryot ; but the conclusion to which I came, after a great deal of thought and conversation with parties interested in the matter, was what I have already stated, that almost universally these oppressions and extortions originate in the state of the country, in the state of the administration of the law, in the character of the police, and in difficulties which the Indigo planter might well plead in bar of any condemnation that might be brought upon conduct that otherwise we must very strongly condemn."

Besides the official and the commercial, there is a daily increasing class of Europeans, those employed on the Indian railways, many of them rough, uneducated men. For the most part they are ignorant of the vernacular, and many of them arrived in the country during or immediately after the Rebellion. The ill-feeling that has arisen between the natives and European workmen on the railways, is generally caused by inability to understand one another, and much of it has been engendered from the knowledge of and disgust at the atrocities that were committed in Upper India during the Rebellion. An English mechanic is naturally impatient at the apathy of the natives; they again are frightened at his energy, displayed in hearty exhortations to them to work, which are mistaken for abuse. After a time it is found that the bark of the *gora* is worse than his bite, and the natives learn to fall into his ways, trying to put a little life into their work, and laughing at his noise. There is one other class against which the great promoter of antagonism of race in the Calcutta Press, *The Indian Field*, backed by a few Civilians, rails so much. We believe this class to be in the main the creation of their own brains, so far as it can apply to Anglo-Indians who associate with natives.

Englishmen in the Presidency towns, we have before said, have really few opportunities of mixing with them. Our experience lies more in the Mofussil, and we cannot say that we have met the class so much complained of. Here and there one sees a silly conceited youth, whose pretensions to 'gentility' lie in a lisp, a collar of the newest cut, a smart ring and studs, who swaggers about "th*w*ose nigger*th* b*w*utes that *th*ould be kep*th* well down, *th*ir," but this is a rara avis. Respectable natives of course shun such an one, and his knowledge of native character is derived only from intimacy with menials and the lowest dregs of the native population. Such a creature soon sinks into a used up, dilapidated 'swell,' than *which* there can be no more contemptible character in India or elsewhere.

In a paper on English life in Bengal we must not omit, so far at least as their object in visiting India is concerned, the most important class of all—the Missionaries. We do not mean to enter on the statistics of the various Missionary Societies; it is better to consider them as one body, especially as we believe the evidence of Mr. Underhill to be correct, that "the most perfect harmony and cordiality subsist between all the Missionaries, English as well as American." The evidence before the Colonization Committee from all parties is unanimous, that the Missionaries in India, as a body, are zealous and conscientious;—that the natives have not exhibited a jealousy of their operations, that on the contrary they are greatly respected, and in the localities where they are settled, beloved;—that in the Presidency towns their schools are crowded, the Bible being willingly read as a class book;—that they are thoroughly acquainted with the native languages;—that they conciliate the natives by the interest they take in their material improvement, especially as regards the American Missionaries, by the practice of medicine;—that they have been more or less successful, especially so in Southern India;— that during the Rebellion not one single case of infidelity to the British Government, on the part of a native Christian, was heard of;—that Missionary teaching is taking effect as a rule from below;—that the conduct of native converts is generally good;—that conversion to Christianity does not entail the reproach with which apostasy was formerly visited among the natives. These facts, testified to by the representatives of every class who were examined, speak for themselves. The question we have to do with is, not the percentage of converts that the Missionaries have made, but the effect of their presence on native society.

English Missionary life in India for the past seventy years has wrought immense good, inasmuch as the experience of all intelligent observers declares that their pure motives and their inoffensive lives have disarmed bigotry and caused them, while openly striving to convert the heathen to Christianity, to be respected throughout the land. If the Missionaries who have worked in India since 1790 had not *made one* single convert, their labors would not have been in vain. Their living among the people as professed proselytizers in peace and respect, showing as it does that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen," proves that the people of India are able to appreciate the practice of Christianity, and are willing to have its doctrines explained to them and offered for their acceptance. This opinion is borne out by the respect and affection evinced to Sir Henry Lawrence and his co-operators in the Punjaub. Their profession of Christianity and constantly expressed desire that those around them should be both almost and altogether such as they were in this respect, did not alienate from them the affections of the people. When Colonel Nicholson left his district "the people came crowding round him, poured out their sorrows and their tears, and declared that the Government had removed from their midst the father to whom they all looked up as their best friend." The Punjaub, the land ruled by *Christian men,* who gloried in declaring their religion and their desire to see those around them embrace it, was the source of our strength when the Empire was in danger.

We do not say that Missionary operations have been altogether faultless. Now and then we have discerned an inclination to use weapons not to be found in the Christian armoury. The controversy with the Indigo Planters, for instance, we think was waged in "an unchristian way;" no good resulted from the discussion; and when we see a gentleman like Mr. Underhill, whose sympathies must be with the Missionary body, and who had every opportunity of viewing the subject from their point of view, declaring as his deliberate opinion before the Committee of the House of Commons, that the conclusion to which he came on the subject, "after a great deal of thought 'and conversation with parties interested in the matter was, that 'almost universally those oppressions and extortions originate in 'the state of the country, in the state of the administration of the 'law, in the character of the police, and in difficulties which 'the Indigo Planter might well plead in bar of any condemnation that might be brought upon conduct that otherwise we 'must very strongly condemn;" we cannot but feel that the discussion was entered on hastily, and carried on intemperately. It utterly failed in its object.

The Missionaries have not erred at least in not daring to denounce the idolatry and superstitions of the East. We think rather that now-a-days they are too ready perhaps to dwell on the ignorance and depravity below, and to overlook the intelligence and enlightened opinions which are gaining ground in the higher grades of native society. We shall have more to say on this point, ere we conclude this Article. The effect of Missionary efforts is visible at both ends of society. Converts to Christianity are, it may be, more numerous among the lower classes; but the secular education given by Missionary Schools in which the Bible is taught, is telling on the higher. The Institutions connected with the Presbyterian missions have especially been exceedingly useful. We think on the whole, that there is abundant reason for those in Great Britain who support Missionary Societies to congratulate themselves on the effect that this phase of English life in India has had on native society, and on the prospects held out for the attainment of a still more beneficial effect.

The antagonism of race so much complained of, we believe to be much less in the Mofussil than in the Presidency towns. In the Mofussil European superiority is quietly acknowledged, received as a simple fact. The landholder of good family and position is glad to be on terms of intimacy with the Sahib. He is received kindly, on a footing of equality. The one gains information from the other. An interview between a Talookdar and an Indigo Planter is very different from one between a Mofussil Civilian and a native gentleman. The innate politeness of the latter is too often put to a severe test in his agonising endeavours to comprehend the language addressed to him. We lately heard of such an interview. In spite of the attempts of an Omlah who was admitted with the visitor, to catch and interpret the meaning of the Civilian, and the native gentleman's own earnest desire to understand the huzoor's remarks, it was quite impossible, and the interview was at last abruptly terminated by the bowing out of the native, who was distressed at not being able to understand what was said, while the Civilian no doubt declared 'these natives to be great idiots, not able even to understand their own language!' Such intercourse is of no benefit to either party. In Calcutta it is not so bad, because the majority of respectable natives speak English fluently; which is a pity perhaps, for, of late years especially, this antagonism of race has been greatly increased through the facility of communication between Calcutta officials and natives. The seeds of a jealousy which exists between the European official and non-official classes have been sown by the former between the latter and the natives, and are unfortunately bringing forth much fruit.

Our space will not permit us to do more than allude to the relations between the English and natives as regards the Courts; nor, so far as their state is concerned, is it necessary, for the subject has been often discussed in the pages of this *Review*. It is a fact not sufficiently remembered by our native friends that, were it not for the English residents in the Mofussil, the abuses connected with the Courts, those of the system, of the procedure, and those connected with the personal incapacity of the officers presiding over them, would be comparatively unknown where alone they can be remedied. Now that these abuses have become household words, the natives add the weight of their own complaints, but would they have ventured to *initiate* a movement for their reform?

Taxation will create a new political life for India, and as the influence of English opinions and experience on this question will be exercised largely on native society, a few remarks on this all absorbing topic at the present moment will hardly be out of place. There are certain principles which actuate human nature; the first and strongest is self-interest. A very large proportion of this principle resides in what we English call the breeches pocket. We consider that we have a special right to apply the contents of our purse according to our own will; and to rob a man of his purse is to commit an act which at once makes the injured party the centre of sympathies of no ordinary nature. As an individual claims special property in his private purse, so does the community of individuals claim an interest in the public purse, which consists of money subscribed by all for the good of all. Here in a few words, and with the help of a simple analogy, we have the theory of "taxation," and the theory of a right to a knowledge of, and a certain control over, the expenditure of taxes.

Hitherto India has been held as a fief by the East India Company. That Honorable Corporation acquired a sovereign right of some kind over the soil; the exact nature of the right is a quæstio vexata, but under it, the Company bestowed on certain parties, for a certain sum, certain highly profitable privileges connected with the soil, and with the money so acquired, it fulfilled after a certain fashion its duties as ruler. This money, ordinarily called "the land tax", was the main source of income. So long as the Company paid its expenses as it were with this its own money, the mouths of grumblers were shut, or at least there is something to be said in favor of the argument that they should have been shut. In due course of time, after it had attained the age of one hundred years, this Corporation collapsed. Some would have it that it died a natural death, full of years and honours; others that the collapse was in some way occasioned by the enormous size to which it had swollen, owing to the gratification of an appetite which caused it to swallow more than it could digest; others again declare that the Corporation was punctured by certain sharp instruments, the bayonets of its own servants, and so collapsed.

However this may be, it is a historical fact that the old Corporation died. Its affairs were put into the highest Court in England, and a proper time having been allowed to settle accounts and to make arrangements for carrying on the business, and reckoning the expenses incurred in carrying out these arrangements, and in clearing up the confusion that arose in the affairs at the time of the Corporation's death, it appeared, on publication of the schedule, that a deficit of twenty millions of pounds sterling had to be made good ere the estate could be pronounced solvent. This of course weighed on the spirits of the new proprietor, who has fallen into a bad state of health. The physician is unfortunately the same who watched over the last moments of the Corporation. Some think that that death scene was too overpowering; that his nerves then received a shock which they will never recover; and it seems generally allowed that he is totally incapable of bringing his present patient through the crisis. The patient evidently has no faith in his skill; his remedies are all useless; whatever efficacy they might have on other constitutions, the medicines he administers in this case will not remain on the stomach. Should one chance to 'keep down,' its irritating influence neutralises any sedative effect it might have been intended to have; witness the effect of the powder called the Tariff Bill. At present the patient is writhing under the effects of nausea caused by the very odour of a box of pills labelled "the Trades and Professions License Pills." These pills were hurriedly attempted to be introduced into the mouth by the physician's favourite nurse, a respectable old lady, who had always borne a good character, but who has quite lost herself in this case. The mouth declined to receive the pills. So great was the irritation that it was evident, were they forced down, that they would be immediately rejected. The doctor was therefore compelled to alter his prescription, but assafœtida still prevailed in the new composition. The nurse by coaxing and threats at last succeeded in getting the medicine into the throat, but the inflammation that resulted was fearful, and the patient has since got worse and remains, while we write, in convulsions most trying to behold. An express has summoned from England another nurse, a tidy sensible person who has had great experience; but then, as people say, she always worked under physicians of the first eminence, and it is feared that even she will be of no use under Dr. Canning, for so our present medical man is called. As it is known however that she has practised as a doctor as well as nurse, it is supposed she will bring out a diploma to act as consulting physician. In this case she may induce Dr. Canning to change his treatment. We may then expect to see the pills withdrawn from the throat, and medicines more in keeping with the present practice of the profession administered, though it will be long before the irritation occasioned by the introduction into the thorax of the Canning pills will be removed.

This however is no joking matter. We are in the midst of a financial crisis. It is a serious fact that twenty millions sterling are required. The sheet anchor of Indian income is inadequate. Ways and means must be found. Warren Hastings would have made the Rebellion pay its own expenses and reveal mines of untold riches for future wants. With such a hand at the helm, the Rebellion would have enriched instead of impoverished the exchequer; hoards of wealth would have been discovered. Revolution from below would have inspired revolutionary acts from above, and the most would have been made of a grand opportunity. We must now look to the slower but perhaps surer effects of Railways and Telegraphs to do what the 'sic jubeo sic volo' of a Warren Hastings would have brought about.

The late efforts of the Indian Government to be consistent in its policy and yet to raise funds, have been ludicrous. To meet millions a Tariff Bill to raise thousands was introduced, and as it mainly affected Europeans was carried promptly through Council. As the Provincial cash balances became exhausted, and his native friends remained inexorable in their determination not to lend him money, it became absolutely necessary for Lord Canning to have recourse to some other plan. He determined on a Tax on Trades and Professions. Ignoring an Income Tax, he was able to exempt the fundholders, on the ground we presume that a tax would depreciate still further the public securities; forgetting that whatever improved the financial condition of the Government would raise and not depress these securities, and that the gain in this way would more than counterbalance the amount of a moderate tax. It was the knowledge that Government required and must have money which kept Government paper so low, because the natives could see no means of obtaining money, but by a loan, and they consequently felt that by declining to subscribe to one at 5½ per cent., they would soon have the opportunity of obtaining 6 or perhaps 7 per cent. for their money. Government employés were not to be considered members of Trades or Professions. The gross partiality of this was so heartily exposed, that Government soon announced that it purposed to tax the incomes of its servants 3 per cent.; but this was no part of the original bill, and at the best can be called only another piece of Lord Canning's financial patchwork. The bill did not touch Zemindars. Thus it was proposed at a moment of pressing necessity, when twenty millions sterling were required, to tax the community, leaving out the two wealthiest portions of it, and those who, from the nature and security of their incomes, could bear the burden with the greatest ease. The Zemindars were not to be taxed because Lord Cornwallis had been pleased to make over certain advantages to their ancestors, in consideration of the payment of a certain fixed annual sum! Mr. Harington, who introduced the Bill in Council, was instructed to declare farther that it would be "impolitic," to tax the Zemindars, thus giving the weight of the opinion of Government to a most untenable fallacy. When the independent Members of Council had one after the other animadverted on his opinion, and the Press had criticised it, Mr. Harington was instructed to deny having made the statement. Obedient as a poodle to its mistress, or Punch and Judy to the wire of the showman, he rose in Council and ate his words!

The perpetual settlement fixed the amount, the payment of which should give a right to the income derivable from certain land. This was not a compromise with parties who disputed the East India Company's right to make a settlement. The old Ameens and Tussildars had no more claim to the Zemindary right than a steward or agent, managing a nobleman's, or Crown, or any Corporation lands in England, has to the estate he manages. What Lord Cornwallis did, and what the British Government is bound to respect and to abide by, appears to us to be this. He made a liberal settlement by which he waived all claim then or hereafter on the part of Government, to raise the amount of land rent on a settled estate. It was well known at the time that large tracts of land were waste. It was mainly to encourage the cultivation of this land that the settlement was made. It was not intended that generations later, when the whole country might be thickly populated and every acre of land yielding its increase, its wealth owing to connection with Great Britain increased a hundredfold, the responsibilities and expenses of Government being likewise greater, the descendants of these favored tax collectors should not bear their share of the expenses of the State. The Zemindars' incomes have improved through causes which have arisen of late years, altogether distinct and irrespective of any element of wealth which existed in 1793. There are many products, sugar cane, jute and oilseeds for instance, the demand for which is European, and which are so valuable as to enable the Zemindar to charge, and fairly so, double or treble the former rent for the land on which they are grown. Is it not just that this increased income should be taxed? It *is not meant* that Government has a claim to a share of its subjects' profits as such, but its subjects of to-day are bound to provide for the expenditure of the Government of to-day.

The principle of taxation (the land tax is not a bonâ fide tax, it is the return paid in consideration of a very valuable and profitable privilege) indeed has never hitherto been disputed. The Zemindars have never dreamt of claiming exemption from customs duties, and have no more reason to dispute the right of Government to tax them directly than indirectly. In proposing an income tax we are but giving India the benefit of the lessons in political economy which England has been taught by long experience.

The Bill introduced in the Legislative Council by Mr. Harington, has justly aroused the indignation of the community, and it is not likely to pass into law in its present shape. Mr. Wilson will have sufficient influence to introduce a well and fairly digested scheme of taxation, which, looking our difficulties honestly in the face, will attempt to provide for the deficiency in an impartial, straightforward manner, and which, while ensuring the early realization of the amount required, will arrange for its collection in a manner as palatable as possible, and not after the fashion of the Trades and Professions Bill, which provides the most unpopular machinery conceivable for the purpose. The two classes exempted, Zemindars and fundholders, could be got at more easily and with less risk of unjust assessment or abuse of the powers of the collection of an income tax than any other classes. The fundholders are registered. The Zemindars are all entered in the rent roll of the Collector of every district, with the amount of Government revenue payable by them. The Revenue survey gives the area of every estate in detail and with the owner's name. An assessment at the Pergunnah *nererks* would give an approximate value of the Mofussil *jumma*; deduct the sudder rent with, say, ten or fifteen per cent. from the Mofussil *jumma* for the Zemindars' expenses of collection and other charges, and the remainder would be the net income.

We are not sure that we ought not to welcome taxation as a special boon to India. With taxation will come the privilege which an Englishman so prizes—the right to a voice in the expenditure of the taxes. From the exercise of this political right will arise a healthy public opinion. The intelligent native will join hand in hand with his British fellow subject, and glory rather in learning from him his constitutional rights as a free subject, than in servilely following the lead of the Government employé, to possess whose smile and paltry patronage is now too often his acme of temporal felicity. We fear that this knot of men to whom we allude, few in number, but at present powerful from position, numbering as they do among them many of the highest in the governing class, are working a deal of mischief—they have lighted a fire, which is burning into the best interests of their dupes. They are positively, not meaning we suppose to be so, a disloyal faction. It is the fashion for the official to cry down the non-official European, and to represent him as the great enemy of the natives of India. This is a cry equally foolish as cowardly, for its only end can be to curry favor at any cost with the natives; elevated into a policy it has brought upon us the contempt of nine-tenths of intelligent natives all over India. The active working of it has alienated Europeans as a body from the Government and has lost us a British army, and its passive working in favor of natives, keeps the Indian Treasury bankrupt, and is encouraging disaffection among the native soldiery, who, at a critical moment, were with a handful of English soldiers the prop of our Indian empire.

English life in Bengal has without doubt been of advantage to the masses. Before parties concerned in commerce settled in the interior, rent was paid in kind, the ryots were half starved and half clothed. With an increased number of European settlers in the interior and capitalists in Calcutta, the circulation of money has increased, the cultivation of the land has improved, waste lands have been tilled and new products have been introduced. To the Mofussil resident is to be ascribed the exposure of the abuses which are the topics of the day. The state of the Courts, the practice of torture, the want of roads are a few of the subjects that have been thus ventilated. It is a fact beyond question, that the districts where most Englishmen are settled are the most prosperous. If they have abused their influence the result is at least not discernible by the ordinary signs of such excesses. It is not shown on the face of the country itself, by the decrease of population, or by the destitution of the people. The indigo districts especially are a garden; they teem with population; the people are well fed, well clothed; they have two or three meals a day where they used to have but one; they have luxuries that fifty years ago were unknown to them. Their houses are better built, themselves better dressed, few of their women are without ornaments of some sort; their eating and bathing utensils are of brass instead of earth. All this positive good is to be ascribed to the introduction of British settlers with their influence and their capital. Mr. Underhill says in his evidence before the Colonization Committee.

"There can be no doubt whatever that the residence of Europeans in the interior is highly beneficial in a material sense by the introduction of new products and new modes of producing articles of Commerce; a great improvement is already seen in the rise of wages through almost the whole of

> those parts of Bengal where Europeans reside. Then you may see the influence of Europeans always when you come within a few miles of the places where they dwell; the country is better cultivated; the roads are in better order, and the aspect of the land itself bears the impress of European skill and European capital having been expended upon it, so that you can very readily tell whether you are approaching any settlement, or factory, or farm inhabited by Europeans. Then, in a social sense, I think also the presence of Europeans is highly beneficial. In former days many Europeans lived very improper lives in India; that day has gone by; I am very glad to say that that has almost entirely ceased, and that the Europeans now living in the Mofussil are not addicted to the immoral habits which were very common 30 or 40 or 50 years ago. Then, I think also that the influence of Europeans is exceedingly beneficial from the diffusion of the ideas of truth and justice which they invariably maintain; whatever a European may be in other respects, his word is always taken by natives, and, with very rare exceptions, they always confide in a European's judgment, and upon his general equity they constantly rely; they seem to think that a European will always do them justice if he can, if his own special and peculiar interests do not clash with what the natives may seem to think just."

We would recommend the whole of this gentleman's evidence to the notice of our readers. Secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society, he came to India principally for purposes connected with the Society. He was in India three years. He evidently brought with him a determination to observe carefully and honestly and with strict impartiality. A clear head enabled him to observe correctly and to make just deductions from his observations, and a kind heart led him to make his enquiries and observations principally on subjects connected with the best interests of the natives of India.

When we see an East India Company's traditionist like Mr. R. D. Mangles declaring before the Colonization Committee that he is greatly in favor of British settlement in India, and really apparently believing, so absurd does a contrary idea now appear to him, that he always was so, must we not feel that the persistent opposition of the East India Company to the influx of British residents was a fatal mistake? And when we see the results that have been brought about in spite of this policy of the Government, carried out as it was *con amore* by the Company's servants, we may well wonder what would have been the state of India to-day, had this incubus not brooded over it for a century. But our object is not to complain of the past but to exert ourselves for the future well-being of the country. The above remarks are made not so much by way of complaint, as by way of argument against the now mooted opinions of the old traditionists. We show that English life in Bengal in its influence on the natives has been beneficial. We say that the reforms for which Anglo-Indians are agitating must be advantageous to the natives; we contend therefore that the policy of hampering British settlers and checking

British settlement by "Imperial" legislation is unwise; that the idea of its being necessary, while professing to encourage British colonization, to legislate specially "for the protection of native rights and interests" against British settlers, is mischievous. To say of those who are striving after judicial reforms, and are in the van in every agitation for improvement;—these are the men who will crush the natives, who will "improve them off the face of the land," is most unjust. Mr. Mangles and other traditionists may defend the late East India Company, its restrictive policy, its resumptions,and so forth, and they will be listened to, with curiosity if not interest, by those to whom it belongs rather to study the past than to work for the future; but legislative or any other interference, however plausible, with the free ingress of British subjects into India, will he but the mangling of an enlightened policy.

We do not wish to be querulous, but as whatever tends to make the British public exaggerate the difficulties to be overcome in India is injurious, we must notice another part of Mr. Mangles' evidence, his remarks on the Nuddea rivers. What he says would apply justly to the Ganges, the Burrumpooter or the Jubboona, but certainly not to the Bhagaruttee, Jellinghee, or Matabangah. At their mouths there might be some slight engineering difficulties to overcome, but throughout their course they are narrow, manageable rivers which, we are inclined to think, Mr. Mangles never saw. Our engineering experience has been very limited, but we believe from our own observation and from the opinion of others more capable of giving one, that one or two steam dredges worked for two months on each river, as it is falling, would keep them all well open throughout the year, for boats accustomed to navigate them when they are full. The dredging could be assisted by operations to widen the mouths of the rivers and to throw in a larger supply of water. The tolls annually collected on those rivers would more than pay the cost of what we suggest. However, the justness or otherwise of our opinion will soon be tested. The Eastern Bengal Railway will run for a great distance near the Matabangah river, and the Engineer of the Company anticipates very little difficulty in making the river navigable for large boats or a small steamer, so far as it will be necessary to transport materials to the line adjacent to the Matabangah river.

We have shown how English life in Bengal has told on the material improvement of the natives. Has it beneficially affected them morally? Have Eastern superstition and ignorance been shaken by the introduction of Christianity? We must lament that Christianity in India, as in all other countries, is too little *illustrated* in the lives of its professors, but our presence *has* worked good. Natives of intelligence can and do distinguish between Christianity and its professing followers, between the Bible and its professed believers. The *Hindoo Patriot* for instance says, speaking of the Bible. "The educated 'native knows it to be the first of books, but what he objects to 'is to be compelled to read it to the exclusion of other books." In the same issue of his paper he says in an article on Religious Policy. "As regards the single question of granting 'aid to missionary schools, we have always felt it our duty to 'point out to our countrymen that so long as the system of mak-'ing Grants-in-Aid to private institutions exists, the withholding 'them from missionary schools would be a gross violation of 'that very principle of religious neutrality for which they are 'so earnestly and so justly contending"* When an intelligent mind that claims to be the index, if not to direct the opinions, of the most influential of his countrymen, receives and owns such impressions, we may hope that time will ere long work the religious emancipation of India.

The great question which agitates the public mind at home and here, at present, regarding India, is its evangelization. "Neutrality" is a cry which, apparently plausible, is perhaps doing more mischief than any other political watchword. There is a party, that which has always been opposed to British settlement in India, who are rabid on this point. The fanaticism of Exeter Hall is denounced in the bitterest terms; the sword of Mahomet, it would appear by their account, was a toy to the rage for the forcible propagation of Christianity in India; the spirit of the old crusaders, gentleness to the feelings which animate these would-be evangelizers of India by command. The natives of India are roused by an imaginary danger; their passions are excited, they are taught to see religious persecutions and intolerance where none exist; they are encouraged to combat a spirit of religious bigotry when really there is no such spirit abroad to contend against. They are fighting a shadow, a phantom hand put forth by a faction to support a failing cause. It is not in the nineteenth century that England will attempt the forcible conversion of its millions of Indian subjects. Such a project is totally opposed to the spirit of the times. No one asks for Government interference on behalf of Christianity. What is asked is the abstinence of such interference against it—as regards the introduction of the Bible, "the best of books" as enlightened natives call it, into our schools. We say, let it not be a proscribed book. We consider Sir John Lawrence's opinion on this matter the correct one. In the words of his Secretary. "In

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* *Hindoo Patriot*, 27th August, 1859.

'respect to the teaching of the Bible in Government schools 'and colleges, I am to state, that in the Chief Commissioner's 'judgment such teaching ought to be offered to all those who 'may be willing to receive it. The Bible ought not only to be 'placed among the college libraries and the school books, for 'the perusal of those who might choose to consult it; but also it 'should be taught in class wherever we have teachers fit to 'teach it, and pupils willing to hear; the learning should be 'optional of course." "Depend upon it," again quoting Sir John Lawrence "all those measures which are really and truly Chris-'tian, can be carried out in India, not only without danger to 'the British rule, but on the contrary, with every advantage 'to its stability. Christian things done in a Christian way will 'never alienate the heathen—about such things there are quali-'ties which do not provoke or excite distrust, nor harden to re-'sistance. It is when un-Christian things are done in the 'name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in 'an un-Christian way, that mischief and danger are occa-'sional."

The controversy which is raging on this subject is doing incalculable mischief, because it encourages in the native mind the idea that the English nation wish to introduce Christianity by force. Christianity cannot be introduced by force; a religion so introduced could not be Christianity. Ours is a *faith* which must be received, *believed*. One moral result of our presence in India is that it has aroused a spirit of enquiry, wherever the Christian and Hindu have met. The monotheism of primitive Hinduism is taking the place of the polytheism and the superstitions of a corrupted degenerated Hinduism. The successive creations of Brahma owing to his periodical siestas, the schemes of cosmogony which declare the earth to be of the shape of a water lily, and the oceans connected with it to consist of ghee, curds, sugar-cane juice, &c. the whole encircled by a hoop of gold; which say that among the heavenly bodies the sun is the nearest to us, next in distance the moon, then the fixed stars, and farthest off the planets of our system; all this nonsense is ridiculed as much by the English-educated Brahmins of to-day as by the Christian philosopher himself. We cannot expect our faith to be received in a moment, but we must be careful not to irritate the prejudices or the feelings of the Hindus by exaggerating their faults or by attributing to them sentiments they do not entertain.

We disapprove of a missionary from India declaring from the platform of Exeter that "there is not throughout India one correct idea of the nature of God," and holding up *the religious* belief of the Hindus as a system utterly corrupt, depraved and idolatrous, without one single aspiration after holiness or truth. Hinduism, with every other form of religious belief which has been received by man, has so far the germ of truth in it, that it originated in man's instinctive longing to know God. We find in it gleams even of some of the great truths of revealed religion—we see a recognition of the Unity and Trinity of the Godhead, however crude, in the belief that the one God consists of Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Seeb the destroyer; we see a God-man recognised in Krishna the Deliverer. Whatever inconsistencies, whatever incongruities, may exist, there is at least some slight foundation for us to claim a common starting point. We need not sacrifice truth to expediency, neither need we insist on a tabula rasa on which to work. We are more likely to obtain a hearing at least by acknowledging the existence of truth however hidden and overwhelmed with falsehood, than by declaring at once that the intellect of the millions of the East is totally devoid of a rational conception of the Deity. But religion to be of practical service to man we know must comprise something that will guide and rule him in the affairs of life. The mere instinctive acknowledgment of a first cause, of a God, never has sufficed and never will suffice for this. To satisfy this want human systems have been built upon the one great light of natural religion, but it is only a divine revelation that can supply it. The superstitions and idolatry of Hindu and Bhuddist priestcraft, the sensualities of Mahomedanism, or the obscene orgies of still lower systems, cannot fill the void. We say that Christianity is the revelation which God has given to make religion of practical utility to man. There is a fact which all acknowledge—the existence of sin. A religion that will purify from sin and bestow holiness is what all seek. Christianity, we say, secures this; every human failing, every weakness, every want is provided for. It is a revelation from God which suits our necessities.

This is what we must teach our Indian fellow subjects. They acknowledge the purity of the Christian code of morality. They admire the Book which we revere as containing the revelation of God's will; we must convince them that Christianity as a religious system dovetails, as it were, into the wants of humanity, so exactly as to prove it to be the revelation God has made for the purpose. We must convince them that Christianity is like the key to an elaborate price of mechanism, a lock for instance containing intricate wards which can be opened easily by this key and by no other. This belief will suffice; the key to apparent anomalies and difficulties will be gladly accepted, though there may be mysteries connected with the mechanism which the maker can alone understand. We must show them that the practice of Christianity raises instead of depresses man. The fact is before them that the Christian quarter of the globe ranks first in civilization; they see the man who really carries out the tenets of Christianity practically in daily life, is a better man than his neighbour who does not do so. Thus its effects on nations and on individuals are plain. If these Christian facts are put before them in a Christian way, Christianity will triumph.

As another instance of what we complain of, we will quote the words of, we have no doubt, an earnest, devoted Missionary in a speech this year at Exeter Hall. "Go into the 'Court and ninety-nine cases out of a hundred are supported 'by perfidy, not by the vile and despicable, but by the most 'respectable. If it were notorious that the most respectable 'man in or out of Calcutta supported his case by perjury, 'it would not endanger his reputation; but if a friend were 'to ask him to go to court to swear to a falsehood, he 'would suffer if he did not do so, because he would not oblige a friend by doing an action which cost him so little 'trouble. There may be men who would not do this; but the 'best Hindu that I ever knew was a Brahmin, and I asked him 'the simple question. 'Would you go to Court to swear a falsehood?' 'Of course I would' he said, 'I would go and swear 'anything to oblige a friend. Do you think I am a cruel man, 'that I have no benevolence about me? of course I would go' 'and swear for a friend. I would not injure a man; but I 'would get a man away from the hand of the Magistrate if I 'could." These words convey a very mistaken idea of the actual state of things. In fact they are a gross libel on the higher class of natives. We know that perjury stalks through the length and breadth of the land, that as a rule every case in Court is supported by perjured evidence; but we have no hesitation in declaring that respectable men of the higher castes loathe the Courts; that they will not give evidence in them, and that the reason of their objection is that the Court atmosphere is one of lies—a deposition and a lie are considered synonymous. One of the subjects which command the attention of the Government and reformers at the present moment is—how to overcome the prejudice and dislike of respectable natives to enter a Court. It is untrue to say that to the Hindus, perjury to assist a fellow creature in an ordinary strait is praiseworthy, in fact a virtue. The educated Hindus declare that the Vedas and the Institutes of Menu do not authorise perjury but strongly condemn it. If that is *their own* interpretation of their sacred writings and their most valued code of laws and morals, let us be content with it. They own only that by the Institutes of Menu a man is permitted to perjure himself to save the life of a fellow creature. The theory of this permission is, not that perjury is the less a sin, but that the virtue of saving human life exceeds the sin and cancels it. Perjury otherwise is condemned in the strongest terms. Such accusations as these "provoke and excite distrust" and "harden to resistance." Surely our end would be better served, not by putting the worst construction on what we see and viewing only the darkest shades of the picture, but by looking at the brighter tints, and dwelling rather on the good than the evil elements in the native character.

These harsh speeches do excite distrust and rouse suspicion against us. They put the natives on the qui vive to resent insult and, assisted by their mistaken English friends here, cause them often to see enemies where they should discern friends. For instance, Sir Mordaunt Wells has been abused with acrimony by the natives, backed by the organ of their pseudo-English friends, for his outspoken denunciation of perjury. He stated nothing but fact; he did not accuse the higher classes of natives of committing it, but besought their influence towards checking and overcoming it.

We will give one more instance of the mischievous readiness to hold up the natives of India to the detestation of Christians at home. In the same speech from which we have already quoted, the Missionary says, "a Hindu, it is very probable, would not take away the life of a Cobra; but he would burn his mother if he could get away from the Government to-morrow; a Hindu would not tread upon an insect, but he would kill his daughter, or throw her to the crocodiles." Now the Missionary may say he was speaking of the Hindu system, not of Hindus. This would be a quibble, for he states what a Hindu would and would not do, at the present moment, if he could, not what was done a century ago. We say that this gentleman's end, the enlisting of the sympathies of his hearers in the missionary cause, would have been more easily attained, and attained in a more Christian manner, by telling them that there is a large and increasing number of educated Hindus who are as much disgusted at such practices and condemn them as heartily as he himself. He might with truth have gone further and said that pure Hinduism, the original Veds, the Shastras of the Hindus, do not teach or authorise these practices, that they grew up among the abuses of an idolatrous and debased priestcraft. Whatever vestiges of superstitious vice, under the name of religion, may remain among the ignorant in some parts of India, he might have told them that the intelligent Hindus of the present day acknowledge no such rites as suttee or infanticide. They deny that their Veds ever commanded or sanctioned them, and lament that such diabolical practices should ever have existed. He should have besought his audience to take heart and to see in such opinions grounds of congratulation as to what Christian influence had already done, and have bid them take advantage of a soil, cleared of the rank vegetation of superstition and the miasma of cruelty, and so far prepared to receive "the grain of mustard seed," which in God's own time shall become a tree, and overshadow the land.

We should be sorry to think that the speech from which we have made extracts is a type of the speeches made before large English audiences on missionary subjects. It is not so. We were pleased to find, in looking through the proceedings of the great May Meetings at Exeter Hall this year, acknowledgments of the state of feeling among the natives which we have mentioned. The effect of missionary efforts is felt at both ends of native society—at the lowest we may suppose that now and then traces of the old superstitions and cruelties may be discernible, and that the Missionary from whose speech we quoted labored principally among this class, that he was, as our native friends might term it, the Charal's padré; the other gentlemen, we may suppose, associated more with the higher grades of society, and had therefore more opportunities of observing and appreciating the enlightenment which exists among them. However this may be, we think it much wiser, more conducive to the success of missionary enterprise in India, to cease groping among and stirring up the sediment and filth of false systems of religion, and to hail rather with joy the fact that the natives of India are as capable as ourselves of condemning the worn out superstitions and loathing the inhuman practices of an idolatrous worship. As regards the much contested question of Government education, we really believe that the good of India would be most consulted by the entire withdrawal of direct Government interference, or assistance in any way with education, except by Grants-in-Aid. The natives are themselves alive to its value. There is ample wealth among them for the endowment of charity schools where required. The British public are only too anxious to pour men and money into the country to educate the people. The success of missionary schools is a proof that schools in which religious and secular education are combined will be filled. Heartburning and unprofitable discussion on one point at least would be at an end.

Education in England would of course effect more than an other conceivable plan to break down Eastern prejudices. Living in England would do on a large scale what the Railway carriage is now doing as regards caste. In a few years, we dare say, the natives of India will visit England in large numbers. The "Great Eastern" and such like vessels may yet find their most profitable employment in bringing British colonists to India and returning with Indian visitors.

What will be the state of India fifty years hence who can say? We believe the most sanguine picture would fall short of the reality, if for the next fifty years a tide of unrestricted emigration flows into the country from England. To-day India with its two hundred millions of inhabitants, among whom destitution is unknown, is weighed down by a deficit of twenty millions sterling. The income of Bengal, the richest province, is mainly the land tax, and is in amount about the same to day as it was fifty years ago. A narrow-minded Government cannot or dare not find means of making the landed interest, who have reaped the progressive advantages of our presence, contribute their quota to the pressing wants of the state. Ere fifty years more have elapsed we may hope that the land tax as a principal source of revenue will be unknown, and that the then developed wealth of India will bear, with greater ease and elasticity than England now does, the burden of public taxation. The wealth of India is at present, comparatively speaking, latent. As Mr. Mangles confesses, "sufficient was not done in former years in the matter of roads and bridges and canals for the improvement of the internal communications of the country." The statistics of the Calcutta Inland Steam Companies since their formation, and of the East India Railway Company for the short distance it is completed, would show how increased means of transit and increased demand for transit go hand in hand. When India is interlaced with railways; when every river is alive with its steamboats; when canals, roads and bridges complete the chains of communication throughout the country; every line of railway, every river, canal, road and bridge will have to support the wear and tear of an imperial traffic. The fields of lower India will pour forth their cereals, fibres, oilseeds; the mines of upper India, their minerals. The Himalaya Mountains will yield their tea, coffee and the produce of their farms and perhaps vineyards, which will ere long grow up on their slopes and in their villages. The timber of the vast forests, the produce of the virgin soil, and the metallic and mineral deposits of the wastes of Central India, will be elements in our commerce. England will be fed with corn and wine from the East, and the steam power of the British empire will not suffice to convert the raw materials, the fibres, the cotton and the wools of India, into manufactured goods for the use of the teeming millions of our Indian empire, and of Asia.

The ideas of wealth and greatness which these few words open out to our imagination, may fall short of the reality. Such may be the destiny of Gerat Britain. Our island home, a speck in the ocean among the nations, will be as it were the apex of the world's wealth, the pinnacle of the commerce of the globe. This may be the result of the opening out of the British Indian Empire. Half a century hence what will be thought of the fears of statesmen of our time? the forebodings of ruin to England through her connection with India? the idea of lopping off some of the branches of the empire and allowing Provinces to drift back into the sea of barbarism, to be crushed under the licentious and brutalising rule of Asiatic despotism? The foundation of the greatness and wealth we have suggested exists. With the seaboard of Hindustan and the sovereignty thence to the Himalayas, and our position in Europe, we have the destiny of this splendid country in our hands. We have only to work it out. Great Britain stands first among the nations of the civilized world. We have not to search for the means to attain this greatness. We have its seeds. We have but to sow them in a rich soil, under the influence of a genial clime.

Mock philanthropists need not fear that the indigenous races will be "improved off the face of the land." There is no analogy between the wild Kaffirs, the aborigines of Australia, the South Sea Island cannibals, the American Red Indians, and the natives of the East. The children of a civilization which flourished when Great Britain was in the depths of barbarism; the descendants of sages who read the heavens when Britons were clothed in skins and worshipped in druidical temples, a race who to this day have retained the germs of intellectual greatness, will not vanish from off the earth. Nor are other points analogous. No one supposes that the plains of India can be populated from Europe. The climate is against it. The race would degenerate and disappear in six generations. Till civilization permeates through the land there will be nuclei, whence its rays will be diffused. European colonies in the mountainous and other localities suitable to the European constitution, will be formed; but the races of India will ever be the people of India. They cannot all go to Europe to read by the full blaze of civilization, but will be gladly lighted by the torches we can bring among them. We can enlighten them best by the free, unrestricted, and heartily encouraged introduction of British settlers. The hill ranges of our Indian empire are sufficiently extensive to receive our surplus population. Every class may send forth its representatives—the clergyman, the lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, the engineer, the farmer, the tradesman, the mechanic and, to a certain extent, the laborer. All are required. The "Great Eastern" may be freighted full and perform six voyages annually, and that for fifty years, and not exhaust the demand for European colonists. Though unsuited for the residence of Europeans, the plains will be but hours, not weeks, in distance from the hills. They, as well as the culturable tracts on the mountain ranges, will be available for the application of British science and capital.

Colonists or settlers, whatever they may be called, should come to India with the intention of carrying into practice the recommendation contained in the Report of the Colonization Committee. "While, therefore, your committee have 'felt anxious to embody in their report such general and 'practical information as relates to European settlement in 'India, they desire to express their hopes that individual 'co-operation may not be wanting to promote it. Every 'Englishman should go to India with a deep sense of his re'sponsibility, not only to those among whom he is about to re'side, but to his own country; whose character for firmness, 'justice and forbearance he is bound constantly, zealously, and 'by personal example, to maintain." While proud of belonging to the nation of whose Crown India is so splendid an appanage, and thoroughly imbued with the feeling so well expressed by Lord Ellenborough in his reply to the Calcutta address, that they who won, can and will hold, the country, we should also adopt the policy of that statesman, to rule justly, and to live kindly among our native fellow subjects; to maintain by our personal example the English character not only for firmness, but for justice and forbearance. Though for the moment a class feeling more or less bitter exists, this will pass away. The English settlers unconnected with Government must try to bear with, to *pity* rather than resent, the hostility of a class who feel their position sinking and their influence decreasing. We may look without excitement on the dying embers which, though burning brightly, are burning out.

ART. IV.—1. *Les Codes Français.* Paris. 1857.

2. *Elements d'Organisation Judiciaire,* PAR EDWARD BONNIER. Paris. 1853.
3. *Manuel de Juge de Paix.* Paris. 1854.
4. *Compte General de l' Administration de la Justice Criminelle en France, pendant l'année,* 1855.
5. *Compte General de l'Administration de la Justice Civile et Commerciale, pendant l'année,* 1855.

WHENEVER we hear the shortcoming of our administration denounced, and with a sigh we are obliged to admit it, the thought passes through our minds;—"How do they manage these things elsewhere"? Given a great people to be governed, and the best intentions on the part of the Rulers, what is the best combination of men and material, of theory and practice, to effect the purpose? Looking inwards for assistance and example, we find nothing but the bitterest prejudices and most selfish class interests on one side, and the most apathetic indifference or virulent opposition on the other. The great mother country, disfigured by insular eccentricities, vaunting absurd customs which nothing but the lapse of centuries would render tolerable, incapable of organic reforms, and intolerant of alien races and religions, is no more an example for administrations than is London in an architectural point of view for cities elsewhere. Looking outwards, our attention is attracted by the institutions of Turkey, the most degraded but the most orientalized of European monarchies, and those of France, the most recently and most highly organized. With these thoughts in our mind, in 1852 we visited Turkey, and in Number XXXVIII. of the *Calcutta Review* we gave our reason for believing that British India was *not* the *most* misgoverned country in Asia; and in 1856 and 1857, we visited France, sat in her Courts of Justice, considered her systems, and now throw together a sketch of her Judicial organization.

Everything in France dates from the Revolution. All her ancient institutions were swept away in that deluge, but she rose invigorated and with new life from her bloody baptism, and set about reforming her laws on the most approved models. Chaos had preceded that Deluge. There had been originally three Courts, the Royal, the Feudal, and the Ecclesiastical. The power of the great nobles had rendered the authority of the sovereign a mere byword, till one by one, through the process of marriage, of conquest, or of treaty, they were absorbed. The subinfeudation of feuds had on the other hand reduced justice to so lamentable a state, that it was relief to the people to have recourse to a central, though arbitrary, Royal Power, by those who could afford to pay Judges of some kind. The description given by early French writers of the results of the cutting up of fiefs into such small shares, that each gentleman, who possessed a village, a portion, or even a home, had the rights of a sovereign, corresponds wonderfully with the state of the protected Sikh States, as it existed only a few years ago. The British Government for a long time forgot its duties, and the principle that all justice emanates from the Sovereign, was abandoned in favour of the barbarous notion that the right of dispensing justice was private property. Weak-minded politicals still weep over the injustice inflicted upon petty chieflings, in being deprived of the power of tyrannizing over others, and in being themselves subjected to Imperial Laws.

The Ecclesiastical Courts of the middle ages were more regular, more dignified and more learned, but more unjust and not sufficiently plastic to adapt themselves to the ever shifting wants of a people. They gave way at first voluntarily, and afterwards under constraint, to the ever-increasing power of the Sovereign: still the fortuitous concurrence of such incongruous atoms as made up the old kingdom of France, left no room for the growth of a regular judicial system. The provincial Capitals and Parliaments were jealous of Paris: two different codes of law prevailed in different portions of the kingdom: privileges, and exemptions, and local customs had grown up like thistles which nothing but a revolution could eradicate. Those who have had the task of administering a newly annexed kingdom in India, know well that the waters of a deluge must pass over the soil, destroying much perhaps that is valuable, with a great deal more than is worthless, before the foundation, broad and deep, of new institutions, can be planted. Attempts were made under the vigorous despotism of Louis XIV. by the deputation of Judges on circuit, to do something in the way of reform without previous destruction, and the narrative of the " Grands Jours d'Auvergne" gives a living picture of the proceedings of such Courts. A deputation of Indian Judges on circuit in the provinces of an independent Indian Chief would have the same results, which just amount to nothing.

The Revolution passed over the country, sweeping away all feudal traces, all institutions good or bad, welding together in one mass all the heterogeneous elements: the old provinces and landmarks vanished from the map, and new France came out, divided into departments, arrondissements, and cantons, according to local and practical requirements. So have we seen more than once in the last decade the old landmarks of a native kingdom, old names, old associations, vanish away, and a new province come forth with its divisions, districts, and pergunnahs on the universal type of Anglo-Indian Government.

Eminently practical was the French Assembly, which, newly created by the free election of the people, discussed the question of their new institutions. The subjects were not unfamiliar ones to an Indian statesman.

I. Shall we establish Juries?

II. In Civil, as well as Criminal, matters?

III. Shall the Courts be sedentary or migratory?

IV. Shall there be grades of Courts of Justice, and a power of appeal?

V. Shall the Judges be for life, or elected for a period?

VI. Shall they be chosen by the people, or the Sovereign?

VII. Shall the Ministry of Justice be appointed by the people, or the Sovereign?

VIII. Shall there be a central Court of Cassation fixed at the Metropolis, or migratory Judges of appeal?

IX. Shall the same Courts adjudicate on all matters, or shall there be separate tribunals for commerce, administration, revenue and police?

In all these questions do we not catch the echo of discussions which still vibrate among us? Who can at once decide on any of these points, when so much is to be said on both sides? The French assembly did decide, and gave very good reasons for their decision; and on the second point most convincing, for a more unsatisfactory tribunal for settling a civil action than a jury, made up of chance members, cannot be imagined, when so much turns upon the value of proofs, and nature of evidence. The French Assembly laid the foundation of a judicial hierarchy which flourishes to this day; and under Imperial France came into existence that Code, which has crowned with a more enduring laurel than that of bloody victories, the temples of the First Napoleon.

What a comfort it is to a Frenchman, or a stranger sojourning in France, if, driven into the Courts, he wishes to satisfy himself as to the laws of the country, that he can purchase for a few francs a goodly volume containing the following Codes:

I. Code Civil.

II. Code de Procédure Civile.

III. Code de Commerce.

IV. Code d' Instruction Criminelle.

V. Code Pénal.

VI. Code Forestier.

He would moreover find the matter so arranged as to be *readily* accessible, and so worded as to be intelligible to ordinary intellects. The unhappy Englishman, or stranger sojourning in England, would be referred to countless volumes of statutes often conflicting, countless cases of Judge-made law, and numerous text books of greater or less estimation. The still more unhappy native of India, or stranger sojourning in India, would, in the Regulation Provinces, be referred to Note Books, Circulars, Regulations, Acts and Constructions; and in the Non-Regulation Provinces the inquirer would receive the significant information, that a great deal depended on the blessed will of the Hakim. Still it has been truly remarked centuries ago, that no tyranny is so intolerable as that where the law is vague and uncertain.

We have commenced to doubt as to the excellence of our institutions in India. We know that our Judges are very untrained, and generally very ignorant. There are now two great parties in the State, one upholding a rigid system, where the Judge is but part of a machine, and often the tool of the litigant; the other asserting the merits of a rough and ready system, where form is nothing, but where justice is often missed more from the want of skill than the want of will of the Judge. We find ourselves hopelessly dissociated from the Courts of the home country, and the Royal Courts of the Presidencies. Let us consider then the complete and elaborate organization of the French Courts, which not only unites the whole mother country in one judicial net, but through the agency of affiliated Courts extends to Algiers and the colonies, where tribunals, fewer in number yet co-ordinate in grade, act in harmony, and without conflict of jurisdiction or uncertainty of practice. At the head of all presides the Keeper of the Seals, one of the Ministry, and responsible for the administration of justice. We admit that France by such a centralized organization has sacrificed her constitutional liberty, but that does not render her institutions less an example for India, where, say what you will, no constitutional liberty does or can be allowed to exist either for Asiatic or European.

The highest Court is the Court of Cassation, which is fixed at Paris. It possesses supreme appellate and disciplinary powers over all the lower tribunals. It is divided into three Chambers. The first is employed in receiving petitions of appeal, and deciding whether there is any legal point to submit to the second Chamber, which decides on the construction of law only. The third Chamber decides on criminal appeals. The number of Judges is very numerous, no less than forty-seven, and every judgment must be given by eleven members or a majority of votes. In settling legal points it is their duty to look to the spirit, and not the dead letter of the law.

Next in rank come the Courts, which change their names on each change of Government, and have been designated Royal, National, and now finally Imperial during the last ten years. They have both Criminal and Civil powers, and are located in the twenty-seven most notable cities of the Empire, including Paris. In that city the number of Judges is no less than sixty-six divided into five Chambers, three for the despatch of Civil appeals, two for Criminal cases. The smallest Court of this rank has two Chambers, and twenty Judges, for seven are required for the disposal of every Civil, and five for every Criminal trial. A deputation of this body also forms periodically Courts of Assize, to try serious offences with the aid of a Jury at the head-quarters of each department. Within the jurisdiction of each Imperial Court is included one or more departments, and there is no unit of the administrative system which corresponds precisely with these limits. As each grade of Courts has a certain limit of final jurisdiction, it follows that a large class of cases allow of no appeal, and the litigants are always at liberty by mutual consent to bind themselves to agree to the decision of the lower Courts. There is a certain limited class of cases, in which the Imperial Courts have primary jurisdiction.

Next in rank come the Courts of first instance which are located in each arrondissement, exercising jurisdiction over the same extent of country as the Sous-Prefet or Deputy Commissioner. The department, presided over by the Prefet or Commissioner, as stated above, has no separate legal tribunal. The *tribunals of the arrondissement* have both Civil and Criminal power, and are divided into Chambers, according to the extent of business. At Paris there are eight, of which six dispose of Civil, and two of Criminal cases. Three Judges compose a Court. There are three hundred and sixty-three of these Courts, and by them the great mass of the legal work of the whole country is disposed of.

But it is at this point of the French institutions that we discover that the men who planted the foundation of the legal system, were not lawyers who looked on Courts as preserves for their sport and profit, but citizens and statesmen. The great curse of all Courts is the delays, the expenses and the distance to be travelled by litigants and witnesses. So much also depends upon local inspection, and special knowledge: so much may be done to stay a suit "in initio" by a few words of conciliation, by a correct expounding of the law, or a mild reasoning with wrong-headed persons. Parties, once committed to a struggle, forget the origin of the affair in the excitement of the struggle. The *pugnacious* feelings of a man are excited, and he unblushingly exposes the secrets of his family, he makes disingenuous suppressions of the truth, or hazards through a hireling spokesman downright falsehood. Cases of an entangled nature arise, which none but those whose daily life is spent on them can satisfactorily decide. The Assembly recognized these wants, and instituted

I. The Juges des Paix.
II. Conseil des Prud'hommes.
III. Tribunal de Commerce.
IV. Conseil de Famille.

It is to these that the attention of the Indian Legislature requires more particularly to be drawn, for in all attempts at "conciliation," in all effective use of "experts," "municipal institutions," or "family organizations," we are sadly deficient. It may be replied that the Sudder Courts, the Courts of Civil and Sessions Judges, and the Moonsiff's Court fairly represent the Court of Cassation, the Imperial Court, and the Tribunal of first instance, but what have we to represent the four characteristics on the examination of which we now proceed to enter? Yet if Law be made for every degree, if the interests of the poor, of the villagers who happily live remote from the local Courts, are to be considered, we have still before us in the greater part of India the task of constituting popular Courts, or of working those in existence in an efficient manner.

The "Juge de Paix" is located in every canton, and they amount to 2,849 in number. A canton is the smallest unit in the system of aggregation of villages for administrative purposes. It corresponds to the Pergunnah of India, and the powers vested in the Juge de Paix correspond very much to those entrusted by the Punjaub Government to the Tuhseeldars. The object is to bring home justice within a reasonable distance of the doors of every subject. They occupy the lowest grade of the judicial hierarchy, and are not necessarily trained lawyers, but are required to possess some legal knowledge, as the tendency of modern French Legislation is to widen the jurisdiction of these popular Courts. On the Criminal side they are Courts of simple Police, and dispose summarily of petty cases, adjudging a sentence of imprisonment of from one to five days, and a fine not exceeding fifteen francs. They assist also the higher Courts in conducting local inquiries, and in supplying links of evidence. On the Civil side they play a most important game: their vocation is triple.

I. To conciliate litigants, if possible: they are forbidden to issue a citation, until they have sent a private notice, and tried to arrange matters.

II. To decide finally in cases below 100 francs, and liable to appeal above 100 francs.

III. Certain extra-judicial functions, such as attending at

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opening of wills, presiding at family councils, giving validity to certain legal acts, such as adoption, majority, &c.

Certain other special matters are entrusted to this important local officer for the convenience of the parties.

I. All quarrels of travellers with inn-keepers, and letters of horses and other means of conveyance.

II. All questions as to the amount of indemnity to be paid by landlord or tenant.

III. Suits for rents, repairs, hire of servants and labourers, injury to property by man and beast, defamation by word of mouth, personal quarrels: in all these cases a final decision can be given up to 100 francs, and subject to appeal indefinitely.

IV. Suits with regard to possession, or rights of vicinage, where the possession is not contested; claims for maintenance on the part of relatives: such matters require local knowledge, and often local inspection, but the decisions are open to appeal.

Moreover, if the litigants agree to waive the appeal, and abide by the decision of the local Judge, they are at liberty to do so by signing a previous declaration to that effect. This is an old maxim of Roman law. "Judex, qui ad certam summam judicare jussus est, etiam de re majori judicare potest, si inter litigatores conveniat." Men are not so bad as we paint them: they are often desirous of arriving at a peaceful solution of a struggle, though not inclined to surrender, until a competent Judge has explained the law, ascertained the facts, and declared his view. It is a mercy therefore to attempt to conciliate before expenses are incurred, to give a power of final decision up to a certain extent, and to allow the parties in cases naturally open to appeal, to bind themselves to abide by the decision of the Court. France is indebted to England for the name of the "Juge de Paix," for in the first dawn of their Revolution they looked to their free neighbour for example; but the office is expanded far beyond the attributes of that singularly inefficient, and unqualified functionary, called "Justice of the Peace" in England, and we should do well in British India to adopt as much of the French models as suit our other institutions. On this line the Punjaub Government is marching: in the Pergunnah Court, though confessedly crude and faulty, we still see the germ of a tribunal which will supply cheap and ready advice, protection and justice to the circle of villages which lie around it. And until we effect this, we have done nothing.

To give some idea of the extent to which conciliation will work, we may state that in one year more than three million notices *without charge* were issued, calling upon the *parties* to attend to hear reason: more than one million cases were disposed of in this amiable way: in half a million the attempts failed; of the remainder no tidings were received, as no notice was taken of the friendly summons. In all these cases the preliminary of conciliation was optional, but in a large class of cases the attempt *must* precede a formal citation. In 44,000 cases, where parties were summoned and appeared in person, about 20,000 were arranged by the Juge de Paix without having occasion to proceed to law. There is a large class of cases which come before Indian Courts, which would be disposed of in this way, especially the quarrels about marriage and betrothal contracts. But when once money has been spent in law expenses, and the parties have been committed to the struggle, the question is, who can lie the most cleverly and dissemble most cunningly.

We come now to the "Conseil des Prud' hommes," the Court of Industrial Judges, which is established in every commercial town to settle quarrels betwixt workmen and their masters. Through this institution also that vein of sound wisdom develops itself, which teaches that a difference composed by advice is better than a strife decided by a judgment. These Courts occupy precisely in commercial matters the same position that the Juge de Paix occupies in Civil. The Council is elective and composed of masters and workmen, and is divided into two chambers. The former assembles in private for the purpose of conciliation, the latter in public to adjudicate in those cases where the friendly attempts of the first chamber have failed. Five is the number of the public, and two of the private Court; their jurisdiction is final up to the value of 200 francs, and, subject to appeal to the Tribunal of Commerce, unlimited. Of the value of these Courts an idea may be formed from the fact, that 28,000 disputes were brought before them, and no less than 26,800 decided without litigation by the Conciliation Chamber. In many of the remaining cases the terms, fixed by that Chamber, but refused at first, were eventually accepted. No wonder that the veteran legal reformer, Lord Brougham, has persistently urged this measure, and more especially during the last Session, in consequence of the great Strike of workmen. As long as the sword is the only arbiter of external, and Strikes of internal quarrels, we doubt whether the European world is really advancing in the path of actual civilization. The year 1859 has effectually shown that Europe and England are little advanced beyond the state of savages still.

In great commercial towns the necessity is soon experienced for Judges with special qualifications, a knowledge of trade customs and trade names, a grasp for accounts, and a particular turn of mind, to dispose of the numerous cases which hourly arise in the ordinary current of business. This necessity has given birth in France to the existence of "Tribunals of Commerce." They do not exist in a separate individuality in every arrondissement, and in some more than one exists: where no separate Court has been formed, the Civil tribunal disposes of such few cases as may arise, but with a summary procedure. Where they are separately constituted, they consist of not less than two, and not more than fourteen Judges. A list of notables is prepared by the Prefect according to the number of the population who elect the members of the Court: the qualification is, that they have conducted their commercial business with honour and distinction, of which fact the electors are moral judges. The appointment lasts two years, and is unremunerated; the parties may be once re-elected, and after an interval for a third time: they are immoveable, and are at liberty to continue their particular trade, but, should they have relations in a great number, that is an objection. Those Judges form a Court, and their forms are simple and procedure rapid. Extra-judicially they have complete jurisdiction in all cases of bankruptcy, in affairs relating to notes of exchange lost or protested, and other mercantile contingencies. Judicially they adjudicate in every case which is legally defined to be an "Act of Commerce," by whomsoever performed. The consequences are more than merely formal, for a sentence of a fine of 200 Rs. carries with it always personal imprisonment. Neither the producing nor the consuming classes are liable to this Court, but only those who by way of speculation make a profit of the difference betwixt the price charged by the producer and that paid by the consumer. Real property also is not affected. We may define the jurisdiction as mixed, affecting certain relations of certain men, with a finality within the value of 1500 francs, and liable to appeal to the Imperial Court indefinitely. Although these Courts have an absolute incompetence further than special cases and special parties, yet when a quarrel arises regarding a cheque signed by a non-commercial party, it may by consent of parties be made over to the Commercial Tribunal.

Numerous are the cases of discord in a family, which should never see the light, but which under the unfeeling policy of the Anglo-Indian Courts are brought at once into the broad glare of the Court amidst the shame of the litigants, and the derision of the bystanders. Numerous are the cases of doubt and difficulty, especially in the family of the widow, the minor, and the issue of double or ill-assorted marriages, where the voice of legitimate authority is required to compose the strife, and arrange *for the* future. The sudden death of the head of the house, sets *rival* wives, the mothers of rival families, by the ears. Step-is rancorous against step-mother. Each demands more and gets less than his own right. The village, or quarter of the town, is scandalized at the curtain being thus raised that screened the privacy of a respectable citizen, whose body, if a Mahomedan, is still feasting the jackalls in the adjoining cemetery, or whose ashes, if a Hindoo, are still tied up in a napkin preparatory to their transport to the Ganges. Respectable men with tears in their eyes have sought our advice in such hard cases. Is there no alternative betwixt dragging into Court the wife of their father, and submitting to being deprived of the jewels and paraphernalia of their own deceased mother? Must the accounts of the firm be laid open in full Court before half-brothers can relax the gripe on each other's throat, which commenced on the death of their parent? Must the minor be plundered for want of some system in his household? Is not dowry to be given to the orphan girl? For the settlement of such like difficulties the admirable institution of the "Conseil de Famille" presents a ready remedy. Composed of the agnates and cognates of the parties, they are legally convened by the Juge de Paix: all attempt to deceive them will fall through: ordinarily they will have the credit of the family at heart, and even supposing that they could not get the litigants to agree to their award, still their recorded opinion of what is right, and their discovery of the value of the property, will furnish the regular Courts with materials for a safe decree.

We have thus passed under review the different Courts of Justice, and for the sake of clearly defining their particular Civil and Criminal powers we recapitulate them. On the Civil side there is the Court of Cassation for all France, the 27 Imperial Courts, the 363 Civil Tribunals of arrondissements, the Commercial Tribunals, sometimes identical with but generally separate from the Civil Tribunals, the 2849 Juges de Paix in each canton, the Conseil des Prud'hommes, and the Conseil de Famille, which last partakes more of the character of a domestic institution than an actual Court, and by the nature of things has no fixed "personel." On the Criminal side we have the same Judges employed, with the exception of the Commercial Tribunal, and Conseil des Prud'hommes, but in a different way. In the Court of Cassation there is no change: but from the Courts Imperial a deputation is formed to hold a quarterly assize at the chief town of each one of the departments within their jurisdiction, and an extraordinary Session occasionally. This Court disposes, with the help of a Jury, of all crimes as defined in the Penal Code: in the case of the absence of the offender the Court pass sentence "par contumace" without a Jury. The Court is composed of one President, chosen by the Government, and ten assessors delegated from the Court Imperial, or the Civil Tribunal of the arrondissement: but before a case can be committed to this Court of assize, it has to pass before the "Chambre d' Accusation," which is composed of five members of the Imperial Court.

To each Civil Tribunal, located in each arrondissement, is attached a Correctional Chamber, which composed of three members disposes, without a Jury, of all cases which come under the head of "delits" in the Penal Code, and the punishment of which amounts to fine or imprisonment only. But one Judge is specially told off, as Judge d' Instruction, to conduct investigations and preliminary inquiry, so as to bring the matter to a focus, before it is sent to the competent court for final disposal. The Procureur General may, if he like, make up his own case by help of the Juge de Paix, or otherwise, and send it before the proper Court; but, where a party is arrested, the case must go before the Juge d' Instruction.

The mention of the awful name of the Procureur General opens out a new feature of the French system, known as the "Ministère Public," and technically the "Parquet." It is too often forgotten, that in every Criminal trial and in the majority of Civil trials, society has an interest, a deep interest, that the laws should not be misinterpreted, that criminals should not escape, that public morality should not be scandalized, that nuisances shall be put down. To expect that the Judge should attend to such things, as in India, often diminishes from his independent and impartial bearing: to leave it to the individual prosecutor, or the neighbourhood, or some busybody, is to let matters take their chance. It has therefore been the practice of the French Courts for three centuries, that there should be a paid Agent of the Executive Government, attached to the Court of Cassation and to each of the twenty-seven Imperial Courts, and three hundred and sixty-three Civil Tribunals, to represent the Government and protect the interests of society. The whole of this vast body is under the orders of the Keeper of the Seals, and they are possessed of great powers, and exercise an enormous influence on the actions of the Courts. Destructive as such a system no doubt is to constitutional independence, on the other hand, a wonderful uniformity and energy is secured to the administrative machine. The measure has often been agitated in England, but with little success, and the idea of a public prosecutor in each Court, and a Minister of Justice at the head of the whole judicial hierarchy, but himself a member of the Executive Government, has been repeatedly ventilated. It is one of those questions, on which a great deal can be said on both sides, and in India the great expense which it would entail, and the indifferent machinery which offers itself, render the scheme hopeless.

This leads us on to the consideration of one of the radical differences betwixt the English and French Judicial systems. Criminal law has two views.

I. The inquisitorial, where a public investigation is held with the object of ascertaining the truth, and inflicting a punishment.

II. The litigious, where a private litigation is being conducted betwixt two persons, one of whom tries to persuade the Judge that the other falls within a class, against whom the law has denounced certain punishments.

Both these views have been pushed to an extravagant length, and in France the prisoner is brow-beaten, questioned, entangled in traps, the object being to discover the truth. In English law a false leniency is shown to the accused, for, if innocent, the more ample his disclosures, and the greater assistance which he renders the Judge, the more certain and honourable his acquittal: while, if guilty, society is injured, and the Judge condemned by his acquittal. In the Anglo-Indian Courts a just medium is sought for, and while threats or promises are forbidden, the accused is questioned fully, and, although the wicked folly of forced confessions has long since been admitted, sources of more trustworthy evidence are often indicated by the statements of the prisoner on close examination.

As may be gathered from the above narrative, the number of Judges in France is very great, the salaries are very small: the appointments are for life, and this privilege appears to be abused, as the present Emperor of the French is most unjustly charged with the *shameful* tyranny of declaring that at the age of seventy-five, Judges of the Court of Cassation, and at the age of seventy, Judges of the lower Court, are to be superannuated on a pension. To give an idea of the number of Judges we add the following statement:—

		Judges.
1	Court of Cassation, ...	24
27	Imperial Courts, ...	900
363	Civil Tribunals, ...	1,576
391		2,500
	Juges de Paix, ...	3,000
	Grand Total	5,500

The total charge to the State is about £600,000 per annum. The pay of a Juge de Paix is only £40 per annum with some fees, and the pay of the higher Judges is ridiculously small, but in France the aspiration of all is to be in Government employ. In England one and sixty Judges absorb £300,000 annually. In India we should be afraid to say how much was spent, though we know with how little result. One consequence of the vast number of Judges, in spite of their death grasp on office, is that the Bar cannot supply sufficient candidates, even if the slender salaries would tempt a man of ability to resign his private practice. Certain qualifications with regard to age, morals, education tests, relationships, are required to precede nomination, which is vested in the Executive Government, and Judges are liable to removal by the Court of Cassation for bad conduct, but the number of conflicting oaths which they have to take to Kings, Republics, Presidents, and Emperors, on each turn of the political hour-glass, must be trying to the feelings of even a septuagenarian Judge. In the arrangements for supplying vacancies in case of illness by supplementary Judges, for partitioning the work into tribunals, securing the tour of service, keeping up urgent work during vacation, preventing partiality and indifference,—in all these matters the arrangements of the Legislature are above praise.

The organization of departments, and the centralization of the judicial and executive functions, which France wrought for herself at the Revolution, have hopelessly destroyed her fitness for constitutional liberty. When to this is added the cloud of petty placemen, the 500,000 Military, the 600,000 Civil employés, who depend for their bread on a fiat from Paris, what wonder if the new Prefect who arrives by rail, and the new order which is conveyed by telegraph, should be quietly obeyed? There are no ramparts of Provincial customs, local magnates, or antiquated formalities, to stay the stream. Anglo-India thoroughly resembles France in these particulars. There is an infinity of small places revocable at pleasure, and the general feeling among the better classes is, that, to be thoroughly a gentleman, a post under Government must be obtained. The division of the power of the State into three elements, Executive, Legislative, and Judicial, in theory may be true, but under a strong and despotic Government all merges in the Executive. If the Judges are not liable to removal except for misconduct, they have always the temptation of promotion before them, and the same hands are now by popular consent entrusted with judicial and executive powers. *In the best administered Provinces the rule is the most despotic:* the best check in abuse is the firm hand of the Governor: posts are neither hereditary, nor freeholds, nor, as in France, to be bought and sold by private arrangement, which is a more fatal abuse than patronage and nepotism. Such for many a year, if we continue to hold the country, must be the constitution of India.

We have ourselves sat in the French Courts, both in Paris and the Provinces, listened to eloquent pleadings, and watched with interest the details of trials both civil and criminal, with India always in our thoughts; for we have sate and may sit again many a weary hour in the Cutcherries of Anglo-India. We may say with safety, that we have visited every variety of Court in England from the Queen's Bench to the country Magistrates' weekly meeting, and therefore in forming an opinion we have brought knowledge of other Courts to bear on the subject. All the French Courts are well located, generally in handsome new buildings, for a rage for architectural extravagance has lately seized the country. Paris is however the model of the rest. The famous "Chambre des Pas Perdus" looks small when Westminster Hall is thought of, over which many a weary foot treads, waiting till the abundant nonsense of each counsel has exhausted itself. The same kind of people hang about the purlieus of all Courts, whether in Europe or Asia—the half-witted old woman, the emaciated hatchet-faced man, always waiting for somebody, the bristling attorney, the puckered-forehead Barrister, the petition-writer with his inkhorn, the touter with his keen scent for an unsatisfied wrong. The interiors of the French Courts have a speciality of their own: the bust of the Emperor is now seen upon the bracket over the door which lately held the bust of France, and before that the bust of Louis Philippe, and before that, of Charles X. What becomes of the banished plaster-casts, when their original is smashed, is not known. Opposite to the bust is a picture of the crucifixion: in France religions do not change, so this instance of a most unjust sentence stands as a warning to all Judges. Both these ornaments appear to us to be objectionable and uncalled for. The row of Judges in black gowns and little square hats is imposing: the bar, and the Government officers occupy their proper place, and the public are provided with convenient seats, and take a keen interest in what is going on. One old woman in our hearing spoke out, but was mildly repressed by the Court officer. The presence of the everlasting gens d'arme is odious, but it seems to be the fatality of France. The plaintiff and defendant had separate seats assigned to them, and each counsel was armed with a portfolio, containing the papers of his case written in an ordinary manner, and not in the English technically *brief* style, or in as tedious and lengthy a way as possible. The witnesses were not sworn in the English or Anglo-Indian fashion. They had not to gabble unutterable nonsense after the sheriff's officer, or to have a wordy skirmish with the Nazir before they could be prevailed upon to make their affirmation, but, having been asked their name, age, parentage, and place of residence, they were directed to hold up their hands; and charged or administered to speak the truth. This appears to be a very sensible practice.* In each Court were notices and proclamations tabled on screens for public reference: over the door of each Court was set up in large letters the name of the Court, and for the convenience of the public directions were printed on the walls. At the close of each assizes a list of parties sentenced for disgraceful offences, was stuck up, and a separate placard for absconders, who were sentenced "en contumace" to a term of years, and deprived of property and citizenship. Cases of punishment for cheating, such as watering milk, were published in the *Gazette,* and a placard by order of Court affixed to the door of offender, all at the expense of the culprit, who was fined and imprisoned also, but he had the singular privilege of paying his fine, and taking his term in prison, whenever he liked, during the course of the year.

In their proper place at the close of the statistics of France Proper comes the notice of French Algeria, subject to the same laws, which are administered by members of the same hierarchy. The settler, in moving from one part of the French dominions to the other, finds no conflict of jurisdictions, no diversity of Codes. Where the French flags fly, there is the Code Napoleon in force: the same Court of Cassation, and the same Minister of Justice, at Paris, see that the laws are properly administered, and that the affiliated Courts in the colony obey the law of the mother country. For the wild and unsettled tribes the "Bureau Arabe," presided over by a gallant officer, occupies somewhat of the position of a Political Officer's Court in India.

And nowhere in the French institutions do we find the black spot which disgraces our own, the distinction betwixt man and man, the enactment of one law for one class of British subjects, and a second for one less favoured. The French have introduced the best systems in their power, and enforce it alike on all, circumcised or uncircumcised, whether a citizen or a stranger. It is taking the very lowest view of our position in India to have such a care for the Anglo-Saxon only amidst the great family of nations. Let the free American citizen, the French, the German settler, take his chance, let the Yorkshireman and Irishman be protected. It is a low view to care only for the white faces, (including some very yellow ones, by courtesy European British subjects,) and not to remember, that this country was given to us, that we might deal justly with the vast indigenous population, and give them the very best, cheapest, and simplest forms of justice, that science can suggest or energy work out.

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* In India in the matter of oaths we appear to be working round in a circle, and to come back to the point where we originally started. We hardly believe our eyes, when we find the re-introduction proposed, of the Koran, and Gungajul, the Pundit, and the Moola again. Do those, who advocate such measures, recollect, that, when they appeal to a man's religious feelings, they invoke considerations, which, if outraged, it rests with a higher power to vindicate. Jupiter reserves to himself the discharge of his own thunderbolts. If a Hindu believes that there is a sanctity in the Ganges, which he outrages by perjury, the Ganges must vindicate the insult: if there is a value in the Koran, it is not for us to support it. What the earthly Judge should do, is to warn the witness to speak the truth, and perjury should be punished as a gross contempt of Court, and conspiracy to injure an individual, or thwart the ends of justice.

We have thus seen how the French Courts, constructed on a harmonious system, are capable of expansion. Let us to look to India, and consider how different a position the Courts founded by Royal Charter in the Presidency have occupied, and still continue to occupy. Have they contributed any thing towards improving the Courts of the Mofussil by example or precept? Have they not done their worst to degrade them? Highly paid are the Judges, though by no means of the second or third rank in their profession at home: highly paid are the Council, and the attorney, and the official hive:- the question is, whether justice is worth buying at such a price, and whether any country could support such a charge. In France so numerous are the Judges that the Bar cannot supply the ranks, and in India so highly paid are the Royal Judges, that no country could support a multiplication of such cormorants. And how unedifying is the position of the Judge in his own Court, where he cannot understand one word uttered by a witness, nor can the Bar help him; yet it is generally supposed that there is much in the tone and expression, and the rapidity with which the cross-questioner follows up the hint, and drives an equivocator into a corner. All this is lost, when the evidence has to be daily doled out by the only interpreter. No one can witness a trial in the Supreme Court without a certain degree of shame for the institutions of Anglo-India.

As we stated above, we need not look to the English Courts for examples: there are as many varieties, but all of a hopelessly inflexible Anglo-Saxon stamp. What a sad sight is the assembly in the Sessions Court! What! all that ermine and puckered-forehead on the Bench, all those bold brazen foreheads in horse hair wigs at the Bar, all those hungry attornies crouching beneath, those pikes, javelin men, Sheriffs, Jailers, great Jury, little Jury, ladies in the gallery, and women with babies crushed in the passages—is all that machinery brought periodically into action to try that shock-headed poacher, that downcast child-murderess? In truth, what with the smell, the irregularity of their meals, the novelty of the scene, the threats of the Council, and the awfully wise look of the Judge, the petty farmer, who has left his homestead knowing that his hay is out and that there is a chance of rain, is in anything but a judicial frame of mind, but he is called upon to give minute evidence as a witness, or to agree with eleven other gentlemen on a verdict. No wonder that there are contradictions in evidence, and compromises in the verdicts of juries.

Still more unsatisfactory was the sight which we had of the Quarter Sessions. A motley party of country Magistrates drop in, country squires, clergy, private individuals, under the guidance of a knowing individual, perhaps a Barrister, as Chairman. In one case on the civil side relating to a poor-rate on a railroad nearly the whole Court was disqualified, as shareholders, and the decision of a most difficult question had to be entrusted to a most inferior Court, selected because they had no shares. On the criminal side the depositions were not forthcoming, and the Clerk of the Court pleaded as an excuse that he could not get quarters at the Hotel owing to the County Ball, and threw back the blame on the Magistrate's clerk. Nor was the mode of conducting the trial, or the mode in which the Committals had been prepared by the unpaid agency of the country Magistrate, in any way edifying. But the climax of all is the weekly gathering of the country Magistrates in their own jurisdiction, the summary fining of rows of citizens for allowing their chimneys to smoke, the discussion of the merits of the case, while bread and cheese is being handed round, the only suggestion of the clerk who is generally an attorney, and who possesses the legal conscience of the Court, the sapient resolution of the Bench. These things baffle all description, but it is the glory of England, and the constitutional safeguard, that all should be done by the country through its own agency, ill paid or unpaid, and as regards England, who would wish to change it, and accept the evils which must accompany centralization?

One word on the Bar and the officials of the French Courts. The "Avocats" correspond to our Barristers, and have the monopoly of the ear of the Courts with some trifling exceptions. It would be idle to say ought in praise of that illustrious body. Beneath them, and in some respects jostling with them, come the class of "Avoués," who do not but in exceptional cases open their mouth in Court, but have the monopoly of the formalities and the procedure of the Courts. Suitors must go to one of them, they are considered a part of the Ministerial officers of the Court, and their offices, we regret to say, are bought and sold. The history of this custom is traced back to the Roman law, by which the defendant was hauled into Court "obtorto collo." Gradually *procurators* were allowed. In France a license was first required to admit a representative, but this rigour was relaxed, and for 300 years the practice has prevailed, though at the Revolution the name of Procurateur, which like the name of Vakeel stunk in the nostrils of mankind, was abolished, and the new class of "Avoués" formed, who have the privilege of making appearances, and drawing pleadings for suitors, while the Avocats have the privilege of the argument. This is the old story of two people being employed to do one man's work, and the lawyers are too strong to be put down. The question of appearing by person, or representative, is one of those which are under discussion at this moment in India. If we could presume that all cases were simple and capable of decision on the spot, personal presence would be desirable, but in no phase of society, least of all in India, is that possible. Time is an element in the Judicial system. It is clear that the rule for personal attendance cannot be made absolute, as in the case of women, children, invalids, soldiers on service, absentees, and parties of high rank, it would amount to a denial of justice. Moreover in many commercial, and agricultural matters the principal is not so well informed as his manager. It is desirable that the principals should, if possible, attend, and a full discovery be made from their examinations; but it often happens that the unskilled litigant knows not his own strong points, has no power of drawing out the facts from witnesses, he remains impassive in the hands of the Judge, and the suit falls though from sheer stupidity, or reticence: or wearied by necessary delays he goes home, and abandons his case. On the other hand the professional Vakeel is the curse of the Court, as he delights in prolonging the case, in suggesting falsehood, and suppressing truth. Will then this middle way, adopted in the French Courts, answer in India, according to which there is a certain body of men under the orders of the Judge, whose duty it is to assist the litigants in the disposal of their suits without unduly encouraging or procrastinating litigation?

An annual report on the conduct of Civil and Criminal justice is submitted by the Keeper of the Seals to the Emperor: it is accompanied by statements statistical, and tabulated figures, far more elaborate and numerous than any thing known in England or India. We unjustly suppose that Anglo-India is the only country overwhelmed with returns, forms and officials. France, the most advanced and refined administration in Europe, is ten times more oppressed by over-government, appeals, formalities, and returns. *Let us not imitate these blemishes.* We are bound to do our best to shake off the yoke of the Regulations, and the bondage of red-tape, having neither time nor taste for the infatuated crave for "Nukshahs" which, like a blight, has settled on even the most advanced and enlightened Governments. Let the mass be analyzed: they must be either statistical or administrative; there is room for extensive pruning; and let those, which are absolutely necessary, be brief, few, expressive, and exact. If the Head of the Government does not know the detail of every village, he is spared a great deal of unpleasant knowledge. We remark that the Keeper of the Seals complains of the insufficient number of Judges, the deplorable arrears, the increase of miscellaneous work, and the delay arising from the multiplicity of formality: these are evidently a common affliction over all the world. Most laudable also are his endeavours to reduce the number of arrests previous to trial, and to prevent, as well as punish, crime. In late English statistics also we find that the evil disposed classes are accurately enumerated, for London and Paris, like the Punjab and Oudh, have their predatory and vagrant tribes, who live like Arabs with their hands against all the world, and who must be coerced by preventive measures. It is only lately that we have discovered in India that punishment of crime is not sufficient, and in dealing with predatory tribes *we must anticipate by prevention.*

There was a time when we could afford to be virtuously indignant at the Special Commissions which have been convened in France, outside the ordinary Courts, to punish political offenders. They are no more a part of the French, than of the Anglo-Indian system. We must no longer judge harshly the Russian, the Austrian, the French, or Italian Governments, for they have all gone through the fiery baptism of revolution, massacre, plunder and insult. In France few have not had relations killed either by the people, or the sovereign: in the ups and downs of politics many classes have tasted power, and hope to taste it again, have had to run for their lives, have seen their houses smoking, have heard their females shrieking, and fear the same thing again. We Englishmen in the calm still water of a settled constitution have never known this, and we wonder why sovereigns imprison, execute, banish and confiscate. We wonder why peoples writhe, revolt, massacre, and plunder. *The iron has now entered into our own souls.* The Austrian Haynau and Radetsky do but represent Nicolson and Havelock. Metternich is but another Dalhousie, and Goorchakoff on the Caucasus did but act as John Lawrence in the Punjaub. We inconsistently sympathise with Schamyl, Kossuth, and Abdool Kadir, while we execrate the Emperor of Delhi, Tantia Topee, and Deewan Moolraj, forgetting that private crime always accompanies public excitement, for the passions of men become then uncontrolled.

We can never in India criticize Special Commissions again.

In the moment of triumph after an internecine struggle, in the hour of revenge, God forgive the word, the Anglo-Indian and the Creole forgot the moderation of the Christian, and the cry was for judicial massacre. It was hard for those who arrived in each ship from England with feelings less keenly strong, to restrain the evil passions which invoked the name of justice, and blended the name of Christianity with the most wholesale destruction. For these who fell by the sword, in the siege, on the battle-field or in the skirmish, we have not one word to say; for those mutinous soldiers, who, foiled in their mutiny, were brought to that stake on which they wished to impale their officers and the European population, we have nothing to urge: they had ceased to be men, and became wild beasts, and were drowned in rivers, hunted across the country, hung in tens and twenties, disposed of by scores at evening shooting parties, and got rid of: for every one that perished a hundred lives of the peaceful community were saved, for with arms in their hands murder and rapine had became their only business. But sad is the story of the dreary Reign of Terror, while the Special Commissions lasted, the imperfect investigation, the prejudiced Court, the indecent haste, no confronting of the accused with the witnesses, no time for exculpation, for the gallows are opposite the window. We were indeed struggling not only for power but for life, and atrocious crimes were being committed, and many came under condemnation justly. But for the simple herd, the ferrymen who plied their boat at the wrong time, the peasants who had newly coined copper coins on their person, the dishonest chaprassees who appropriated the Government cash, the unhappy "suspected" whose witnesses were afraid to come to clear him—for these, and many like them, when the great Book of Judgment is unrolled, it will only *then* be known why they were sentenced, and for what crime they died.

ART. V.—1. *The "Indian Annals of Medical Science." Articles on the Means of Preserving the Health of European Soldiers in India.* By NORMAN CHEVERS, M. D. Calcutta; R. C. Lepage & Co. January, 1859.

2. *A Digest of the Vital Statistics of the European and Native Armies in India; Interspersed with Suggestions for the Eradication and Mitigation of the preventive and avoidable causes of Sickness and Mortality amongst imported and indigenous Troops.* By JOSEPH EWART, M. D. Bengal Medical Service. London: Smith Elder & Co. 1859.

"HEALTH" says Montaigne "is one of the most precious of gifts; without this, life itself is scarcely tolerable; pleasure, wisdom and learning, destitute of this, lose all their attractions." The artist must have health, or to paint will become a hopeless drudgery rather than a pleasure. The author must have health, or sink under an occupation which requires not only patience and skill but undivided attention and concentration of all the powers of the mind. The physician must have a certain amount of health, or his patients will be unwilling to confide in him, and conjure up doubts respecting his skill if, while treating their disorders, he is incompetent to cure his own. Of far more importance is health to the soldier, who has not only to brave the dangers of battle but to undergo cheerfully, when required, innumerable hardships with forced marches and indifferent food in all climates, some of which must necessarily be injurious to the European constitution. No one will deny that the possession of full bodily vigour is demanded in a higher degree of the soldier than of those who are determined by accident, or from any better motive, to make choice of another profession. The duties of the soldier are somewhat similar to those of the Police and Fireman, for he is compelled to be abroad at all seasons and to endure the extremes both of heat and cold. But night duties alone will not account for the high rate of mortality among men who are carefully examined on enlistment by the inspecting Surgeon, and are proved to be fitted in every way either for home or foreign service. The truth is, as a medical writer remarks, "in all European armies, 'more men are sacrificed by disease than by the sword, and the 'laurel is at least as often withered on the hero's brow by the 'pestilential blast of contagion, as torn from it by the nervous 'arm of strength." And the same idea is more graphically expressed by Johnson. "The life of a modern soldier is ill-represented by heroic fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with

‘France and Spain, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and were at last whelmed in pits or heaved into the ocean, without notice or remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless and enterprize impracticable, fleets are silently dispeopled and armies sluggishly melted away.”

The health of our army in India is a subject of the first importance, and we cannot do otherwise than suggest that as the British Government is wont to take greater care of her criminals than to prevent crime, so it is likely enough that greater care is taken to cure the British soldier when a victim of disease in hospital, than to adopt precautionary measures in order to protect him from its ravages. That prevention is better than cure is a truth that it would be absurd to attempt to gainsay, and if by any remarks which we may throw out in dealing with the subject of the health of European soldiers in India we should lighten in any measure the labours of the Army Surgeon, our object will be more than accomplished.

To assert that India possesses a hot climate, is perfectly correct, because heat is the property of every tropical region, but strictly speaking it possesses very many different climates, more or less congenial for the European race. The causes of climate are, according to Malte-Brun, nine in number:—

1st. The action of the sun upon the atmosphere.

2nd. The interior temperature of the globe.

3rd. Elevation of the earth above the level of the ocean.

4th. The general inclination of the surface and its local exposure.

6th. The neighbourhood of great seas and their relative situation.

7th. Geological nature of the soil.

8th. Degree of cultivation and of population at which a country has arrived.

9th. The prevailing winds.

An undulating country, not devoid of trees which tend to reduce temperature, one may naturally expect to offer a more healthy climate than the low lying marshy district, like the site of Calcutta; and when varying in India from two to six thousand feet above the sea it is undoubtedly agreeable as well, and admirably adapted, provided it is fertile, to the requirements of the European settler. “The climate of the Neilgherries,” says Captain Ochterlony, “is most magnificent; in fact you have half 'a dozen climates there. There are four distinct English settle-'ments there, every one of which has a different climate. If a 'man comes up with a particular disease he is sent to a climate 'which is suitable to him, if a man comes there with a liver com-'plaint he is able to get just that sort of climate which suits him, 'and which produces an action on the skin. It is the greatest bless-'ing to us that we have this district of the Neilgherries—it has 'never been half appreciated"* The hill district, if not too elevated when it is apt to induce bowel complaints, affords a refuge not only from fevers, but from Asiatic cholera which rarely visits the mountain station, but rages sporadically and endemically in the plains. The inter-tropical hill stations, it is generally acknowledged, are much more healthy than the Himalayan sanitaria. But the hill station is hurtful not only in inflammatory disorders whether acute or chronic, in fevers continued and remittent, and in all organic visceral diseases, but in cases of gout and rheumatism, dysentery, diarrhœa, and of cerebral affection. It must be borne in mind that the hill climates are of little avail in cases of chronic disease, which might be prevented if troops were permitted to pass a few seasons at the hills at the commencement of their Indian career, instead of being exposed at various unhealthy stations "to all the destructive effects of unrestrained and reckless debau-'chery in the Bazars." The intense heat of the plains for a short period is not unhealthy, but it is the constant exposure to heat in tropical climates which adds to the wear and tear of life, so that there are few Anglo-Indians who pass the barrier of threescore years and ten. The winter in the hills is severe, and even in May when persons are suffering from the heat at Calcutta, those at Darjeeling, where the mean annual temperature is 55° 65, are seeking warmth in wood fires. The dangers therefore of marching troops suddenly from the cool atmosphere of the hills into the scorching sun and hot winds of the plains, must not be overlooked.

"It has been said," the Duke of Wellington remarks in one of his Indian despatches, "that the climate of the West 'Indies is so unwholesome that a residence in it is fatal to 'most of those who go there. Without disputing that fact I 'may safely assert that it is not more unwholesome or un-'favourable to European constitutions than the climate of Ben-'gal." We must remember that, when this was written, England may be said to have been further removed from us than it is at the present day. The voyage by the Cape was usually performed in a year's time, and was seldom if ever accomplished in less than six months, which was the average length of voyages to the West

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* Evidence before the Colonization Committee.

Indies. 'The outward bound' remained occasionally for a few months at the Brazils, and the voyage was protracted and tedious. The European on his arrival in India was often wretchedly lodged, and possessed few of those devices by which the heat of the climate is now rendered more tolerable. Neither a Patent Law for India, nor a self-acting punkah were ever dreamed of by the early Anglo-Indian adventurer, whose object it was to amass in a few years, either by fair or foul means, a fortune, and quit the country. Many of the officers of the Trading Company took bribes from the natives, and lived a wild life drinking beer all day; and then, contracting debts, intermarried either with the native or the Eurasian, and settled down in the country, unfitted and unanxious alike to mingle again in the choice society of Europe.

But with all the various improvements of the age India still possesses a climate uncongenial for European soldiers, arising as much from its humidity as the high rate of temperature. The mortality of our troops in Bengal has been incontestably proved to be double the highest rate of mortality in England. Fever during the hot season in the plains, and bowel complaints when the weather grows comparatively cold and wet, the exposure to heat for a lengthened period and to intense heat during destructive forced marches, added to intemperate habits, injure at length the constitution of men who are not cut off by death with that awful rapidity of which many of our English readers can form but a very faint idea. The European soldier is now fairly "worn out," and the victim in all probability of chronic rheumatism, or what may be termed a *Cachexia Loci*, obtains his discharge as unfit for military service.

Dr. Chevers' review in the "Indian Annals of Medical Science" of the means of preserving the health of European soldiers in India, is a very able one, but unlikely to prove attractive to the general reader. We regret that such an interesting subject should have been involved in a mass of statistics, which few will wade through, and buried in a class journal intended to circulate among the members of the Medical Profession only. A synopsis of what Dr. Chevers has put forward would be invaluable in many ways.

In many stations for certain years, and even at some Presidencies for a year or longer, the rate of mortality among European troops in India has not been largely in excess of the larger Home ratios. In Bombay, taking a period of twenty years, the annual rates of deaths in the hospitals at Kolapore and Sholapore averaged respectively 20·54 and 23·90 per 1000, while that of the Foot Guards at Home was 20·40. In the former station there was a small, at the latter a large, body of troops. Sind appears to be the most unhealthy division in the Bombay Presidency, but the general mortality has undergone, of late, a great decrease. The Madras Presidency is more unhealthy than that of Bombay. During the period which elapsed between the years 1829 and 1838 there were no stations in which the mortality was lower than at Bangalore, where it was 28·03, and Bellary where it was 31·59 per 1000. During the forty-five years previous to the year 1838, there is plain proof that the stations in Madras were generally unhealthy, and the mortality rate approached in none the English standard, as the lowest death rate (taking always 1000 for the average) was 32 in 1830 and the following year. This was the general death rate of the Presidency for ten years from 1842 to 1851. The Force in Bengal is seldom free from the vicissitudes of war, the climate is generally enervating, and previous to the Mutiny it possessed a large number of very unhealthy stations. The general yearly mortality rate in the hospitals of Bengal has never fallen below 39 in the 1000, which is nearly double the highest English rate.

During the years 1846-47, 1855-56 inclusive, Hoshiarpore was the only station at which the average rate of mortality was below 25. There are few corps in which for a long period the condition of health may be said to approach the lowest English standard. Among the most favourable examples are H. M.'s Light Dragoons and the 9th Lancers. The former quartered for three years at Sealkote and Wuzeerabad had an average mortality of 20·9 per 1000 (the worst English rate being 20·4,) and the latter at Wuzeerabad and Umballa lost only, on an average, 23·3 annually for five years. Dugshai and Rawul Pindee are considered healthy stations; at the former the 22nd Regiment during two years suffered only at the rate of 19·5 annually.

In judging of the fitness of established stations for military occupation by European troops, Dr. Chevers has been led to consider the degree of unhealthiness as determined by statistical data running over a sufficiently lengthened period, and by concurrent Medical testimony. Instead of classifying Indian stations as those which have never been, or are rarely, visited by any destructive sickness, those which in ordinary years are healthy but which have been found to be liable to frequently recurring years of insalubrity, and those which are never healthy, he divides the degrees of salubrity into four classes which comprehend all stations in which the average rate of mortality is not above 25, 35 or 45 per thousand, the remaining class composing those in which it is above 45. Some of the chief military stations in Bengal, including Umballa, Agra, Benares, Wuzeerabad, the hill stations of Kussowlie, Dugshai and Subathoo, come under the third class, and yet they were never deemed notoriously unhealthy. "Below these, in the fourth 'and last class, we have numerous stations, many of them among 'the largest and most important posts for European troops in the 'country, which are not only proved by statistics to have been generally unhealthy, but are for the most part known by common 'report to be among the most unfavourable for European lives in 'the country. Of this class we have in Bengal, Loodiana (now abandoned as a station for European troops) in which during the last 'six years of its maintenance the mortality was 50 per 1000. 'Peshawur, which during the first seven years of its occupation 'had an average death rate of 53.311. Dinapore (55·064);—and 'then at a widely lower range Cawnpore (67·115;) Chinsurah '(68·404;) Berhampore, (abandoned in 1835, and recently re-'occupied) which, between 1823 and 1834 had a mortality 'rate of 68·80; Fort William (Garrison) 68·960. Lastly Dum-'Dum (72·765.) The mortality of this station should, however, 'practically be rated much lower—at about 52 in the thousand. 'At the now abandoned station of Lahore, Anurkullie and the 'Citadel, the mortality during six years averaged 84·615. Few 'Bengal stations can come under the first class, but there is 'one, Sealkote, which promises well; and at Jullundur, although 'there are many disadvantages in its internal arrangements, the 'mortality rate is most evenly maintained at a comparatively low 'standard. The death rate here between the years 1846-47 'and 1855-56 ranged only from 13·505 up to 41·096, the average 'ratios of the ten years being 29·032 per thousand." What a very unhealthy station would our friends at home deem Jullundur, when placing it in comparison with any English garrison town! The drainage at this station must be as imperfect as it is in most Indian towns, owing to its position in a perfectly level plain, which though extremely fertile is far removed from that "river influence" which Sir Charles Napier so greatly dreaded. The soil is sandy, and must as a good absorbent atone for any neglect on the part of the sanitary authorities. The Barracks, eleven in number, provide to each man 72 superficial and 1584 cubic feet of space. Rheumatism and intermittent fever are the chief disorders.

Nusserabad is another station as healthy as it is hot, but it possesses also peculiar disadvantages. The water is brackish, and owing to the saline nature of the soil vegetables are scarce; and scurvy of a most intractable form which yields only, apparently, to change of air, is the very natural consequence. Among the natives this disorder is always rife, and must be vigilantly guarded against by the Surgeon. Of what value the comparative rates of mortality are we may learn best from Dr. Chevers.

"These modes of arranging stations according to their 'salubrity as evidenced by statistics, although useful to a cer- 'tain restricted extent, of course go very little way in showing 'the causes upon which their comparative healthiness depends. 'It is true that when the death rate is found to have an uniform- 'ly low range, the climate, situation and accommodation of the 'station cannot be radically bad; but the converse of this by no 'means invariably occurs. Badly constructed or ill placed bar- 'racks may be for years the cause of a high rate of mortality 'in stations which are in themselves naturally healthy. Of 'this, we have many instances especially at Secunderabad, 'Umballa and Subathoo. And it would evidently be as 'irrational to judge of the salubrity of the proverbially healthy 'stations of Cuddalore in Madras, and Buxar in Bengal, by 'the high rate of mortality among the broken down and gener- 'ally intemperate pensioners located there, as it would be to set 'down Torquay and Ventnor as pestilential, on the evidence of 'like data. Again, if Fort William, Dum-Dum and Chinsurah 'were the healthiest sites in India, which they can never become, 'and were provided with barrack accommodation second to none in 'the world,—which is nearly the case at present, the returns of 'their hospitals can never exhibit a low death rate, so long as they 'are garrisoned by raw recruits, (many of whom are immature 'lads) and regiments recently arrived in the country, exposed 'to all the destructive effects of unrestrained and reckless de- 'bauchery in the Bazars."

The sanitary reformer, who advocates the necessity of housing all our troops at high stations, is met at the outset by various difficulties. The transport of our troops even by the most rapid forced marches, which generally bring sickness in their train, is so slow that it would be folly to garrison all the "islands of the plains" before the principal hill stations are connected by a railroad. So long as we rule India by the sword our forces must act as sentinels and a vigilant police. It is their duty to guard the Bank, the Mint and the Treasury, and to aid by their immediate presence the progress of commerce and rapid advance of civilization. The cities of most importance are situated in the plains, upon the largest rivers, and those stations are invariably the most unhealthy. "All therefore," says Dr. Chevers, "that the most humane and enlightened Government can do un- 'der these circumstances, is to select upon every frontier and near 'every city, the best available situation, bad as it may be, at any 'cost whatever, free from every removeable source of unhealthi- '*ness*, at the same time allowing their troops a temporary sojourn 'at the hill sanitaria, in their turn, and as the necessities of the 'State, and the number of the available force will admit of their 'being placed in the position of a reserve."

In many river sites there is a choice, while in others the medical authorities and Government have merely to select a spot which is bad at the best. The rivers of India are constantly changing not only their tides but their course The Ganges bears down from the hills silt in great abundance, and this promotes change. Major Colebrook plainly proves that this river is continually seeking some new levels; owing to the alluvial deposits the river banks are often higher than the surrounding country, and the lower ground is consequently marshy, so that the station possesses an insular position, as at Hooghly, Dinapore, Berhampore, Calcutta and other places. Land formed of newly deposited alluvium is obviously unfit to form the site of military cantonments, while the shallow river which swells during the rains and is nearly dried up during the summer, is exceedingly malarious. Berhampore was one of the most unhealthy of the river stations of Bengal. The barracks are built on an extensive scale, and cost the State for the first twenty-seven years of their existence no less a sum than sixteen millions, eight hundred and ninety-one thousand, two hundred and six pounds sterling. Mr. Martin's tables show that the average annual mortality in the European force, which averaged 463 in strength between the years 1788 and 1810, was at the rate of 90·69 per 1000, while some twenty years after, when the force was nearly trebled, the mortality rate was 68.80 For thirteen years however the rate was 106 per thousand, and the place was abandoned in 1826 as a station for European troops. The cause of the malaria was doubtless occasioned by the overflowing of the river during the rains, the exhalations emitted from the ground in the process of drying, the presence of tanks in the neighbourhood of barracks which were used as common sewers, the unhealthiness of the densely populated Bazar, and the defective nature of the drainage. When the tanks were not full they were most unwholesome, although the drainage was only then complete; when full the drains were unable to discharge their contents and inundation was the very natural result. Berhampore is again occupied by European troops; the barracks are improved and are gradually becoming more healthy. Delhi has always been the hotbed of pestilence, and this is attributed to the canal which empties itself into the Jumna. Dr. Balfour considers Delhi to have been by far the most unhealthy cantonment in the N. W. Provinces;—as in the best years the sick of a native regiment used to be from 250 to 300, and in the year 1854 somewhere above 500 men per regiment were in hospital, not including those who were sick at the hills or at their homes. As at Jullunder, the water in the cantonment wells is brackish and promotes Diarrhœa. Fever of an intermittent kind is prevalent and yields only to quinine and change of air.

Passing in review the most healthy stations in Bengal, some of which are not free from the scourge of cholera, we find that the following sixteen stations are more or less healthy, viz. Rawul Pindee, Abbotabad, Sealkote, Jullunder, Umballa (subject to cholera outbreaks) Kussowlie, Subathoo, Dugshai, Simla, Meerut, Agra, Benares, Hazareebaugh, Buxar, Dorundah and Nynee Tal. To these must be added the hill sanitaria, Murree, Chumba, Dhurumsala, Landour and Mussoorie.

Calcutta lacks a sanitarium. Mr. Martin recommended many years ago Point Negrais, while Dr. Chevers points to the Maunbhoom hills as a healthy spot to which convalescents might be readily conveyed by railroad. The Meghassani range behind Balasore has been recommended, and is easily accessible. The high table land of Moulmein can be speedily reached, and seems to combine all the requisites of a sanitarium on a large scale. Parisnath, some 50 miles beyond Raneegunge, on the Grand Trunk Road, is about to be cleared. Its temperature is 10° lower than that of Calcutta, but its steep sides afford little space for building, and it can never be more than an agreeable retreat for the residents of the metropolis. When, 18 months hence, the Railway has been opened to Rajmahal, Darjeeling will be more easily reached than now.

In the Presidency of Madras there are two very healthy stations, St. Thomas' Mount, and Bangalore, while Jackatalla and other stations in the Neilgherries will be available when the railway is extended to the foot of the hills.

Bombay possesses these thoroughly healthy stations, Poonah, Sholapore, and Belgaum, with Mahableshwar, Ghizree, Poorundhur, and Mount Aboo in Rajpootana.

Thus throughout British India there are numerous stations which have the double advantage of being healthy, while the troops located there would be always available for service. That we must find other stations like them is very evident, or we shall be unable to maintain a large European force in the country. England constantly drained of men, in recruiting for her great Indian Army, will be unequal to a task not only costly, but beyond her strength. Our resources exhausted in the endeavour to maintain a force of from sixty to eighty thousand men, the minimum with which it is calculated we can expect to retain our hold on India, we shall be simply compelled to place reliance again on the faithfulness of a native army.

The question of European colonization is intimately connected with the condition of the soldier serving in this country. It has been proposed to form military settlements in which the wife and children should live, and to which the soldier should retire as a colonist on the expiration of his term of service. This plan can only be regarded as a great experiment which is likely to terminate in failure. We have no evidence to show that a healthy and vigorous-minded European stock can be propagated and maintained, or that the third generation of pure European descent exists in India. "The soldiers," says Mr. Jeffreys, "have no descendants of un-'mixed blood. Of the half million of soldiers who have gone out 'of India, where are all their legitimate descendants of pure 'English blood, who, by this time, would have multiplied into a 'numerous population if born in New Zealand, Canada, or Oregon, 'reciprocating industrial advantages with the mother country of 'their parents; how much more secure and durable than the 'military tenure of India can ever yield? Let myriads of feeble 'voices from little graves, scattered throughout her arid plains, 'supply the melancholy answer—*here*." Dr. Chevers, although opposed to the plan of the military self-supporting colony on medical grounds, would undoubtedly advocate the scheme projected by the Bishop of Calcutta, of founding good schools for the children of a European and mixed race in the Hills. He observes;—"Our soldiers' children should be sent to the Hills at 'an early age. This would undoubtedly be the saving of a multi-'tude of these now almost desperately precarious lives. How 'far the lives thus saved would, hereafter, become valuable to 'themselves and to the State—is a question which, at present, 'as little concerns us as the after fortunes of men, clinging to a 'wreck, concern those whose single thought is to strain every 'nerve to rescue them."

It would be well if the fair climate of a good station, and roomy barracks sufficed in themselves to ensure the health and life of the European soldier in India, but such, alas, is not the case, and many of our barracks are moreover most imperfect. Colonel Tulloch informed Mr. Martin "that be-'tween 1815 and 1855 there died of European soldiers belong-'ing to Her Majesty's and the East India Company's army 'in India very nearly 100,000 men, the greater portion of whose 'lives might have been saved had better localities been select-'ed for military occupation in that country." "Troops," said the Duke of Wellington, "can be kept healthy in camp by 'cleanliness, shifting the ground occasionally &c., but nothing can keep them so if their barracks are unwholesome." This is the high testimony borne to the value of sanitary science in days when mortality in the army and civil classes was seldom laid at the door of overcrowding and a lack of ventilation. "We must build barracks or lose Sind," was what Sir Charles Napier (whose barracks in the Punjaub should act as models for every other barrack built in India) reiterated perpetually, and when the military buildings were commenced, their progress was so slow that he confessed that the Engineer's department fairly wore him out. His description of sundry barracks which he visited in 1849 is a melancholy one. Talking of the barracks at Subathoo he says, "in rooms badly ventilated they put one hundred and forty-two men!" The principle of the Military Board is that of the Black Hole of Calcutta: only ninety-four men should have been in those barracks at the most, while at Kussowlie, he remarks "the barracks are infa- 'mous. Calculated for five hundred men the Military Board, 'that curse of India, has put 1300 into them! Numbers have 'perished killed in that way by that Board." The barracks at Dugshai get a somewhat better character, but the Military Board is again accused of jamming more men into them than there ought to be. "Each man should have a thousand 'cubic feet of air; short of that sickness and death result, 'as sure as night follows day."*

We cannot regret that many of the cantonments in the Bengal Presidency have been swept away during the late Rebellion, planted as they were (cut off by mud walls and shady trees from every current of pure air) in the most pestiferous localities where, owing to the faultiness of internal arrangements, each barrack created "its own envenomed morass." Was not the utter indifference to the terrible mortality of the European soldier in India a proof of the narrow-mindedness of the East India Company, a part of that traditional policy by which the Government of this great country has been so long administered? Avarice, with a view to economy, prompted the erection of ill-ventilated barracks, which entailed a fearful mortality thoroughly defeating the object held in view. How do we manage things in the present day? Let our readers visit the General Hospital at Calcutta and imagine what must be the destructive effects of a plan by which the airy ward has been lately cut up into numberless small cells now roofed in for the purpose of completely obstructing the ventilation. We shall then be spared the task of replying at length to the question, and of proving that the Government still appear to consider a proper system of ventilation not only costly, but of no value whatever to human life.

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* Life of Sir C. Napier, vol. IV. p. 199.

In considering the way in which we may best preserve the health of the British Army in India, we are naturally led to enquire what effect the clothing of the soldier has either for good or evil. Of late years a great improvement has been made in the soldier's dress. We regret to say that there are still some Commanding Officers who show no consideration whatever for the health and comfort of their men. During the hot season they condemn their regiments to parade at an early hour in the afternoon in a stiff stock, the use of which is supposed to be abandoned in India, and in a tightly buttoned up red cloth tunic in an Indian sun, and to go through drills tedious and severe. Such mischievous deeds which knock up men and officers with heat, apoplexy and fever, must come sooner or later to the knowledge of the Commander-in-Chief, and call forth a remedy. The shako, which induces headache even in England, is supplanted by a turban-covered, wicker-work, ventilated helmet, which is a decided improvement upon the old head dress but still far too heavy. May we not ask why the men of H. M.'s 67th Regiment were not provided with the helmet until six months after the arrival of the regiment in India? Mr. Jeffreys, who is a Surgeon of Indian experience, and whose inventions are generally as ingenious as they are eccentric, terms the new cloth-covered helmets 'sun-traps,' and proposes a shining helmet which will reflect the rays of the sun. In a hand to hand encounter the enemy might be judiciously dazzled by the helmet of his antagonist, as the thief by the light thrown forth from the bull's eye lantern of Policeman X. This is a capital idea, and although it does not seem to have suggested itself to the fertile mind of Mr. Jeffreys, we think it worthy of consideration! The Drab, or Khakee, suit may be one unsuited to the climate as a good conductor of heat, but it is the best dress which has been given to our troops in India, and we must rest contented with the garment until we can invent a more perfect one. Mr. Jeffreys proposes a refracting dress in the shape of a gorgeous suit of fancy armour, which might induce Mr. Nathan and other celebrated theatrical dealers to turn contractors for Army clothing. However scientific this contrivance may be, and admirable in the eyes of the Quarterly Reviewer,* it is simply absurd. The heat reflected from one soldier would inevitably roast the hands and faces of the rank and file around him. The officer would be afraid to look at his men when attired on a sunny day in this dazzling suit, or would reap in weak eyes the reward of his temerity. A perfectly sun-proof dress is as unobtainable as perpetual motion or the philosopher's stone. Woollen clothes we think preferable to those manufactured of cotton, unbleached linen, or any other material in a tropical climate. It is requisite that they should be of sufficient thickness to act as a defence against the sun by day and damp chilly dews by night. As regards colour the Drab suit, when new, is well suited to the marksman, for the soldier who wears it is, at the distance of three hundred yards, hardly distinguishable from the surrounding soil. After the dress has been washed a few times it becomes almost white, and is then nearly as conspicuous as the staring red cloth shell jacket or tunic. Every soldier is provided with two flannel belts, but none can be compelled to wear them except when going on duty. A few cut them up and convert them into waistcoats, forgetting that they are not intended to cover the chest but the abdomen and to counteract the effects of the sun which, striking on the nerves, is apt to bring on dysentery and cholera, as well as cold which often opens the door to rheumatism and various other complaints. We believe that a great improvement might be made in the boot, which is so clumsy and heavy that it must blister the foot, and impede the progress of our troops upon the line of march. At present the Indian kit consists of bed and bedding, two chaco covers, two forage cap covers, one haversack, and one soda water bottle covered with leather, paid for by the Government of India; two Khakee trousers, two white shirts, three flannel waistcoats, two pairs worsted socks, one pair braces, two pairs boots, (English) one hair brush, and straps for carrying great-coat, costing together about thirty rupees for which the soldier pays. All these things are adapted to the climate.

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* See *Quarterly Review*, January 1859, p. 170.

Idleness is the great bane of the army in India, and the soldier in the ranks looks forward to service in this tropical region with great delight. In England he is accustomed to live, when not lounging in the low public house among his female admirers, in an atmosphere of pipe clay. When drill is over he is not compelled to loll all day about verandahs and stare vacantly over the railings; for there is plenty to do if he is desirous of obtaining employment. If quartered in camp he will steal away with his comrades during harvest time, engage his services to a farmer to work by the piece, doff his coat and cut down the corn with an activity which is rarely displayed by the steady labourer. If gifted with a good voice and quartered at, some town station, he may appear at night on the boards of the singing saloon in the character of 'Sam Hall' 'Billy Barlow,' the 'Italian Image Seller' or the 'London Cadger,' and vary the entertainment by dancing a Sailor's Hornpipe, or by indulging *in a bit* of ventriloquism. In India the soldier may be said to be his own master and a gentleman. An hour after he has entered for the first time some capacious barrack room, he may be found lolling upon a cot, attended by a crowd of little imps whom he has enlisted in his service for merely nominal wages. One young imp is probably polishing his boots, another may be tempting him with cheroots manufactured from odds and ends in the Bazar, and a third may be bearing him a light, half absorbed perhaps in meditation on the best mode of relieving him of a medal which is hanging upon the breast of his tunic. The soldier's day in summer commences at gun fire, and when the sun rises, if he is not on duty, his work is over and he has nothing to do but eat the unripe Bazar fruit, drink bad liquor, and sleep until the sun goes down, rendering his frame thereby more liable to fever. With the intense heat comes excessive thirst, and if he has acquired intemperate habits from having served five years or so in the West Indies where men drink from morning to night, or the Australian Colonies where there are many drinkers, he will take with the greatest ease (incredible as it may appear) his bottle of spirits a day in addition to the large allowance of Commissariat malt liquor (three quarts per diem) which he obtains during certain hours at the Canteen. Nothing can be more injurious than this excessive indulgence in stimulants. The ration of bread and meat is in some stations in England of indifferent quality, while the quantity allowed is only one pound of the former and three quarters of a pound of the latter. Abroad the soldier receives one pound of meat with an equal quantity of bread, while in India there is an exceptional ration consisting of one pound of vegetables and an allowance of rice, tea and sugar. A large amount of nitrogenous and carboniferous food is apt to produce disease in warm climates, and therefore a good supply of vegetable food is absolutely requisite, while the cultivation of the kitchen garden at the Hill station will afford the soldier some healthy, amusing and very useful occupation. The soldier in India is well fed and well paid, but in times of peace he has nothing to do, and owing to the terrible heat he can do nothing. He now loses his appetite, smokes and drinks immoderately, and as a natural result goes down in remittent fever, when he is generally dosed by medical men with oceans of quinine which "they pitch in," says Sir Charles Napier, "at full and new moon." What preventive measure must we take in order to reduce these evils? The question is most important, and it will be our endeavour to attempt to find an answer, by showing what has been done of late years to promote the moral and intellectual welfare of the soldier.

To the Rev. Carus Wilson, who has always taken a great interest in the welfare of the soldier, the credit is due of originating, in the densely populated garrison town of Portsmouth, a Soldier's Institute on the plan of that famous Institution founded by Dr. Birbeck, Lord Brougham and other philanthropists, for the mechanic, but offering likewise, to suit the tastes of the soldier, many of the advantages which are afforded by the modern club house. Mr. Carus Wilson observed the excessive dislike which the soldier entertains towards the cheerless barrack room which is so unlike the public house with its comfortable settle and attractive red curtain, and the impossibility of robbing him by any persuasive methods of his walk down town. There is not a large English seaport which may not unhappily be termed 'a sink of iniquity,' and in the very worst locality of Portsmouth, among narrow dingy streets of public houses and dens of every description, he opened, (as far as we remember, some fifteen years ago) a Soldier's Institute. This Institution contains a room in which lectures on popular subjects are frequently delivered by officers of the united services, and other gentlemen who have greater facilities for indulging in scientific pursuits, a news room containing globes and maps, with a large library of well selected volumes, class, and smoking rooms. A Bible class is held once a week which is voluntarily frequented on an average by seventy soldiers. Those who wish have an opportunity of taking the temperance pledge, which we know has prolonged for many years the lives of those who, returning in many instances to former bad habits, have died at last the victims of intemperance. About ten thousand soldiers have subscribed to this Institution since its formation, but as the subscription is very low it covers but a small part of the expense of maintaining such a large establishment. Over and above the men's subscription, £120 is annually required, and this is supplied by the subscriptions and donations of Mr. Carus Wilson and his friends. It is greatly to be regretted that an Institute like this, calculated as it is to benefit so greatly the troops stationed at Portsmouth irrespective of the regiment to which they belong, cannot be made self-supporting, while the Government is unable to aid it by any grant of public money because it is not within barrack walls.

During the war in the Crimea the large depôts of H. M.s' 1st Royals, 3rd Buffs, 7th Royal Fusiliers, 23d Welsh Fusiliers, 46th and 88th Regiments, were stationed at Winchester. The Rev. Dr. Sirr, at that period Chaplain of the Garrison, was pained by the reckless conduct of the soldiers under his charge. Men from all parts of England, the dregs of Militia regiments, and scum of the back alleys of London and other cities, were brought in to supply the constant demand in the Crimea; *men* who seemed born to receive punishment, to be discharged as unfit for military service, or to die in hospital. To open an attractive Reading Room seemed the only way to benefit the recruit who was desirous of escaping from contamination, and to give the idle and dissolute the opportunity of employing usefully their leisure hours and becoming useful members of society. Until a suitable room could be procured, the Garrison Chapel School was opened nightly, furnished with books, journals, pens, letter paper, and games of every description, including "towers," "chess," "draughts," "dominoes," "German Tactics and" "Bagatelle." This Reading Room or Café as it was generally termed, was started at a cost of about fifteen pounds, under the management of a Committee composed chiefly of officers, into which the *civil* element however was very wisely introduced, and this materially helped the undertaking. As in the Soldier's Institute at Portsmouth, lectures were occasionally delivered, and proved extremely popular, Colonel Norcote of the Rifle Brigade and Commandant of the Battalion ranking himself among the lecturers. We regret that the public do not generally take an interest in work like this, and the expense and labour of carrying out such a scheme for ameliorating the condition of the soldier falls more often upon officers and Chaplains, who are not usually burdened with worldly goods, than upon the shoulders of the Government. We do not say that all hold back from helping forward the good work, for private letters are lying before us, which incontestably prove that there are persons holding the highest and most influential positions in England, and in no way connected with the army, who regard the Soldier's Institute or Reading Room as the most successful plan for benefitting the soldier, and one which they are ever ready to help forward with money and good wishes.

In June 1857 a Reading Room, separated only by a passage from the Garrison Library, was opened in the barracks at Cork. The city is of course a large and important one, the military establishment is considerable, and the barracks are situated in the very worst locality. As Major General Mansell was about to resign Command of the Division, he was unwilling to give his sanction at the last moment to any experiment of which he did not know that his successor would approve; there was therefore some delay in opening the room which Colonel Le Froz, the inspector General of Military Schools, had previously inspected, and thought, in spite of its being capable of holding little more than forty men, most suitable for the Reading Room. Major General Eden, on assuming Command, declined sanctioning what he considered a startling modern innovation, until he had clearly ascertained that Government was interested in and aided the movement. In the meantime the room was opened by an officer who supplied it for six weeks with magazines and newspapers, and collected some fifteen pounds to defray unlooked for expenses. The Government, on a requisition of estimated expenses being forwarded by the Barrack Master to the War Office, and on the recommendation of Colonel Le Froy, gave a grant from a small sum of money placed at the disposal of Lord Panmure who was then War Minister, and with this money the room was furnished, the tables being covered with green baize, the windows with blinds, and the floor with cocoanut matting. The Government undertook moreover to supply the gaslights at night, and the fires during the winter season. In a few weeks' time the new Reading Room, which was open from an early hour in the morning until Tattoo, boasted of forty readers, we do not say members because the admission was free. It was not intended however that any should avail themselves of the advantages offered by this Reading Room who did not subscribe to the adjoining Garrison Library.

We cannot agree with a writer in the *Quarterly Review* in thinking that Regimental and Garrison Libraries are a failure, because the majority of books in these collections are not those which the recruit from the agricultural districts would select. Brought up among the labourers and farmers of Hampshire who rejoice in farms of peat, limestone, clay and more often chalk, running over thousands of acres of wild breezy downs on those hills which rise in and stretch away through Sussex, our readers will perhaps give us credit for knowing something about the matter. The peasant seldom enlists who is worth his salt as a labourer, and if he does the wealthy farmer is always ready to advance the money with which he may purchase his discharge. The *quondam* recruit is often found paying off the debt which he has incurred, by toiling wageless upon some farm. Not one in ten of the agricultural classes can read a book, and few who can will open one, proud as they may be of their distinguished literary attainments. Few labourers' children remain at the village school beyond the age of seven, when they must aid in supporting themselves by keeping pigs, driving the team of cart horses, and making themselves otherwise handy in the field. The boy who reads perfectly at seven years of age usually forgets the art of reading before he is the man of thirty. We know a lad who frequented a village Reading Room, with which the night school for adults was combined, and after watching him for a fortnight poring nightly over his volume, which happened to be Robinson Crusoe, we questioned him as to what he had read. He had just concluded *the Table of Contents*. We could hardly refrain from laughing at his diligence, worthy of a better cause, in wading for a fortnight, with a charming novel in his hand, through such uncommonly dry and perfectly useless reading. In proportion as you travel northwards the lower orders become more intelligent, and while appreciating scientific works in the manufacturing districts of the North, and philosophical works beyond the border, those in the Southern countries of England seldom read, and if they do, are quite contented with their provincial paper, and a novel. A very large proportion of our recruits are men from our populous cities, who are sharp as a needle, however wanting as regards their educational attainments.

Excepting the books which form the Garrison Library at Calcutta, which are wonderfully antiquated and must be dry and unreadable in the eyes of the soldier, there are few libraries not prized by our troops. It is not a matter for argument; the truth of our remark may be tested in the simplest manner possible. Pay the military librarian, some not very awful looking Corporal or Sergeant, a visit, and ask how many volumes are out. You will notice the name of an officer perhaps who has borrowed some half dozen books, for which he will subscribe no very terrible sum, amounting in the course of the year to one day's pay. Observe what class of literature is most in vogue, and then you can form in your own mind some idea as to the tastes and character of the men in the regiment, or battalion. Are they studious readers, or literary butterflies who read a book as they would smoke a pipe? Or do they read little, in order that they may think the more? Which is the popular book? "The favorite book of every age," says the elder Disraeli, "is a certain picture of the people." Life after all is the best book, and it is well to remember that "it matters very little what you say or what you do, but it does matter a great deal what you *are*." Perhaps too you will come to the same conclusion that we have arrived at,—that there must be some intrinsic merit in the old standard novels when they are still in such request, and that as the works of Captain Mayne Reid, James, Bulwer Lytton and Charles Dickens are so popular, they must be first rate writers, who are not at a loss to know what we shall read and welcome. There are few standard historical works in Regimental Libraries, for the soldier, unless a Scotchman, usually prefers a lighter class of literature. But all readers are not alike, and the saying of Sir Charles Napier is true;— "our Regimental Schools and Libra'ries have raised and do daily increase a host of very clever, 'well read, private soldiers with powerful minds." Some soldiers happily read to some purpose. There are two Reading Rooms at the Curragh Camp which are open so long as sixty men subscribe to them, there are Soldiers' Institutes at Dublin, Woolwich and Jersey, while one has been started lately in Westminster; there are Regimental Reading Rooms at Aldershot, indeed hardly a military station can be found in the United Kingdom which does not offer to the recruit, literary advantages combined with harmless amusement, which the old soldier never possessed.

H. M.'s 99th Regiment quartered at Fort William possesses a good Regimental Reading Room, which is supplied with note paper, ink, journals and games, and is combined with the Regimental Library. A young native opens nightly his refreshment stall without, for the sale of coffee and other articl es. The subscriptions to the room amount on an average to Rs. 50 a month, and it is self-supporting. The Managing Committee is composed of a Corporal who is the librarian, a Private, and a Commissioned Officer who acts as Treasurer. The accounts are kept as regularly as those of the soldier, and audited at the commencement of the month. At Poonah, we learn from the ***Friend of India***, the Rev. Mr. Gell has succeeded in making a Soldiers' Institute work well. Both in Fort William, Calcutta,—and at Poonah, the plan is carried out in precisely the same way, but we are not aware that the Roman Catholic soldier is excluded by the prohibition of the Priest from the benefits of the Reading Room at the former station, as he appears to be at the latter. Fortunately all do not possess like contracted notions, and there are some Roman Catholic Chaplains who are men of progress and ready to advance every scheme for the benefit of the soldier, whatever may be the persuasion to which he may happen to belong. Why should not every station in India possess a Reading Room as wel as a Library?

Indoor amusements in India, good Reading Rooms and Libraries, are means by which the health of the soldier may be preserved. While, owing to the heat and the *vis inertiæ* which attends it, the body is more or less inactive throughout the day, and muscular action is impossible, it is of the utmost importance that the mind should be employed. To do anything if it is only to make a model, to sketch however roughly the various articles in the barrack-room and the barracks, paddy fields, trees, tanks and chapels, to weigh arms and accoutrements with the view of testing the correctness of their weight as registered in the 'Squad' book, to invent a new knapsack combining lightness with simplicity, cheapness, durability and comfort in wear, and then to pen imaginary letters about the invention in every style but that dictated by the 'Polite Letter Writer;' are ways in which the Private *might* pass not altogether unprofitably the hottest hours of the day, in a manner far preferable at all events to that of chafing or recklessly drinking himself to death.

It is impossible to take up a 'Squad' book without being struck by the number and variety of trades followed by men previous to their enlistment. We have got bricklayers, labourers, sailors, basket-makers, joiners, glass-makers, flax-dressers, weavers, bakers, butchers, gardeners and painters, who never handle a trowel, hoe a turnip field, construct even the model of a boat, make a basket or a wheel-barrow, or blow an ornament in glass, dress flax, weave, bake, kill, garden or paint, from the hour that they enter the army. Nearly every thing for the future is to be done for them, and they are to be saved as far as possible from the least exertion. Contractors follow our Forces from England to India, and our Soldiers who might be profitably engaged by the Government to work at the various trades which they have followed at home, either for the benefit of the service, or their comrades, or both together, are given next to nothing to do (leaving out of the question monotonous parades and drills) and deprived frequently of the means of taking manual or real intellectual exercise, are permitted to become the most helpless men alive. The consequence is this, that our Soldiers are never thoroughly trained for the hardships of the campaign, when they are entirely dependant on the mercy of others, and must lack in the field in the absence of butcher, baker, Commissariat and Engineer Departments, the commonest necessaries of life. We can say with truth, after the experience which we gained in the Crimea, that in this respect at least they manage things far more cleverly in the French Army. Pride ourselves as we may on a defective military system, no one can deny that we are generally beaten at the commencement of all our wars not by the enemy, but by the terrible disasters of mismanagement and blunders, for which with divided military departments nobody can be held responsible. Every military man knows that our present contract system is a failure, and that we are indebted to it for bad barracks, bad food, and bad clothing, but the country is wedded to it in spite of the inducement which it offers to fraud, and the serious expense which it imposes upon the nation.

Dr. Martin's work on the Influence of Tropical Climates is invaluable, and the first one hundred and thirty pages ought to be read attentively by every Anglo-Indian whether a member of the Medical profession or not. The two most important chapters are those entitled "General Observations" and "the Prevention of Disease." They abound with salutary precautions which Europeans on their first arrival in India are often too apt to despise, placing too great reliance on their pliancy and strength of constitution. Talking of drinks Dr. Martin says—"In persons who have been for some time in the climate, 'and whose digestive organs are enfeebled, some weak wine and 'water may not be objectionable; but such indulgence is by no 'means necessary in the young and vigorous, and it should be 'reserved for ulterior residence and more advanced periods of 'life. I may here mention that, during the first Burmese war, 'while serving as Surgeon to the Governor General's Body-'Guard of Cavalry, I found warm tea, after the most severe 'marches in the sun, by far the most refreshing beverage." "Observation and personal feeling," he further remarks, "have taught 'that in hot climates, perhaps during hot weather in all climates, 'an hour's cool repose before dinner is highly salutary; and if on 'commencing our repast, we find we cannot eat without *drinking*, we may be assured that it is Nature's caveat to beware of eating at all." This will be deemed hard doctrine by some, and visionary by others; but it is neither the one nor the other, and those who neglect or despise it may feel the bad consequences when it is too late to repair the error. "It is often indeed difficult to moderate one's appetites in the tropics, but those who wish to avoid ill-health and the influence of climate, must be "temperate in all things." Dr. Martin's remarks on Military Hygiene are as true as they are cutting. The military medical officer nearly always labours under a disadvantage, and many a regimental Surgeon can hardly be said to be on speaking terms with his commanding officer. If he suggests any plan to preserve the health of the soldier he is too often assailed with an oath, or requested to keep his medical opinions to himself until they are called for by the Military authorities, and who they are it is a difficult matter to decide. Temperance and coolness, a flannel or, perhaps still better, a cotton dress, a flannel waistband worn next the skin, an adherence to plain rather than made up dishes, and vegetable food, making "tiffin" if possible the principal meal, a limited indulgence in fruit, bathing and exercise, early hours, and participation in the refined pleasures of good society and the choicest literature, are the excellent special rules laid down by Dr. Johnson and by Dr. Martin, to be ever kept in view by the European who is desirous of preserving his health in the sultry climate of India.

As regards more particularly the soldier, Dr. Hennen remarks that the true preventives of disease are shelter from the heat of the day, and from the dews and cold of night, avoiding the neighbourhood of marshes, and other unhealthy spots in military exercises, mounting guards at such an hour that the least possible number of fatigue parties may be employed in conveying dinners, &c., timing duties in such a way that the men may enjoy their natural sleep, regulating the messes so that the soldier shall always have a due proportion of vegetables, and especially comfortable breakfast before going on morning duties; furnishing every man with flannel waistcoats, or cotton shirts, enforcing personal cleanliness by frequent bathing, and by daily washing the feet, &c.; but, above all, regulating the Canteen, so that access can be had to liqour only in the evening, and then taking every precaution that the bad spirits and sour wine of the country be rigidly withheld. We may refine as much as we choose, and we may modify our plans according to circumstances with critical precision, but these are the bases on which health is founded, so far as the soldier is individually concerned. Circumstances are now somewhat altered. The native cook takes the place of the fatigue party. There are many weekly guards furnished by a detachment, and the soldiers for duty are invariably marched off either at sunrise or sunset. The Canteen is open at certain hours by day as well as by night, and if it was not, recourse would certainly be had to the dileterious liquor of the Bazar, which, in the case of young soldiers, generally produces great excitement of the nervous system amounting to maniacal fury. "Though *delirium tremens*," says Dr. Martin referring to the navy, "is found to result from excessive debauches in harbour, 'disease is neither of such frequent occurrence, nor so 'fatal in its results by many degrees as in the army, and 'especially amongst soldiers who are paid daily; for with these 'last, in place of the periodical drunken bout following upon 'receipts of the month's pay after the olden custom, there is now 'prevalent a far more injurious course of excitement in the daily 'tippling of ardent spirits."

Beer, if of good quality, would be preferable to the Commissariat rum and porter. Beer can be manufactured in the Neilgherries. Captain Ochterlony established an experimental brewery in the hills about twelve years ago, and the beer was liked by the men of the 51st and 94th Regiments; it was not one-fourth the price of imported bottled beer. It may not be long before these hills become the resort of a large body of European settlers, and then who can say but that the Neilgherry pale ale will be accepted as equal if not superior to that of Allsop or Bass. It would not be very difficult to brew beer superior to that imported sour liquor which is sold at the Calcutta auctions and might be labelled 'poison.' A good brewery must become an institution of great importance to the European settler, and, as a commercial speculation, it would doubtless on the completion of a railway to the hills, bring in a large return to the proprietor. A Brewery succeeded for a time at Simla.

The organisation, we might almost say the formation, of an Indian Army now occupies the serious attention of Government. One thing is now certain, a large European force must be maintained for the future in India, and all are unanimous in suggesting that the Artillery should be mainly, if not purely, a European arm. The Military Commissioners who, appointed by Lord Derby's Government, issued a valuable if not in all respects a perfectly satisfactory report, recommend that a force should be maintained of about 80,000 in the aggregate, of which 50,000 must be maintained in Bengal, and the remainder equally divided between the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. In proportion to the rapidity with which we introduce good roads and Railways in India, greater facilities will be afforded us for the movement of troops, and it will then be time enough to consider whether it would not be possible to enlarge and increase the number of our hill cantonments, and to maintain a smaller permanent force than that recommended as at present absolutely requisite for the defence of India.

The Duke of Wellington noticed the striking difference that prevailed between the Armies of Bengal and Madras. The Madras Army he considered in high order, while he declared that there was no army laying claim to the title of *disciplined* which was in such a bad state as that of Bengal. The fact was that the one army was officered by regimental officers, while the Commanders of the other were always absent from their regiments on Staff employ, or posted to corps from which they knew that they could be removed at any moment, and which, however highly disciplined, would not reflect any credit upon themselves. The Duke went so far even as to say that, if it was necessary, the Madras Army would go to Bengal for the purpose of quelling a mutiny for the redress of grievances in the success of which they were more interested than the mutinous army. For our part we do not see why every native regiment should be strictly speaking a mere local force, raised for the purpose of fighting in one particular district, and of refusing perchance to serve in any other, in the hour of danger, while we are greatly opposed to the old plan of reserving either company or regiment solely for men of one particular caste. "In the future re-organisation of the army," says a modern writer, "great care should be taken that no regiment of natives be allowed to remain in their own country." The Sepoys raised in Oude and the Sowars in Rohilcund should be made to keep far North of the Sutlej. The Oude province might be garrisoned by the hill tribes from beyond Peshawur. The police in

Rohilcund should be principally Sikh". We would advocate more changing than even this. Madras troops have little in common with the races of the Ganges and Jumna. They might with great policy hold the North Western Provinces, whilst Bombay troops might well supply their place. In this fashion would we dispose our native army. By judicious arrangement, every province and territory throughout India may be held by antagonistic races. And this is a fair illustration of General Jacob's theory that India must be governed by "brains not muscles." The native soldier has but a very faint idea of the extent of our Indian Empire, and of the number of British bayonets by which it is maintained. To open his narrow mind to new ideas, and to prevent him from fraternizing with the populace in another rebellion, let him be moved from station to station as the soldier in the United Kingdom, and be located among tribes with whom he has little in common. We do not see what dependence can be placed upon the native called to do duty only in his own country, who is as well acquainted with the ford of every river and jungle as the jackal; and, accustomed to hill fighting, can contend with us desperately in the mountain defile, and retire to regions to which it would not be worth our while to follow him.

Without guns the native has shown himself unable to withstand us. He has great belief in a battle fought simply by Artillery, and does not like hand to hand conflicts. On the first round of our Artillery the hill men betake themselves to their mountains. The native cavalry regiments have proved that, when doing duty out of their own country, and led by skilful and brave officers as they generally are, they are irresistible; and so long as we possess such splendid Cavalry Corps as the celebrated Sind Horse, we do not think a large force of British Cavalry desirable. The howitzer in the hands of the Naval Brigade was most serviceable during the Mutiny, as also Sharp's American breech-loading carbine (improved by Maynard) which does not require 'capping' and is effective at a range of six hundred yards. The sword with which the 7th Hussars and 2nd Dragoon Guards are furnished, is a most ingenious weapon. It is beautifully balanced, and as the hilt is chiefly composed of gutta percha, it is as light as a feather and can be wielded with the greatest ease. The Military Police Battalions are regarded by the Commissioners as a body fraught with the elements of danger, and they are not desirous that the Military Policeman should receive a very strict Military training, stricter at least than that required for the maintenance of discipline. As the Military Police are simply supplied with a musket some few inches shorter than the old one, which cannot be compared with the

Enfield or the breech-loading rifle, and is calculated to make more noise than mischief, we do not think that this new force will ever prove, if well officered, a source of embarrassment to the Government. All these weapons may be seen at the Arsenal at Calcutta, as well as guns taken at Lucknow, two of which are interesting as having been cast by the Frenchman, General Claude Martin, (then a Major) whose name they both bear.

The Commissioners propose that there shall be always one European regiment for every two native corps in Bengal, and that in the other Presidencies the proportion shall be three to one. We do not intend to enter into the subject of the discontent of our European troops, or to depict that disgraceful and disastrous affair, so prejudicial to the service, in which the 5th Bengal European Regiment figured at Berhampore. In the days of Wellington the credit of an officer would depend upon the state of discipline in his regiment, and he would be held responsible for its allegiance. Every soldier knows that there is a right way and a wrong way of stating grievances in the army, and the men of the 5th Europeans chose the latter. When armed men reason thus, there is an end to all law. "The Company's Europeans," said Sir Charles Napier, "will face any enemy in the world! I have the greatest admiration for them and know them well." Greatly do we regret that troops which won such high encomiums from the conqueror of Sind, and behaved so nobly, when almost for a time unaided, during the late Rebellion, should have proved, for the sake of some few years' service and a few pounds bounty money, so unfaithful at the last. The policy of the Governor General in permitting our European troops to take their discharge may be popular enough in India, but it has cost us an Army, and will give an unfortunate bias to the minds of men in other regiments whose term of service has nearly expired. The worst possible precedent has been established, but it was inevitable. The question now to be decided is how to organise a loyal army. The best Government for India is a mild despotic one. Our Viceroy must be a wise and liberal politician, capable of acting on all great occasions without delay, a man who will make good use of the authority given him by the Crown and people of England without abusing it.

Some few changes might well be introduced at the present moment when we about to re-organise our army. The system pursued by the Medical Department is undoubtedly a faulty one. The most experienced Surgeons hold Staff appointments, and the Regimental Surgeon is often unavoidably located far away from his Regiment, (excepting the sick in a General Hospital.) So small are the powers of the Medical officer even within the Hospitals, that he is unable to condemn the most deleterious food issued for the use of the sick without applying for a Board of officers according to established routine, and the Board are generally guided by his opinion seeing that not one in ten can define the properties of good and bad, and the difference which exists between black and green tea, or decide whether a potato is merely, "inferior in quality" or "positively injurious and unfit for use." The proceedings of the Board must pass through the hands of a commanding officer and perhaps the office of a Brigadier, before they find their way to the Commissariat Department. If two soda water bottles are missing Red-tape demands that a similar enquiry should be instituted.

When a Regiment has newly arrived in the East or any other quarter of the globe, the Surgeon is supposed, as the officer on joining for the first time his depôt or Regiment, to pick up every thing in five minutes by intuition. He may not have the slightest experience respecting the disorders peculiar to the climate, nor know the peculiar mode of treatment. The lives of hundreds may depend upon the skill of a Medical officer of no Indian experience whatever, who is as likely as not to treat tropical disorders as he would those of a like or somewhat similar type in a temperate climate. A farmer conversant only with the system of farming pursued in Soctland and Switzerland, might as well take a farm in Wiltshire and expect to find it a profitable investment. It is true that "necessity is the mother of invention," but the chances in both these cases are somewhat more in favour of failure that success. We know that a crowded hospital lacks occasionally a Medical officer, and that the officer sometimes dies without medical attendance or advice, but cases such as these may be unavoidable within the tropics, where the epidemic seizes the Surgeon as well as the patient, and the reaper death is often particularly busy. There is a broad field before the Surgeon who has to discover the truth, alone, by unknown paths. One Assistant Surgeon may dose his patients with saline purgation on the first appearance of fever, while another will denounce such practice as only calculated to pave the way for cholera. One Surgeon objects to administer quinine in every period of the disease, while another with greater Indian experience has recourse to it in any stage of fever. One Medical man (tell it not in Gath!)prescribes in severe cases a *secret* medicine known as the *Tinctura Warburgi*,* while another declares his brother professional to be an arrant quack and declares that *Beberine plus a glass of brandy and hot water*, would promote diaphoresis just as well, and may be tried when quinine proves unsuccessful. Young army Surgeons on their first arrival in India might, we think, be placed under the more immediate *surveillance* of Medical officers of Indian experience.

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* See a paper by Mr. Day on 'Tropical Fevers;' "Indian Annals of Medical Science," January 1859, page 91.

We have shown that Barracks on the whole are roomy, but we do not see what is to prevent them from being crammed, especially in the case of those in the Hills. The Barracks provided for the officer are generally superior in every way to those set apart for the private, but we know two instances in which the rule appears to have been reversed, viz. in the case of the Barracks for the officers of the line at Chatham, and the royal Barracks in the Garrison of Fort William. We would draw attention to the latter only. These Barracks were constructed so as to catch neither of the two great prevailing winds blowing from the North and South, and all the sun, for strange to say these were the only Barracks not provided with colonnade and gallery. When fever prevailed greatly this year among the officers, attention was drawn to the matter by the long sick reports which came under the eye of the Brigadier, and the Public Press. Military Sanitary Commissioners were accordingly appointed to inspect and report upon the Barracks. The three great conclusions at which this Çommission arrived may not be generally known to our readers. In the first place they reported that the passages in the Royal Barracks, were devoid of any ventilation whatever; in the second, that there was a great lack of cleanliness throughout the building; and in the third place, that the unpleasant and unhealthy effluvia arising in the quarters was to be attributed to the lack of valves in the pipes connected with the underground drains. As a remedy for the first objection it was proposed that the two turret stair-cases on either side of the passages, which lead out upon the roof, should be knocked away, and windows substituted in their stead; and for the latter that valves should be provided. We believe that to secure cleanliness will be impossible until latrines are provided for the native servants who crowd the passages, and they are compelled to have recourse to them. The unpleasant stench of smoke from a hundred hookahs always fills the unventilated passages, and the only mode of curing this nuisance is to hold the officer responsible for the acts of his servants. In the eyes of the native indeed there is a vast difference between the Barrack and a private house, and many object to put off their shoes on entering the quarters of an officer, when they would not fail to pay the customary mark of respect if entering his presence elsewhere.

As regards indoor amusements we have pointed out what *has hitherto* been done. A Regimental Reading Room and

Library has been combined, furnished with games and newspapers, and pen and ink for distant correspondents. The scheme is so far successful that the Reading Room is filled at night, when the well lit Canteen and the dram bottle prove most attractive. The beer and spirit reports of a regiment, of the average strength of 729 men, are lying before us, extending from the 1st of April to the 30th of June, 1859. During this quarter 41,664 quarts, 1 pint of malt liquor have been actually sold, giving an average of 57 quarts, 1 pint to each man during the quarter; and 486 gallons of spirits, giving an average quantity drunk by each man during the quarter of 28½ drams. The Reading Room fails to a certain extent, inasmuch as it is deserted during the hot and wearisome hours of the day. If it could be made the coolest place in Barracks, and was furnished by Government in a manner suited to the climate, and voluntary classes were formed among the men themselves, this objection would in great measure be obviated. If Indian officers could be persuaded to give lectures to their men, during the winter season, on scientific and entertaining subjects, as British officers at Chatham, Aldershot, and other important military stations in England have for several years been wont to do, and Members of the Reading Room only were given the privilege of free admission, it would tend to add numbers, and thus to diminish in some small degree idleness with its attendant crime, ignorance and ill health. Some regiments in India have established skittle alleys beneath their Barrack rooms, and many might do worse than play at the game of nine pins which renders the Public house in England so attractive, in combination with the newspaper, glass and pipe.

Even in the plains there are many summer evenings when it is not too hot and oppressive to indulge in a game of cricket. Some soldiers on the grass plot before our window are getting their hand in, against the winter season, as we pen these lines. "Cricket," says Maurice, the Principal of the 'Working Man's College,' "is an exercise which develops every part of the body, 'and makes it ready for any thing; and as an education of the 'eye is perhaps the best that can be named." We would even go farther than this, and say that nothing can be more inducive to intellectual vigour than boxing, bowls, billiards, wrestling and other sports in the fresh air, of which nobody can get too much. The following Circulars from the Horse Guards, addressed to commanding officers of Regiments and Depots, have recently appeared. They are valuable as showing that the Government has begun at last to see the necessity of introducing physical education into the Army:—

"SIR,—I am directed by His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the War Office on the subject of the recommendation of the Commissioners for enquiring into the medical and sanitary affairs of the Army, that facilities and encouragements be given for athletic games, &c. among the troops, and that the soldiers should be employed on different kinds of labour ; and I am to desire that you will furnish to the General officer under whom you are serving, for the purpose of being forwarded to the Quartermaster General for the General Commanding-in-Chief's consideration, such suggestions as you may wish to offer for carrying out the measure in the battalion under your command, and also to transmit through the same channel your requisition for the necessary apparatus, &c. and for the hire of a cricket ground if the same cannot be obtained on Government property.

W. F. FORSTER, *Deputy Adjutant General.*"

"SIR,—The Commissioners in their report on the Medical and Sanitary affairs of the Army, having recommended that facilities and encouragement be given for all athletic games such as fives, cricket, quoits and single-stick, for gymnastic exercises, and that the men be employed on different kinds of labour when possible, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief, that Secretary Major-General Peel concurs with the Commissioners on the point, and will be ready to consider applications from Regiments for the supply of the necessary apparatus and for the hire of cricket grounds, &c.

B. HAWES."

Many an old officer will tell you that it is impossible to persuade the soldier to do anything reasonable when parades and drills are over, but that he will make himself smart, take his cane, walk down town, and smoke his short clay pipe with his comrade in some pot-house, over his beer, indulging the while in not the most intellectual conversation in the world. This is not the experience of the more sanguine officer of the present day. The soldier is as fond of society and amusement as other gregarious animals by whom this world is peopled, and he frequents the Public House, in many instances, because it is the only place where entertainment and society are provided for him, adapted to his tastes. To reduce the temptations to which the soldier is from his position peculiarly exposed, the employment of "pleasant preventitives both of a moral and physical kind" has of late years repeatedly been urged. Efforts must be made to keep him well and out of hospital. Idleness engenders vice, and vice brings in its train disease, which is followed by greater debility in a tropical than a temperate clime, if it does not prove fatal. Officers have shown of late years that they take an interest not only in the Reading Room but in the Private Amateur Theatricals got up among their men, and many not only subscribe for season tickets, but contribute articles of dress. The Theatre is now almost as necessary an adjunct to camp and barracks as it is in France. Tragedy and melodrama in the hands of the Military Amateur excite perhaps more laughter than broad comedy, and after a sultry suffocating day it does one good to laugh away sadness and ill humour, and prolongs one's life, for high spirits and a lively imagination exercise greater influence than most persons imagine over the human frame.

Above all things we would urge upon our rulers the necessity of attending to the profound maxims of Wellington contained in his Indian Despatches, while organising an army which has been for a long period most shamefully neglected, and introducing measures for its preservation from its greatest foe. India under British rule is free, and the day dawning when the telegraphic wire may enable the War Office and Horse Guards to communicate daily with Calcutta, or with Simla. Whether it is ultimately determined that the Indian Army shall be a local force or one for general service, matters in our opinion very little, so long as it is an army loyal to the Queen, and never actuated by those mere mercenary feelings which have more than once led to serious discontent, and open mutiny. Our possession now entails a great responsibility, and we must provide carefully against dangers from within, which have always been more imminent than dangers from without. Mercy must be linked with justice. Under a better adminstration we may be enabled to sheath the sword of conquest, binding around our brow the bright olive branch of peace ; and India may yet become the most civilized, peaceful, contented, and glorious dependency of the British Crown.

ART. VI.—1. *Copy of a Minute* by the MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, *dated February* 28, 1856, *reviewing his Administration from January* 1848 *to March* 1856.

2. *Papers relating to Oude.*
3. *Papers relating to the Mutinies.*
4. "*The Times*" *Newspaper.*
5. "*The Saturday Review.*"
6. "*The Friend of India.*"
7. *Statistical Papers. India House. April* 1853.

IN a former paper, published nearly six years ago, we attempted to give a sketch of six of the eight years during which the Marquis of Dalhousie administered the affairs of the British Empire in India. We then left him almost in the zenith of his success and fame. The Burmese war had then been happily terminated. Our relations with the Nizam had been just placed on an improved footing by the cession of what are known as the Assigned Districts. Reports came yearly from the Punjab filled with nothing but the triumphs of civilisation, extended agriculture, reviving commerce, works of irrigation in progress, lines of roads laid down, lawlessness discountenanced, and its place not yet supplied by corruption and fraud. The Commissions which had sat so long on the reorganization of the Post office, of the Commissariat, and of the Department of Public Works, had consummated their labours by practical results. The whole Empire was being rapidly encircled by the arms of the Electric Telegraph. The barriers were about to be removed which still kept the waters of the Ganges within its natural bed. By many enactments of solid, permanent, and wide utility, the condition of the Judicial Courts, the efficiency of divers departments, and the convenience of all classes, had been either amended or secured. The Sontals had not broken out into rebellion, nor had matters assumed a grave aspect in Oude. Everything, everywhere, presented that appearance of peace, prosperity, and progress, which formed the subject of Lord Dalhousie's parting hope and prayer.

Nor was the lustre of this fair picture at all dimmed by the events of 1854 and 1855. The Sontal rebellion was of too local a character to shake, in any measure, the general prosperity of the empire. The territory of Nagpore lapsed without a shot being fired. The measures of internal administration were still pursued with the same vigour. And the last crowning act of Lord Dalhousie's Government, the annexation of the Province of *Oude,* was effected with tranquillity, after the fullest discussion, and with the entire support and approval of the Ministry at Home. "All well in Oude," was almost the first announcement that greeted Lord Canning.

There are few who will forget the last few weeks and days of the administration of Lord Dalhousie, or the departure of the statesman himself for Europe in March 1856. With none of those close personal intimacies which from his position, service, and character, had been formed by Lord Metcalfe, with nothing of the rather noisy joviality of Lord Ellenborough, or of the military frankness of Lord Hardinge, his long and successful career had won for Lord Dalhousie a political popularity to which it is given to but few public men anywhere to attain. The confidence felt in his firmness, his penetration, his decision, his capacity for command, his power of grappling with tough and intricate problems, was openly expressed by men of all classes and pursuits. The services knew his freedom from jobbery: the mercantile classes admired the talent which he brought to bear on "the greatest improvement which man's invention has yet applied to the means of movement and carriage by land:" an ovation speedily swelled to a triumph: and the tribute of praise was even added by that holy band of men, whose lives and energies are devoted to the highest interests of the native population, and who, on this occasion, might gracefully mingle in politics without evincing the least trace of the passions which they excite.

No Governor General, within the memory of man, had quitted India with such universal, such avowed, such unqualified tokens of the public good will. Only natives could recall the splendid career of the "glorious little man" under whom Metcalfe, at twenty-one, was rocked and nursed into a statesman. The fascination, the grace of the Marquis of Hastings, and the affection with which, as Governor General and as Commander-in-Chief, he had inspired the army, dwelt in the memory only of a few elderly civilians, or mouldering Generals in command of divisions. Lord William Bentinck was personally and politically unpopular with the civil service. Lord Auckland closed his career in difficulties and darkness. Lord Ellenborough had received the severest blow ever given by such masters to their servant. Cordial expressions of good will attended Lord Hardinge to the river side, but nothing like the burst of feeling which, breaking through the trammels of office, and the rigidity of conventionalism, sounded along the banks of the Hooghly on the departure of the Governor, who, though sick and wearied with labour, had borne him so bravely to the last. Few things, indeed, became him more in office than the leaving of it, and his arrival at home was the signal for an echo to the acclamations wafted from the far east.

We need scarcely remind the most casual reader, the most careless thinker, of the different pictures presented by the India of 1856 and the India of 1859. Those three years have seen a mighty corporation extinguished, one army melt away, a national debt frightfully increased, theories overthrown, reputations assailed, and policies which had been long ratified, unequivocally condemned. Of course, when the mutiny burst forth in the army and was followed by disaffection, anarchy, and bloodshed amongst the people, it was hardly to be expected that Lord Dalhousie should escape attacks. The public in England and in India looked for a victim, and who so fit for the occasion as the statesman whom India had dismissed from her shores, and England had received, with one unmixed shout of acclamation and applause? He had overlooked, men said, the cloud which, even in his time, was overspreading the horizon. He had augmented the growing disaffection of the native troops. Even his material measures of civilisation and progress had offended prejudice, excited apprehension, aroused hostility. His legislative enactments had needlessly shocked those tender feelings which the most cautious and the wisest of Indian statesmen had endeavoured to conciliate. Above all, his determined policy of annexation, pursued at all hazards and embracing all parts of the empire, had spread everywhere a sense of insecurity amongst princes and people, had taught the natives to feel themselves a conquered race, had converted our rule from a light burden into a galling yoke, had compounded together and brought to a head those feelings of irritation which needed only one spark for a tremendous explosion, and had shaken and endangered the stability of our Government and the old belief in our sense of truth and right.

Verily the contrast suggested by the above reflections is a mournful sight. It is one from which the preacher would derive materials for a homily, and the man of letters the pith and substance of a whole chapter of remarks. The ancient moralist, the first and most truth-loving of historians would, we think, have added one more to his long list of illustrations of the dangers of too much prosperity, and have bid all Indian Satraps remember the destruction of Sardis and the ring of Polycrates. Call no man happy until you see his end, is a maxim on which the Christian may ponder as the Greek did of old, but it is not with any intention of inflicting a sermon or a satire on our readers that we have taken up the pen. Nor is it again with the sole desire of vindicating the reputation of a vigorous statesman when assailed. We conceive that the present state of *things* demands the exercise of a higher duty. The policy of when he held the reins of power, did, on the whole, command the suffrages of the public and of the press. It was ratified and endorsed by the Directors of the Company and by the Ministers of the Crown. It has become identified with the policy of the British nation in the East. Though moulded by one guiding hand and bearing the impress of one determined will, it is as the system which elicited almost universal assent, that we now desire to review it. Indeed, the British nation and public may well be aroused to a sense of their responsibilities and may ask themselves whether the national conscience can acquit itself of blame. A dozen different questions are suggested by the very aspect of a subject so important and so vast. Have we paid too much or too little regard to the social feelings of Hindu and Mahomedan? Are the natives so constituted that we had better, for our own sakes as well as theirs, leave them to the dead level of their decayed civilisation? Will education only generate disaffection or perpetuate intolerance? Is the main use of the Telegraph to give notice of outbreaks in distant corners of the Empire, and is the chief employment of railway vans to be the conveyance of European soldiers with rapidity to a new scene of action? Had we better contract our borders, disgorge our plunder, and dismember our Empire? Was the civilisation of the Punjab a cardinal blunder, and the annexation of Oude a national crime?

To all these questions a whole volume of essays might be written by way of reply. In the hope of throwing light on one or two of them, we shall commence with a review of the several additions which Lord Dalhousie made to the British Empire. "Our policy of annexation" has been pointed out by the press and by members of the House of Commons as one grand cause of the mutiny, and it is undeniably patent, on the very face of matters, that after four great provinces had been annexed between 1848 and 1856, the mutiny followed in the year 1857. But, as was observed long ago by the *Times*, each annexation arose out of different causes, was based on special reasons, and was, as regards any other, unconnected in the actual event. We must suppose all our readers to be tolerably familiar with the main events which led to the second Sikh war, the campaign in Burmah, and the occupation of Lucknow in February 1856. What we now claim particular attention for, is the part which each annexation played in the drama of the mutiny, the alarm which it caused in our Councils, the forces which it withdrew from other quarters where they were needed, or the aid and support which it contributed to the restoration of peace. When these points are impartially weighed and sifted in each case, a verdict may then be pronounced on each act of aggrandisement, as one of dark criminality which brought its own punishment, or of politic consolidation which did yeoman's service in good time.

We commence with the Punjab as first in date and in importance. No Englishman in India need now be reminded that in the campaign of 1848-49 for the second time we were arrayed against the *whole Sikh nation.* By no act of our own, after the limits of forbearance had been stretched to their utmost, after prayers for peace and predictions of tranquillity, we found it imperative to conquer the Khalsa army, to drive out the Afghan invader, to annihilate the Regency and the Durbar, and to take and govern the whole country. How we succeeded, has been chronicled in this *Review* and in other publications, and need not now be told. How the Punjab behaved in 1857: how, cut off from friends and with a hostile frontier to watch, the soldier-civilian never bated a jot of hope or confidence, but called into existence the arms of the newly annexed province to redress the balance of things and to reconquer the old: at what self-sacrifice, by what unparalleled exertions, and with what consummate foresight, mutineers were disarmed, chiefs conciliated, loans raised, and the kingdom denuded of troops in order to secure the one object of paramount importance, the recapture of Delhi—is a tale familiar to every British ear. In the presence of facts so patent and of a triumph so conspicuous, we would ask any person, not a fit subject for a lunatic asylum, whether the annexation of the Punjab could, by the most strained inference, by the remotest contingency, have had any evil effect on the mutiny? Was not that country, on the other hand, the beacon of our hope, and the rallying point of our affections? Was it not owing to the compact, complete, and thorough-going administration introduced in the eight years previous, that we found the population friendly, the remnant of the Khalsa faithful, and the whole resources of the province, the stores of its magazines, as well as the tried ability of its best servants, available for an enterprise which might have seemed desperate except to men who knew not the word despair? A little reflection will surely convince all readers and writers that, as regards the Punjab, it is an absurdity to deny annexation in one breath, and with another, to sound the praises of the band of heroes who held the country from Peshawur to the Sutlej.

No impartial person, whatever may be his opinion of non-regulation justice, as it is termed, will grudge Sir John Lawrence and his subordinates one atom of the favour which they received at the hands of a discerning Public and a grateful Ministry. *But* we believe that there is not one of those honoured officials man, whose acts we are reviewing, that so much of their signal success is due. From the first, Lord Dalhousie had made the Punjab his peculiar care. The details of its manifold administration had been arranged under his own eye, and the principal agents had been selected by himself. That abuses were not transplanted from our older provinces to take root silently and grow up with the system, that the latest improvements of theory and principle were instantaneously adopted, that the population was disarmed, that extensive public works were planned and commenced, that the executive, unimpeded by twaddling philanthropy, was permitted to mete out sharp and summary justice to crime, that a sway, at once conciliatory and vigorous, was enabled to ensure cheerful obedience, not to say active support and affection, was mainly owing to the Governor General. It was even said at one time that too much nursing was given to the bantling, and that the older children of the family were treated with neglect. But, though any such reproach was speedily forgotten in the deep and prolonged attention afterwards bestowed on the diversified interests of the empire, that very reproach may be taken as illustrative of our main argument that the strength of the Punjab derived its origin from Lord Dalhousie. He founded the polity. He chose the instruments; and he gave Sir John Lawrence the most earnest, unbroken, and valuable support. We submit that, whenever our annexations are dwelt on as one main cause of the Indian mutiny, the annexation of the Punjab should not only be struck out of the balance, but should be carried to credit on the opposite side. We think that none but the most uncandid and unfair critics would dispute such a proposition.

We come now to the second great acquisition, the province of Pegu. Here, again, the origin of the second Burmese war is familiar to every one. There was, it must be admitted, by all save Mr. Cobden, a fair *casus belli*. The insults and annoyances of years had at length culminated in a most unjustifiable attack on the person and property of a British merchant. The conduct of the Rangoon Governor and of the Court of Ava did justify the British Government in demanding reparation, and failing an amicable adjustment, in seeking reparation by force of arms. But we belong to a small knot of men who think that the second Burmese war might have been avoided by a different course of action, equally consistent with our position and our honour. In eighteen years the relative forces of the two Governments had undergone alteration. The British Empire, by the reduction in the strength of Gwalior and by the annihilation of the Sikh army, commanded the Peninsula. The belief in the prowess of the Burman soldier, which in 1824 had alarmed the Calcutta bazaars, had succeeded to a more correct appreciation of their powers both for attack and defence. Isolated by position, as well as by religious and social feelings, from the Indian territories, it became really a question whether, under altered circumstances, we might not afford to despise the insults and the arrogance of the king of all the white elephants. But whatever means we might have taken to obtain satisfaction, we are quite convinced that the deputation of a gallant Commodore, who had every motive to bring on and not to avoid a quarrel, was not the best way of going to work. Trunnion, with Pipes and Hatchway, sharpening their cutlasses and looking to their marlinspikes, was not the fittest person in the world to carry on a delicate negotiation with the Court, in all Asia, the most sensitive, the most arrogant, and the most outrageously jealous on all points of etiquette. We believe that had the officer, whose tact, knowledge of Burmese manners, and conciliatory spirit now shine out conspicuously in the administration of Pegu, been sent to expostulate and to ask for satisfaction, there might have been no second Burmese war. Unquestionably there would have been no forcible abduction of the King's ship, an act which hurried on the war and which was not justified by the position in which matters then stood. That, even under Major Phayre's able conduct, there would have been a good deal of delay and tongue-fence, is very probable, but we should have done our best to avert a collision, and the Fox and the Indian Navy need only have been summoned for a bombardment as the last resource of the baffled negotiator. But our present case is with the ultimate effects of the conquest and annexation of Pegu. We remember that, by those few who were averse to extension of territory on the sea-board, the strongest argument employed was, the complete isolation of Ava and Pegu. The King, it was said, gave no support to intrigues in the Lushkur of Gwalior, to conspiracies in the Deccan, to rebellion on the frontiers of the Punjab. His subjects were aliens in speech, in usages, in religious observance, from Mahomedan or Hindoo. His power of aggression was contemptible. His intercourse with us, except by a little trade to the Coromandel Coast and the Port of Calcutta, was limited. The war excited scarce an enquiry in any Native Durbar throughout the country. If the subject was ever discussed, it was merely said that the Sirkar Bahadur had found necessary to send some ships and a few regiments to chastise the presumption of some outer Barbarians who lived in dense bamboo jungles and dismal swamps, somewhere to the east and south of Chittagong.

We believe that there was a good deal of truth in the above *allegations*, but with this concession, the whole argument on the evil effects of annexation as illustrated by Pegu, falls at once to the ground. Lawyers tell us that contrary allegations are not to be listened to, and it would be equally correct to say that the same arguments, and the same allegations, are not to be employed, to suit entirely different and contrary views in the same prosecution. If the Court of Ava holds no communion with Lucknow, with Hyderabad, and with Central India: if Pegu and Burmah are girdled by mountains, barred by religion, alienated by speech, from sympathy with the people of continental India: if the War of 1852 excited no murmur of suspicion, no movement of unrest, in the camp or in the bazaar: if, unheeded by prince, people, or priest, another fertile province was added to our dominions—it then follows by parity of reasoning, and by inferences not only fair but irresistible, that not one tittle of the blame of the mutiny can be laid at the door of the Burmese Campaign. If the people of India cared not one straw whether our troops sacked Rangoon and blew up the great Pagoda, neither was the ruler of Ava likely to wish good-speed to the 2nd Cavalry or to the Bareilly Brigade. As was the campaign along the Irrawaddy to the Choubes and Dhobes of our military stations, so was the mutiny of 1857 to the distant Burmese. The same amount of feeling was by them exhibited, as would be exhibited in England by any respectable householder who should read in the *Times* one morning that one-half of Socotra had been swallowed up by the sea.

Such is our opinion of the results of the annexation of the second large province. But the measure deserves consideration in one or two other points of view. The possession of the valley of the Irrawaddy fills up a gap which lay temptingly open between Arracan and Tenasserim, to any European power. Our sea-board line on both sides of the Bay of Bengal, is now continuous and secure. A new city, laid out with every regard to municipal conservancy and to public convenience, is there, rising into importance, and promises to become an emporium of trade. The Court of Ava, though not committed to any formal and written alliance, is united to us by the friendliness arising out of reciprocal embassies. And the revenue of the new province has even surpassed, in a few years time, the amount which the most sanguine advocates of annexation had ventured to calculate on at the time of conquest. The earliest reinforcements of British Troops came from Rangoon in our hour of peril. The Native Regiments, cantoned there, were preserved from mutiny by the mere force of their situation in a strange country and amongst a people with whom they had little in common. We do not believe that, during the worst part of the disturbances, the condition and safety of the province ever cost our rulers a day's anxiety; and the name of the sovereign of Ava figures conspicuously amongst the long list of those who contributed to the relief of the sufferers in the East. For the second time, we say with all confidence, that another province must be struck out of the articles of charge on the head of annexation, brought against the policy of the late Viceroy to which he committed the British nation.

We now take up the case of Nagpore. This House was invested with none of that dignity which is derived from past splendour, eventful history, and ancient and honourable descent. The great Mahratta powers were not two centuries old, and the kingdom of Nagpore was not even the first or oldest of the great Mahratta powers. Twice had its ruler waged war with us: once had the province been administered by an Indian statesman whose name is still held in reverence there after more than half a century by the inhabitants of all ranks; once subsequently had it lain at our absolute disposal; and though this fact would not be sufficient to maintain a bill of attainder perpetually hanging over the head of the Rajah to be let fall at any suitable moment, yet it would be good reason why the experiment of a native dynasty should not be repeated. *in a large empire*, on the occurrence of a suitable opportunity for effecting other arrangements. Such an opportunity occurred in 1854. After nearly forty years of a rule marked, it is true, by none of those atrocities which are familiar to the readers of Oude Blue Books, but at the same time not characterized by any remarkable degree of vigour and progress, the Rajah died. Repeatedly pressed to signify his wishes on the subject of adoption by a Resident of avowed partiality to native dynasties, he had left no directions at all. There was not a Mahratta to be found with the faintest claim to the succession as heir-at-law. The Resident, it is true, did his utmost to embarrass, and annoy the Government by submitting chimerical proposals for the establishment of a native Government, which proved nothing except the queerness and wrongheadedness of the proposer. It became a simple matter for consideration whether the British Government should search for some Mahratta possessed of rather less than the average vices of his countrymen, and seat him on a strange throne by the aid of British influence. The Government, as we think, wisely, determined on incorporating the province with its own territories, on failure of heirs, and none but those who argue that, at all hazards, native dynasties are to be maintained as more popular, more progressive, more just and more vigorous, than the administration of either Crown or Company, can question the policy, not to say the equity, of the above decision.

There is no doubt that from the extent and isolation of the province it was admirably suited for the machinations of the disaffected. We had no troops to spare, and no means of transporting them to Berar with celerity, if we had. Some of the old soldiers of the native army had been taken into our pay at annexation, and the flame of revolt, if once lit up in the cantonments of Kamptee, might have spread to Hyderabad on the one side and to the Presidency of Bombay on the other. But the annals of the rebellion in Nagpore are *almost* a blank. The Commissioner and his subordinates on the watch to detect intrigues: anxiety in the cantonments: a score of troopers arrested for seditious language: a Rissaldar or two hung for the encouragement of others: some six pounders "moved up:" communication by Telegraph or other means maintained with difficulty at critical periods, these are the main incidents which characterised the history of a kingdom not four years incorporated with our dominions, at a time when our fairest and oldest provinces were convulsed with anarchy, and our most populous cities were streaming with blood. The Commissioner, though confessedly a most dilatory workman where the interests of salt consumers were concerned, and not the person who should be selected to draw up an elaborate and lucid report, which should afford "material for the deepest reflection," proved himself well-fitted to deal with an emergency, requiring men to act and think, before they wrote at all. Not that any amount of tact, conciliation, or firmness, would have availed, had the elements of combustion been ready to explode. Our argument is that the kingdom of Nagpore, annexed without the firing of a shot, was preserved to us with only a moderate demonstration of strength, while a storm of shot and shell, and the presence of armies, was required either to maintain order or to recover lost ground elsewhere. Allowing all credit to Mr. Plowden and his subordinates for the resolute and calm bearing which he maintained in 1857, we submit that the annexation policy had no more effect in disorganizing native society in Nagpore than it would have, if that country had been left under its old rule. "All is quiet in Nagpore," the Blue Books constantly tell us. Nagpore annexed does not mutiny or rebel. Indore and Gwalior, left untouched, are enveloped in the general conflagration. Again, for the third time, we put it to the candid judgment of our readers, whether Nagpore should not be eliminated from the lectures on the evil effects of territorial aggrandisement and unscrupulous aggression.

We now come to the fourth and last kingdom which Lord Delhousie incorporated with the British Dominions, the Kingdom of Oude; and we strongly suspect that if general and vague accusations could be divested of their haziness, and reduced to something tangible, we should find that Oude and Lucknow constituted the gravamen of the charge against the unrighteous policy, as it is termed. The King of Oude had previously never intrigued against us, had lent us money, had been our faithful and firm ally. From the provinces under his sceptre were drawn the soldiers of our army whom, a few years ago, the boldest writer would hardly have suspected of wholesale treachery. The title of King had been created by our own act, and had been recognized in various Treaties, which nothing short of the grossest breach of faith on the King's part should be permitted to annihilate. It was almost the last great independent Native State in India, and, as such, its extinction magnified everywhere the native idea that existed as to the lust of our ambition and the unyielding tenacity of our grasp. We believe that the popular notion with respect to the British policy takes some one of the above shapes, and that it would, if analysed, be found to have reference almost entirely to the Kingdom of Oude. That the annexation of Oude is a widely different subject from the annexation of the Punjab, or from the conquest of Pegu, is unquestionable, but as Lord Dalhousie had given three other splendid Provinces to the British Crown, it is always convenient, and rarely unsafe, to throw in a few other instances of the same line of conduct, when making an attack on one particular action. Just in this way does an unpaid Magistrate in England, when administering and punishing Hodge for setting snares for pheasants or for gathering sticks in forbidden woods, season his strictures with allusions to two or three like cases, in which, however, enquiry would have shewn that the said Hodge had been declared entirely free from blame. But as annexations took place, and the mutinies *did* follow, it is perhaps hardly matter for wonder that the general opinion should take the shape which it did.

The occupation of Lucknow in 1856 and the immediate introduction of our civil agency everywhere, were so amply discussed at the time and since, that we have no intention of dragging our readers once more through the Oude Blue Books. All that we shall do is to draw attention to two or three salient points in the controversy. The unhappy similarity in the annals of the Province for more than fifty years is notorious and undefended. No rhetoric could exaggerate the evil effects of that miserable semblance of a Government. The exactions, the tortures, the robberies and murders in open day, the shameless corruption with which the lives and properties of thousands were handed over to the highest bidder, the decaying agriculture, the reappearing forest, the plains repeopled with wild *beasts*, the venality of the parasites, the imbecility of the monarch, the absence of vigour in any one department but that of the thumbscrew, the inveteracy of the disease, and the entire hopelessness of amendment, all this has been fully and lucidly given to the world, not in the pamphlet of the hired advocate, or in the leaders of the partial Editor, but in the tours and Diaries of the well known writer and Resident, who, of all others, exhibited the greatest tenderness towards Native States. A page from one of the Lucknow Diaries reads like a passage from the second Philippic dexterously united to Burke's celebrated description of the atrocities of Devi Sing in *Purneah* and Dinagepore. But it was nothing less, as our Indian readers know, than the simple, unadorned, and naked statement of facts which had been of daily occurrence in the length and breadth of the Province for fifty years, and which would have happened to this hour, but for British intervention. The few men, who still hold the opinion that remonstrances might have proved effectual, or that the condition of Oude was not much worse than Hooghly before the appointment of the Dacoity Commission, may be left, in the first case, as Mr. J. P. Grant wrote, to "the hopeless task of rearing heart of oak in a dark cellar," or, in the latter case, to the labour, almost as hopeless, of defending Charles the First from the charge of faithlessness, or Lord Macaulay from the charge of blundering about William Penn.

But the terrible evils of the Oude Dynasty being admitted by all reasonable and candid individuals, in fact, by the majority of Englishmen, there still remain several points in the Oude affair which cannot be passed over in silence. The two chief questions which suggest themselves are, what was the force of the Treaty of 1801, and what effect had the omission to make known to the King the cancelment of the Treaty of 1837? Now, in the Treaty of 1801, drawn up by the orders of Lord Wellesley, it was clearly the intention of all parties that the better and purer administration of the kingdom was to be carried into effect by the *officers of the Nawab Vizier*. Khans and Dayals, Amirs and Sings, were to be the agents in the work of progress, and not Commissioners, Deputy and Assistant Commissioners, and the like. It is, of course, argued on this, that even in the event of a better system becoming imperative, we had no right to introduce it by our own civil and military servants. But a full, complete, and sufficient answer to the above argument is found in this, that by reckless mal-administration, and dogged recusancy, the king had violated that important stipulation of the Treaty for more than half a century; and the Treaty was virtually at an end. The case may be argued on the principles of the commonest contract between landlord and tenant, between neighbour and neighbour, between bailor and bailee. With abundance of time, with reiterated remonstrances, after entreaties, warnings, threats, after every inducement had been held out by Resident after Resident in order to the fulfilment of this very article of the Treaty of 1801, the king had violated, trampled on, and thrown aside this very article. It was as binding on him as the cession of the provinces to be ceded by the Nawab Vizier, *i. e.* the greater part of the Doab: only, from its very nature, from the flexible terms of language, and from the want of something distinct and tangible, it was just the article that could be ingeniously eluded. Whoever may be dissatisfied with our reasoning on this point, should turn to the reasoning of the present Chief Justice of Bengal at page 228 of the Oude Blue Book. The subject is there argued in the very essence of pure law. It is often urged against kings and conquerors that they cloke questionable actions by the term of public policy, and give sounding names to things which, between individuals, would be denounced as fraud or robbery. But here the case is completely reversed. The Treaty of 1801 may be examined and interpreted under the strictest precedents of the law of contract, and had the matter at issue been one between two individuals, between Richard Colley Wellesley, commonly called Lord Wellesley, his heirs and executors on the one hand, and Saadat Ali Khan, a Mahomedan gentleman, on the other, then might the plaintiff have long ago taken his adversary into either side of Westminster Hall, and have sued him, at his pleasure, for a specific performance, or for a breach of contract.

The second point worth notice, is, the existence of a Treaty concluded in 1837. By this Treaty it was stipulated that should "gross and systematic oppression, anarchy and misrule" continue to prevail so as seriously to endanger the public tranquillity, the British Government reserved to itself, "the right of appointing its own officers to the management" of any part of the Oude Territory, great or small, wherever the misrule alluded to might have occurred; but with the further stipulation that the surplus receipts, after all the charges of administration had been defrayed, should be paid to the King's Treasury, and a faithful account be rendered to His Majesty of the receipts and expenditure of the assumed Territories. Here, it is contended, in this last Treaty made with the king of Oude, is a stipulation widely different from the result of the discussions of 1856. The Territories are not assumed in part, but the whole province has been annexed and made a part of the Empire. The surplus receipts are in no way accounted for, but are swept into *the* General Treasury, and figure in the balance sheet of the Imperial Revenue. The position of the British Government is rendered still more embarrassing by the fact that though the Treaty of 1837 was cancelled by the Home Government, a communication to this effect was never made to the King of Oude, and the Treaty itself was published in a book printed under the sanction of the Government of India in 1845, and purporting to be a collection of the Treaties in force with Native Powers. All that the King of Oude, it seems, was told in the following year of 1838, was, that certain Provisions regarding an increased military force to be paid for by the State of Oude, had not met with approval, and he was left to imagine that the remainder of the Treaty was still binding.

But, in reply to any pleas raised by the partisans of the Royal family on the above omission to notify the abrogation of the Treaty, it may be argued that the king from the partial intimation made to him regarding the military force, must have been fully aware that the final ratification of the whole rested with the Home authorities. Their approval or disapproval is absolutely essential to the finality of any such treaty, made in the time of peace, and the Treaty of 1837 has never had practical or real existence. No detriment has been inflicted on the king in consequence of the omission above admitted. Nearly twenty additional years passed without creating the faintest suspicion that a single one of the thousand intolerable evils of the administration had been remedied, or that any partial measure such as the Treaty of 1837 had contemplated, would suffice to cure the obstinacy of the disease. The Treaty when published, bore, if we mistake not, a foot note to the effect that it was not considered in force by the British Home Government. No stress appears to have been laid on that omission by either Minister, Queen Mother, or King in any of the well known interviews held with the Resident previous to the ultimatum of 1856. And, even the partisans of the king will hardly venture to contend now that such a qualified and partial measure would have been viewed by him with any greater favour than the complete and unconditional transfer of his dominions or Revenues to the Crown. The pension too, which was offered to him, and the terms of cession, were, in themselves, princely.

In truth, of all the great political measures taken by Lord Dalhousie, not one was taken with greater deliberation, was made the subject of such ample reference to England, united in approval men of more varied experience and opinions, or was effected at so slight a cost. By the statesman himself it was undertaken under a sense of the duty which could no longer be delayed nor evaded. It entailed on a man weighed down by eight years of incessant labour, a heavy burden at the close of his administration. It was sure to become a mark for the shafts of hostile criticism at Home. Had India remained at peace, as then seemed not unlikely, and had the civilization of Oude taken rank amongst civil triumphs with the civilization of the Punjab, the fruit of the measure would have been reaped only by the next Viceroy. It is, moreover, almost amusing, in the vigour of that proconsulship, to find that some of the measures proposed by the members of Council are spoken of as more peremptory than those of the Governor General himself. The just Indian Councillor, the acute English lawyer, the generous soldier, all concurred in deeming the strongest remedies imperative. The feeling was participated in by those on the spot and by those at a distance: by the men who learned the condition of Oude through the cold medium of books, and by those who saw, with their own eyes, the wasted harvests, the scanty population, and the ruined homes. It was, we say again, the pen of Col. Sleeman, the avowed supporter of native administrations, that pourtrayed the desolation of the kingdom in colours which none have the hardihood to term exaggerated. It was the chivalrous Outram on whom was forced the conviction that the State of Oude no longer retained any principle of vitality. The Royal city, the royal provinces, had, of themselves, nursed and sent forth the pinion which impelled the steel. Years of anxious expectation had passed without amendment. Days and nights of painful enquiry led all the enquirers to the same goal. To the conquest of the Punjab, Lord Dalhousie's own act and deed, the Home Government accorded a formal and languid acquiescence. The occupation of Pegu followed after the storming of Rangoon, as a natural consequence, and almost extorted consent. The lapse of Nagpore was a part of Lord Dalhousie's avowed policy, which neglected no lawful means of extending and consolidating the Empire. But the annexation of Oude, though we believe Lord Dalhousie to be the very last man who would wish to evade the responsibility of advocating and bringing forward the proposal, was a measure at which the Home authorities had ample time to pause, if they had chosen it. But the door of subterfuges and broken vows was at last closed. The fourth and final annexation commanded the approval of every Indian official of eminence, and carried with it the majority of the press; and before one single soldier had stirred from Cawnpore, the virtual dethronement of the sovereign had been consented to by the oldest and most experienced Directors in Leadenhall Street, and by the Cabinet, of which the present Governor General was a member.

The annexation of Oude is an act which, we firmly believe, will stand the severest scrutiny of History. It rests on the complete annihilation of a Treaty which one party had obtained with fidelity for half a century, and which the other had flagrantly for the same period set at nought. We really wonder why, under a rare bit of special pleading, an issue is not advanced in favour of the Oude family to the effect that the British Government, having neglected to avail itself of its rights during a period of more than twenty years, is out of Court by the mere efflux of time and by the English statute of limitations. We repeat that we should not be afraid of the result were the cause of Oude to be argued by the first counsellors in the world, before the most eminent Judges in any English Court guided by justice and law. It would be the cause of solemn obligations, imperative duty, moral and legal necessities, against rapacity and cruelty, abnegation of the functions of Government, violated Treaties and forgotten vows. But Englishmen, with all their good sense and patriotism, are strangely illogical in the expression of their sympathies, and wonderfully given to run down the public servants by whom their name and nation have been illustrated or upheld; nor, whenever the cause of the Oude family is agitated, do we despair of finding men ready to shed a few tears at the extinction of a dynasty which had the singular ill-luck of exhibiting to the world a union of those vices which eastern despotism sometimes keeps apart, and which, licentious in the Palace, degraded in the capital, and defied in the provinces, had yet managed to incur the double odium of imbecility and of harshness, and had linked the debaucheries of Tiberius to the spoliations of Verres.

Still, with all this, there is no denying that the annexation of Oude must have been largely canvassed in native society, in the camp, court, and bazaar. Amongst the soldiery, especially, it is impossible that it should not have been a frequent and familiar topic of conversation. We are told, too, that the position of the sepoy, was much altered by the introduction of our rule, and that he felt himself aggrieved by the loss of those privileges to which, in the days of Residents, he had been entitled to look. But if we rightly apprehend the facts on which these arguments are based, it was the custom of many Oude cultivators to send one member of their family to serve in the army, in order that he might be able to claim the interposition of the Resident for his paternal acres: and thus, while other unfortunate agriculturists were exposed to rapine and torture, the sepoy alone remained raised above the common equality of degradation and wretchedness. With our system, that knows few distinctions and obliterates class privileges, the above ceased. Not that the sepoy was really stripped of any advantages, but we are given to understand that he felt the influence of the Lucretian maxim, and no longer enjoyed the sweets of seeing others labouring in the trough of the sea, he himself being safe and sound on dry land. What then really happened was, that the ryot was dragged on shore out of the surf, to the rock of safety on which the sepoy had been standing alone. There was no more of the trampling of hostile cavalry, and of the goading into rebellion; and in the newly established Kutcherry, before a young man of five and twenty or thirty years of age who favoured no person and was accessible to every one, unbought and impartial justice began to be meted out. It is quite possible that there may be something in the unbending rigidity of our system not pleasing to the oriental mind, which loves a rule of contrasts and privileges, and in the first settlement of Oude there may have been acts of hasty commission, and harsh omissions; but we have yet to learn that it would be the duty of any statesman not to grant relief to the mass of the population, because a certain class were thereby deprived of a special and questionable immunity; still less can we acquiesce in the doctrine which however has been gravely put forth by several authorities, that it is convenient to maintain native states as places into which all the bad characters of our own provinces can be conveniently let loose, and as affording a marked contrast to our mild and happier rule—an Alsatia, in fact, into which the West End can disgorge all its cut-throats.

We also admit that the annexation of Oude was often quoted by the mutinous Press, if we may use such an expression, and that, in Urdu circulars and manifestoes, sympathy was evoked for a discrowned King. The reduction of Lucknow, moreover, cost us two campaigns on an extended scale, and it was there that Pandyism made its last great effort. On the other hand, it is tolerably clear that during 1857 the province had merely relapsed into its normal anarchy, each Zemindar or Raja thinking most of arraying his artillery, and of holding his own. For purposes of aggression Oude was well nigh powerless. Nor must it be forgotten that, after all, the mutiny did not commence with Oude: that it was the King of Delhi and not the Nawab Vizier, to whom the mutineers first repaired, and that no proof has been adduced yet to show a regular conspiracy on behalf of the Oude family. Whether annexation may not have accelerated a mutiny which sooner or later was inevitable, is another question, though it is easy to prophecy this after the result. But our duty to the population of the country was with propriety considered independently of any such possibility; and no person, at the time, when annexation was discussed, deliberately warned the authorities that the measure would inevitably entail a rebellion. A good deal of the asserted sympathy with the dispossessed family may have been feigned, for it is notorious that, while for half a century we have persisted in calling the ruler a king and his country a kingdom, we have not yet been able to induce the population to designate the one or the other by any other titles than Nawab and Nawabi. And now, with Lucknow being converted from a filthy city into a fine capital, with dismantled forts, agriculture reviving over one of the most fertile of soils, and with the enlarged views entertained by the Local Authorities, we trust that in a few years no man will have reason to regret or censure the policy which conceived and carried out the annexation. As a measure we believe it to have been as just and righteous as the conquest of the Punjab. As regards its effect on the mutiny, we cannot of course place it in the same category as the first three acquisitions; but he would be a bold man, who would venture to assert that the mutiny would never have happened, had Oude remained intact. If, then, the opponents of Lord Dalhousie will dwell on his great annexations they must confine themselves to the case of Oude: and they should remember that it was a task which he undertook with avowed reluctance, and that History will judge of it hereafter, not by its expediency, nor for its effect on the soldiery, but for its basis of substantial justice and right.

We have no desire to keep out of sight the other minor provinces which were added to the Empire by the same hand. Some are almost as clean forgotten as if they had never been independent. Not even the mutiny could drag them into prominence: and beyond vague charges and general assertions, no specific argument has been framed on the majority. The most important of these lesser acquisitions was obtained from Hyderabad. It is unnecessary now to review that cession at length. An English Periodical, being no less than the *Quarterly*, asserts that the Nizam was "bullied" into the cession of the Raichore Doab and other fine districts. The Nizam was certainly convinced by persuasion and argument, that his relations with the British Government could never be put on a secure or satisfactory footing, until he should make adequate provision for the payment of a Contingent which he would not consent to diminish by a single trooper. But the negotiation was confided to the hands of General Low, and any man who knows that old soldier's tact, courtesy, conciliation, and dignified but gentle bearing, must know that the term of a 'bully' is ludicrously misapplied to the disciple of Malcolm. As well might the charge of elegant manners and good temper be applied to an Assyrian Bull. The Hyderabad Treaty has secured everything which was wished for by the negotiation. Three fertile districts, the nurseries of cotton, are well managed by British officers. From their revenues the pay of the

Contingent is regularly met; the arrears are to be defrayed from the same source: all those petty squabbles, the Resident dunning and the Nizam shirking payment of his debts, like a worn-out guardsman, are happily terminated: the surplus of the revenues, if any, will be carried to the Nizam's credit, and during the Revolt, as we shall show hereafter, the most fiery city in Southern India was preserved from the flames.

We doubt much whether, even in these days of universal catechising, many readers could pass an examination in the History of the Raja of Angool. That territory was Lord Dalhousie's first acquisition. Angool is a small state of the Tributary Mahals under the superintendence of the Commissioner of Cuttack. The Raja was strongly suspected of aiding the Meriah sacrifices, and in 1848 had the temerity to resist the authority of Government. His territory was taken from him, and was quietly settled by a Bengali Deputy Collector with the aid of half a dozen peons, and the example has had its due effect on the other Tributary Rajas.

The events which led to a little war in Sikkim are more notorious. The Raja of that hill country had the audacity to seize and bind the person of Dr. Campbell, the political officer in charge of Darjeeling. Of course, the agent was released: the Raja was mulcted of a yearly sum of 6,000 Rupees which we had, till then, paid as the land-rent of Darjeeling, and a convenient strip of the Sikkim Territory near the Purnea Morung, at the foot of the hills, was taken from him. But we are not aware that any relation has been established, or has been attempted to be established, between the above facts and the outbreak of 1857.

The case of Sattara has found many defenders, but the most vigorous attempts of the Nana and his agents failed to set the Southern Mahratta country in a blaze. A great deal of our security is owing to the extremely skilful and judicious treatment of plots and conspiracies by those there charged with the maintenance of British authority, and to the sound judgment of Lord Elphinstone, though discontented Mahrattas may have had hopes of the re-establishment of a Peishwa: but for all practical purposes Sattara must be struck out of the supposed causes that led the army to rebel. The remainder of Lord Dalhousie's acquisitions we shall briefly dismiss. He compelled Meer Ali Morad of Khyrpore to restore certain lands of which the Meer had contrived to get possession by interpolating a clause in a treaty, and our readers can scarcely have forgotten some rather curious revelations as to the influence attempted to the exercised on the debates of the House of Commons, through one of its members, *in connection* with this act of tyranny, as it may perhaps be termed. The small principality of Sumbhulpore was attached to the South West Frontier Agency, and is administered by one of our officers, at a moderate cost and with considerable profit to the State. The last prince had, during his lifetime, signified his wish to make over his little territory to the British Government, and as no male descendant or claimant with a title could be found, the Ranees were pensioned and the principality occupied, though by some oversight, not often to be remarked in Lord Dalhousie's comprehensive state papers, no mention of this escheat is found in the celebrated minute of 1856. We believe that it is only a limited school of men that will quarrel with a viceroy for taking advantage of the deaths of highly pensioned native nobles or Rajas, to lessen the burden of the public revenues, or for abolishing legal exemptions and special immunities, inconvenient to the established tribunals and productive of no real advantage to their holder. In this view, no objection was raised at the time to the discontinuance of the titles of the Raja of Tanjore, and of the Nawab of the Carnatic: to the abatement of the privileges enjoyed by the Nawab Nazim of Bengal: and to the escheats of the enormous pensions enjoyed by two well known Mahratta branches, the one representing the real Peishwa, and the other a pretender. Add to these measures the acquisition of the country of Tularam Senapatti, forced on the Government, and yielding a revenue of 3000 Rupees a year from a country on which scarce an European has set foot; and the lapse of Jhansi, and we have the whole catalogue of Lord Dalhousie's aggrandisements described with accuracy.

It is necessary, even at the risk of repetition and tediousness, to be thus minute, and to let no one act escape review, because we are about to notice another charge brought against the late administration in regard to its general effect on the people of India and the Rebellion. The charge is one which it is very easy to make, and more difficult to refute. These allegations usually take some such form as the following. The determined pertinacious, and consistent course of aggression which the Indian Government pursued for eight years, has produced consequences injurious to our reputation, and subversive of our good name. One state after another has been involved in the general absorption. Fears have been excited, hostility awakened, prejudices shocked. Each ruler has felt his independence trembling in the balance: a general sense of uneasiness has pervaded all ranks of society: princes and leaders, the men of the pen who could find no avenue open to them under our exclusive system, and the men of the sword who are charmed by the wild license of raids and forays, had long begun to watch for their opportunities, and if a crisis arose by which the stability of our rule were imperilled, there could be little doubt that every native with one spark of ambition left to him, would lend his influence to our expulsion from the country.

We have already endeavoured to assign its precise weight to each separate acquisition as regards the mutinies. But it is not so simple to meet objections which state that the disastrous results of annexation are to be traced, not in the provinces which were girdled by our troops and fettered by the iron bands of our civil administration, but in the kingdoms which were yet inviolate, in the palaces which had not been spoiled, and in the universal dissatisfaction existing in the higher classes. This position is strengthened by the fact that many Zemindars took advantage of anarchy to re-assert their independence, and on the whole, it is confidently argued that to find the positive evils of annexation we must look mainly to what had not been annexed. These arguments we shall endeavour to meet by a resort to facts. We shall commence with two of the principal states yet internally independent, Gwalior and Indore. After the Campaign of 1843, Lord Ellenborough wisely determined to limit the aggressive power of a State so inconveniently contiguous to the capital of the North West, and it was Lord Dalhousie's object to educate the young Prince, whom Lord Ellenborough had led weeping to the *Guddi*, into something like capacity for governing himself and his realms. He was surrounded by one of the best of native Mantris: he had the advice of the most friendly of Residents: no shade of suspicion ever came between the young sovereign and the Paramount Power, and when the infection of mutiny reached the precincts of the Lushkur, it was then that we had the spectacle of one of those sovereigns, whom it suits a certain party to represent as ripe for the subversion of the British authority, driven by his own army from his own palace, and forced to take refuge within the British lines. A somewhat similar course had been followed at Indore, and at an earlier stage of the mutiny. The sovereign had the feelings which we may all suppose to be natural to one of his race and colour: but neither Mahratta duplicity, nor the memory of Holkar, nor the dread of the British yoke, nor the desire of revenge and independence, wrought with the chief of Indore to cast in his lot with the soldiery. These two facts, backed by the very weighty authority of Sir John Lawrence, seem to show that no general conspiracy of crowned heads, no desire of anticipating any intended aggressions, were concealed in the mine which exploded in 1857.

Still less is any general distrust to be looked for amongst the Rajpoot Princes. In the late administration no change in the *smallest* way affecting their honour or dignities had ever been contemplated. Beyond the settlement of a few boundary disputes, and the most constant efforts to discourage the practice of torturing and burying witches alive, the intercourse between the Thakoors and the Resident had proceeded on the usual footing; and it was Lord Dalhousie who sent to Rajpootana the most generous and high-minded of Indian statesmen to conciliate the illiterate but well born chieftains, descendants of those with whom such a monarch as Akbar had sought alliances, and whom even such a one as Jehangir did not venture to provoke. The disturbances at Mount Aboo were temporary: those in Central India might have occurred at any time, and it is not in Rajpootana, as we submit, that the insidious symptoms caused by annexation broke out into open disease.

To Hyderabad the same remarks apply. The sovereign had, it is said, been duped or frightened into the cession of his finest districts. There had already been one outbreak of Mahommedan fanaticism at the capital, which had endangered the life of one of the bravest officers of the army. The districts swarmed with Rohillas and Arabs. The city was the resort of bad characters. A ruler with a sound grievance, Arabs whom no one could check, thirst for rapine, bigotry and intolerance: all the materials for combustion were ready at hand. That the important city of Hyderabad was undisturbed by little more than rumour, and that a slight demonstration at the Residency was sufficient to awe the evil disposed, is due in part to the good sense of the Nizam and of his Prime Minister, but mainly to the admirable bearing of the Resident, Colonel Davidson, during the whole of the anxious period. A history might well be written to describe the judicious management of those of our representatives who contrived, by some means, to leave us no bloody history to write. But had the feelings of the Nizam been those which it is the fashion to ascribe to native sovereigns generally, had he been really smarting with the sense of past injuries, and under the apprehension of fresh attacks, Æolus could no more have confined the tubulent spirits of the Deccan *in carcere cæco*, than Sir Henry Lawrence, with all his eloquence that went to the heart direct, could stave off insurgency in the Province of Oude.

We now come to another part of the late administrative policy which has been carefully kept out of sight in the fiery discussions of the last two years. We have attempted to show clearly the local effects of each acquisition, as well as to combat the theory that every act of aggression had an insidious, wide, and expansive evil tendency which was confined to no geographical limits, and was hardly to be estimated by any positive eruptions. But we have hitherto said little or nothing as to the set off. It has become so universal with journalists, and members of both Houses of Parliament to represent the British Government as bent on carrying out to its utmost limits a harsh and unsparing policy, that no credit whatever is allowed for the provinces which Lord Dalhousie did not incorporate, for the sovereigns whom he did not discrown, or for the petty princes whom he laboured to surround with wise Counsellors, and to establish firmly in their capitals by all the strength and influence of the British name. We can show that on several occasions Lord Dalhousie exhibited a just and dignified forbearance, and that his course in others was actually retrogressive. Most people are aware that Bhurtpore is a small estate lying within thirty miles of Agra. Its soil, not devoid of natural advantages, is tilled by the best and most laborious agriculturists in India. The realm is just of that size to which a native ruler is equal, and when governed by a wise and strong will, it may compare favourably with almost any of our possessions, in which even the wisest of administrators cannot have full scope for his beneficence, but is fettered by some one of the cramps and bands of our civilisation. The Raja, during a long minority, was carefully educated: his revenues collected, his capital improved, and his interests guarded, and we should feel it almost an insult to the Government to attempt to vindicate it from the charge of having acted as a perfidious guardian to a helpless Ward, were it not constantly asserted that it had spared no one on whom it could lay hands. The little state of Bhurtpore, of which the revenue is not less than 17 lakhs of Rupees, still enjoys the protection of the British power, without paying one farthing of tribute, and the traveller steps on foreign territory, when after having left Agra in the morning and having wandered over the vast solitude of Futtehpore Sikri by midday, he pays a visit to the dilapidated fortress which cost us two memorable sieges, or to the elegant palaces and gardens of Deeg. The same course of protection in minority, and withdrawal of our Agent at the attainment of majority, was followed in the case of the Raja of Shorapore, a small state in Western India, though in this latter instance the care and assiduity of the British Government has resulted in the production of one of those hopeless and helpless specimens of royalty fitted for nothing but to grind down its subjects, to enrich its favourites, and to impoverish itself. Again, when certain states lying contiguous to our own, were involved in broils, and when it was feared that the flames of anarchy would spread across the border, the Government of India looked on as a calm and unconcerned spectator, and acknowledged the divine right of Orientals to say by which claimant they would consent to be bullied. Not a soldier was lent to either side when Golab Singh was opposed by his nephew, or when two brothers were contending for the State of Bahawalpore. Nothing would have been easier, on all the maxims of either Eastern or Western diplomacy, than for the Government to intervene, but the Government resolutely persisted in non-intervention. Probably our relations with Nepaul were never placed on a more satisfactory footing than in 1851. No one Indian potentate, except Jung Bahadoor, has ever witnessed the marvels of science and civilisation which the parent empire can unfold, and it may be said of him, as of the present ruler of the French nation, that he alone amongst monarchs, is competent to fathom our resources and to estimate the ultimate chances of a collision. Nor have our amicable relations been interrupted by the events of the mutiny, and if the Goorkhas proved themselves inconvenient allies, sympathised with the sepoys, and thought more of plunder than of discipline, they must yet have carried away with them accurate reminiscences of the prowess of our cavalry, and of the way in which light-haired and blue-eyed infantry, mountaineers like themselves, can handle the bayonet.

Then as regards our dealings with Affghanistan. Many of the actors in the Tragedy of 1841 had passed away. The momentous events, by which an army was sacrificed, bitterness engendered and confidence on our arms and in our justice shattered or shaken, had been thrust aside by later campaigns and had become matter for history. It was, however, while endeavouring to track the causes of the mutiny, that we found reason to believe in the disastrous effects of the Affghan invasion, as first destructive of the notion of our invincibility. Now, it is the fashion, with some writers, to speak o fthe policy of Lord Metcalfe or of Lord William Bentinck as that alone on which the safety of India can be based. But when we weigh all the policy of the late administration we should never forget that it was Lord Dalhousie, who retraced our steps and brought us back to the exact point where matters stood when those two great statesmen held the reins of power. Nor had this revival of intercourse with the Durbar of Cabul been facilitated by events subsequent to the Affghan campaign. To the irritating recollections of the defiles in which the bones of sixteen thousand men lay whitening, of Englishmen and Englishwomen detained in close captivity, and of the British standard again planted in triumph on the walls of the Bala Hissar, there were to be added the "unnatural alliance" which Dost Mahommed formed, in the second Sikh campaign, with the Sirdars of the Lahore Regency. Beside the final triumph and re-occupation of Cabul, there had been written in history the "Raid to the Khybar," where the Affghans were driven in headlong rout through the plains of a province which had once been their own. But all the above difficulties were surmounted by the tact and good management of the Lawrences. The insane project of maintaining a representative at Cabul was abandoned: no new obligations were sought to be imposed on the Amir: a veil was cast as far as possible over unjust invasion on the one hand, and over perfidiousness on the other, and if history would permit her written troubles to be razed out, the treaty formed with Dost Mahommed in the year 1855 would have accomplished that object. As it is, we are now just where we stood in 1837, in the position which we ought never to have left.

Probably there was no administration during which our purely foreign relations, that is to say our relations with the states outside the Peninsula of India, were left on a more solid or satisfactory footing. With the Minister of Nepaul, with the Khan of Kelat, with the Maharajah of Cashmere, with the ruler of Cabul, with the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulph, with the King of Ava, everything had been arranged. Past enmities or differences were buried in oblivion. The attention of the British Government was henceforth to be devoted to the internal affairs of its own provinces, or to the consolidation of its power within its own legitimate sphere of action, the Himalayas and the sea. The popular idea on this particular head is, as we have already stated, that Lord Dalhousie absorbed everything that came in his way, or went out of his course to pursue the process of absorption. Now, in order to show how ill-founded is this supposition, we have gone through certain statistical papers published on the motion of the most eloquent and merciless opponent of the old Company, and we find the following states to have been left inviolate, on the footing of former treaties, at the close of this Reign of Terror. The Native States may be divided into two main classes, subsidiary and protected. The first were ten originally, but striking out Nagpore and Oude from the list, we have still remaining. 1 Cochin. 2 Cutch. 3 Guzerat, or the Guicowar. 4 Gwalior. 5 Hyderabad. 6 Indore. 7 Mysore. 8 Travancore. Nothing was done to alter the condition of these Kingdoms, with the exception of the treaty with the Nizam, which in reality secured his independence, and of the new official arrangement by which the Resident at Baroda was made subordinate to the Supreme Government, and the reign of Khutput was terminated, we trust for ever. Of the second or inferior class of states, which were either protected, or protected and tributary, we find that, in 1856, *there* were left no less than thirty-three in Bundelcund: *eight* in the Cossya Hills; seventeen Tributary Mahals under the Superintendent residing at Cuttack: twenty-one Hill States under the Superintendent of Simla: fifteen Rajpoot chiefships under the Agent for Rajpootana: nine Sikh States on the borders of the Sutlej, including the Raja of Puttiala who has a revenue of 22 lakhs of Rupees: twenty States subordinate to the South West Frontier Agency: and no less than forty-three or forty-four others scattered here and there, within and without the limits of our own possessions. The revenues of these protected States extend from 3,000 or 4,000 Rupees a year, or that of a very small German Landgraf, to ten, twenty, thirty and even forty lakhs of Rupees; and the tract in which we are to look for them reaches from Independent Tipperah, a country never subjugated even by the Mahomedans, on the one side to the borders of Mooltan on the other, and from the pine trees of Simla to the Chilka Lake. The above are to be found within the Bengal Presidency, but in Madras, besides Cochin and Travancore, we find that Jeypore and the Hill Zemindars on the frontiers of Orissa are Protected and Tributary, and that Raja Tondiman governs his small possessions of Roodrocottah without any further controul on the part of the British Resident except as to unusual expenditure. And in Bombay, besides the larger States of Guzerat and Cutch, we have Colapore and more than one hundred Surinjams or minor dependencies: fifteen small chiefships in Guzerat: six in Myhee Kanta; the same number in Rewa Kanta; the same number of Sattara jaghires; nine Southern Marhatta jaghires, and ten other States with hard names distressing to the ordinary reader and puzzling even to the philologist. The combined revenues of all the above amount to ten millions and seven hundred thousand pounds of English money, leaving, after the deduction of Nagpore and Oudh, a round sum of eight millions of Revenue in the enjoyment of native sovereigns. Out of this sum must be further deducted one million and sixty thousand pounds paid to the British Government as tribute, and we should suppose that no person would be inclined to quarrel with this arrangement, or to assert that we are not entitled to some remuneration for keeping the peace between quarrelsome neighbours, or guarding the weaker from the aggression of the stronger. Some of the States are also charged with the maintenance of Contingents, or bodies which the mutiny has shown to be of very questionable advantage. But the footing of protection, tribute, and feudal service has been fixed by various treaties signed from the commencement of this century and onwards, and except that from some states the full amount of the contingent was not exacted, while others were taken under the direct management of the British authorities, during minority, or on account of disorders and indebtedness, both the letter and the spirit of the treaties have been faithfully observed. No petty Prince was bullied into further cessions. Not one additional shawl was demanded as tribute, nor one additional elephant's tooth, nor an extra trooper called for on any pretence whatever. It may be said that several of these principalities were cursed with barren soils, bad water, and a lawless set of subjects, and were not worth taking; and that during the late tempest those situated in Central India increased our difficulties and were the resting places of marauding parties. We really do not care to defend the Government from the mean charge of estimating the propriety of absorption only by the pecuniary gain or loss; our broad argument is that rich and poor, fertility and barrenness, were alike left alone, and that for every act of annexation, there was good and sufficient cause to be shown. As regards Central India, and its multitudinous chiefships, their normal condition is that of feud and foray, and everything collapses when our strong and controlling hand is withdrawn. On a review of the whole of our relations with the princes of India, it will be found that while no opportunity was neglected by which our financial burdens could be lessened, our borders secured and our rule extended to legitimate escheat and lapses, Lord Dalhousie was not governed by any iniquitous desire for universal dominion. Demonstrations more vigorous, theories much more startling, have found their supporters amongst other able administrators. That the Governor General habitually used the language of insult and aggression, we can confidently deny. "Never talk to me of the Paramount Power," was his reply to one of his Chief Secretaries, "I never hear that expression, without being satisfied that some gross piece of injustice is brewing." Nor, in the mutinies, do we find that any individuals considered themselves personally aggrieved by the line taken by the late Head of the Government, with the exception of the Nana and the Ranee of Jhansi, and we should imagine that not even Mr. Layard would, in his sober mind, allege the stoppage of the Peishwa's pension or the lapse of Jhansi to be an excuse for the ferocity of either the woman or the man fiend.

There will remain, however, the condition of the native army which, it is alleged, the Governor General failed to appreciate in spite of warning, or as to which his usual penetration was at fault. It was at once remembered in the mutinies that the native army was dismissed with a single sentence in the review of the administration. "The position of the native soldier in India has long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of improvement." We conceive *that no* one contends the sepoys to have had any *real* grievances to warrant their faithlessness, and that the origin of the mutiny must be looked for in the causes assigned by the civilian-soldier, Sir John Lawrence, and others best informed: or in the laxity of discipline, the growing insolence of mercenaries, the designs of the seditious, and numerical insufficiency of European troops. We shall be reminded that Lord Dalhousie had already had one small mutiny on his hands in 1849, and that one of the most experienced soldiers, holding the high position of Commander-in-Chief, had warned him that a considerable portion of the Bengal army was tainted with a mutinous spirit. We are as ready to admit, as any partisan of the Napiers can be, the extreme vigour of Sir Charles Napier's military administration, and to concede that he broadly stated his convictions, in 1850, that the army was insubordinate, or that at least 40,000 men cantoned in the Punjab were so far disaffected as to place the Empire in peril. But to borrow the pithy and apt language of an Indian writer unfortunately deceased, Sir Charles Napier had a prophecy for every event that could turn up, and "covered himself over with prophecy as with a garment." We have no wish to enter into the details of the famous controversy which led Sir Charles Napier to send in his resignation, but every one who has mastered the subject must be aware that about the time when Sir Charles was stating his convictions of general sedition and infidelity, he acquiesced in Lord Dalhousie's opinion by saying that no army "was better paid 'or better cared for than the Bengal army: that 'a more obe-'dient or more honorable army' he had never seen:" that he has left it on record that he apprehended less danger from massing Europeans together than from massing natives, and that he would cheerfully have seen a force of twelve thousand natives stationed at Delhi, and a similar force of five thousand cantoned at the capital of Eastern Bengal. The resignation of the Commander-in-Chief is, as it appears to us, utterly beside the question of the mutiny of the Bengal army. The greatest soldier of the age endorsed the course taken by the Governor General. The position in which the head of the army claimed to stand was one quite incompatible with the constitution of the Government, in theory and in practice, and utterly adverse to a sound, central, and powerful administration by a single master. But no wrong which the Napiers charge one of their opponents with inflicting on them, ever equals the wrong which they do themselves, and whatever may be thought of the prescience and vigour of the old soldier, it will hardly be denied that the measures of conciliation which he pursued, and the increase of the compensation for the dearness of rations which he granted, were just calculated to nurse that spirit of pride, selfishness, and insolence, which led mercenaries in India to attempt what mercenaries elsewhere have done. Still, we have no desire to reflect on the memory of the Commander-in-Chief. His measures, we may say with the lurid glare of the mutiny still enlightening us, staved off revolt. His conviction that a large body of the native soldiery was unsound, and disaffected, was, however qualified, the correct one. Already, in 1850, the practice of combination and correspondence had been thought to have commenced. But the mutiny having been nipped by the adoption of a generosity which the Government did not limit, and through measures to which a public approval in the face of the army was vouchsafed, what remained there for the head of the Empire to do? No measures of reduction in the force were proposed by the Commander-in-Chief or by any other military officer of eminence. No specific report of a growing spirit of mutiny was written, as far as we know. And even had Lord Dalhousie, in the spirit of prophecy, become aware of the change which had transformed the brave, devoted, and self-denying sepoy into an agent of sedition, a minister of treachery, a fiend of lust and massacre, what remedy was it in his power to apply to so wide-spread an evil, to so terrible a disease? Of his other internal measures we shall speak presently, as we have spoken of his foreign policy, but as regards the efficiency of the army it was his hand that planned the reform of the Commissariat; his pointed language that denounced the evils of seniority and the notorious and scandalous incapacity of effete Brigadiers; and, if we mistake not, it was he who made a direct requisition on the home authorities for the services of at least four additional Regiments. Of the value of 4,000 more bayonets in May 1857, those may judge who know what was effected by isolated bands. But confident as we believe the public still to be in the capacity of the late Governor General to have undergone any amount of labour, to have grappled with evils however intricate, and to have carried out reforms however protracted and extensive, we believe that the case of the Bengal Army had reached a point where it was beyond the powers of any single man. Experienced officers might venture to hint at the metamorphose of the sepoy. Practised eyes could see that there had been backwardness in the field and license in the cantonments, but if we consider the variety and depth of the interests bound up in the maintenance of a native army, the belief in its honour and integrity which many men of mark maintained, and which even the revelations of the mutiny have failed utterly to annihilate, the credulous but generous feelings which any attack, open or secret, would have enlisted in its defence, and the danger of hurrying on that very crisis which measures of reduction might have been meant to obviate, we think candid readers must admit that the mutiny was *a mere question of time.* The wisest and strongest of Governments could only have succeeded in putting off the day of trial. Even at the close of two years of fatal experience we have still most of the dangers of a huge native army to face. History will scarcely blame Lord Dalhousie for not having effected that in respect to Pandy, Dhobe, and Choube, which bitter lamentations over the past, months of opportunity, and the presence of 80,000 English troops, have not yet enabled the present Government to effect.

Then, as to the general advancement of internal reforms, there was probably no time at which the services had been worked up to a greater pitch of efficiency, nor had measures tending to promote security, to accelerate intercourse, and to expand commerce, been promoted with more consistent energy under any other rule. Some of the most important posts in the Empire were filled by men of the highest courage and capacity. The personal influence of the Chief had animated all those who had had the advantage of intercourse, and many who had only just seen his face. Five millions of English money had been laid out in the formation of roads. The largest canal known in the civilised world had been completed. Fractions of two railway lines were in working order and daily operation. Above all, Lord Dalhousie had given us the Electric Telegraph. The advantages of rapid communication had been felt, before the mutiny, in two or three political and military emergencies. On its paramount importance in the disturbances it is superfluous to dilate. But had not the Governor General lent the whole force of his authority to expedite the measure, and sent the active and able Superintendent to England, then, instead of the four thousand miles which girdle India 'in forty minutes;' instead of precipices scaled, large rivers crossed, deadly jungles encountered, and an army of signallers drilled and disciplined for their work, we might, at this moment, have been still waiting for a final report, on an experimental line, commencing with a native suburb and ending in a swamp, to be completed, after a huge amount of minutes, notes, and perusals, at some remote and undefined period when "financial difficulties" no longer stood in the way.

We have on other occasions noted the time and attention given to a subject which is generally summed up in that wearisome phrase, the development of the resources of the Empire. The timely preservation and renewal of forests in India had been greatly neglected. Rules were laid down for the attainment of both these objects. Professional gentlemen were deputed to examine into the reported existence of coal, iron, and borax in the Burmese Provinces, in the Salt range of the Punjab, in the interior of the Himalayas, and in the Nerbudda Valley. Improvements were effected in the Harbours of Bombay and Kurrachee, and the site was fixed for a new Eden on the river Mutlah. The tendency of all the legislation for eight years has been to lighten the tariffs of seaports already light, and to remove many restrictions on inland trade and navigation. In regard to local expenditure, the powers of the various governments were considerably increased, and Bengal Proper obtained its grand desideratum, a living and distinct Head. To these reforms are to be added those in Public Works, in the Post Office, in the Commissariat and the Ordnance, the Engineering Colleges, the ranges of barracks, the amendments in prison discipline, the amelioration of the system of clothing the army, the increase of dispensaries, and other changes of which detailed notice is unnecessary. The above are mainly the material parts of our resources or reforms. Several of them could have but little effect on the disturbances. But the same remark cannot be made with respect to the legislative or executive pressure applied to the extinction of those gigantic evils with which former governments had already grappled with success. Thus if the occurrence of a Suttee in a Rajpoot State drew forth an energetic protest from the Agent without creating disaffection; if the extinction of Thuggee was viewed by the mass of the population with something like gratitude, and the repression of Meriah sacrifices at least with indifference; if, in the crusade against infanticide we enlisted the sympathies of the chiefs of tribes on the side of humanity; if the avowed extermination of such national plague-spots might be attempted without exciting national discontent; the same innocuous results did not follow, it is confidently asserted, when we dealt with these social customs which are essential to the preservation of the Hindu religion in its normal condition of corruption or torpor. The activity displayed in education has created alarm. The very engines of civilisation of which we make our proudest boast, the railway and the steamship, have gone hand in hand in exciting disaffection, with the thoughts by which mankind are shaken. We have denied to the Hindu the privilege of persecution, and have protected Christian converts in the liberty of their consciences and in the enjoyment of their worldly goods. Lastly, we have dared to meddle with the delicate subject of the remarriage of child widows, and, in the teeth of remonstrances, have hurried on a revolution in a social ordinance consecrated in the minds of rich and poor alike, by twenty-five centuries of unhesitating belief.

There can, we put it to enlightened readers, be but one answer to these latter charges. Where open defiance or very extensive discontent are not the direct, immediate, and inevitable consequences of any one act of the Indian Government, it is bound to pursue the tenour of its civilisation and its reforms. With any ruler actuated by the highest and purest motives, there must come the latest discoveries, the tales of science, the stirring of the stagnant waters, the awakening of new wants. Tact and judicious handling may do much: the knack of governing aliens in blood and in religion may be elevated into a science: angles may be rounded off: the introduction of improvements may become easier, but civilisation must be certain of encountering some opposition from the intolerance which it calls into action, and from the self-love which it wounds. But it is not shown, that the violence of mutineers or revolted subjects was directed more against the moral than the material triumphs of our rule. The Telegraph wires were cut and the milestones were defaced with as manifest animosity as the church and the school house were demolished. Yet it will hardly be asserted that we were wrong in endeavouring to accelerate the means of transit and the communication of news. The Government of India is, in truth, charged with doing too little and with doing too much. It is charged by some parties, with neglect in educating, enlightening, and improving the masses, and with precipitation and injudiciousness in the introduction of too many reforms. It is taxed, on the one hand, with having betrayed its trust and forfeited its pledges as a Christian Government: and, on the other, with having waged unnecessary war with Hindu superstition and Mahommedan intolerance. We hold, that except in some few instances, the line taken by Government has been that dictated by a great, bold, and honourable policy. And on a review of all internal measures, legislative or executive, physical and moral, our argument is that the very mutinies showed the Government to have been not far from the right path. There are those who exclaim that the eight or ten years preceding the convulsion gave us no legacy but inward rottenness and external glitter. We venture to assert that the soundness of the machinery, the capacity of the workmen, and the security of the structure, were severely tested and stood the test, with partial dislocation, in the tremendous shock of 1857. There is much truth in one axiom of the *Friend of India*, that nothing we can do in India will make us more than quietly endured. We ought to look for little more than that passive acquiescence in the outward symbols of our authority, which was the characteristic of large bodies of the population, wherever anarchy had not its full sway. But had we really generated active hatred, intolerable grievances, universal discontent:

had there been a deep sense of wrong resulting in a net work of conspiracy: had dismayed sovereigns appealed to the sympathies of their subjects instead of trusting to our arms; had a sense of the injuries which they had inflicted and the tyranny of which they had been the ministers, cowed the hearts and unnerved the arms of all Englishmen, then, surely, had our crimes and our blunders met with their just retribution, and, with one howl of execration, we had been driven out of the country, or had remained in it to be buried under the mass of materials hurled at us by every native who had strength to lift a clod of earth.

We have no desire to pit one statesman against another or to suggest invidious comparisons, but in dealing with the mutinies the future historian will find it necessary to record that in no part of India was our overthrow so immediate, and our disappearance so complete, as in the Agra Presidency, long known as the model Government of India. No doubt, much of this is to be ascribed to situation and to peculiar circumstances. The worst massacres took place at Futtehghur and Cawnpore. There was the undying malice of the Nana, the almost entire absence of European soldiery, the contiguity of the newly settled kingdom of Oude, and the excitable nature of a martial population, not yet tamed into forgetfulness of their old predatory habits. But we are told by many men, and by some especially whose mouths seem to have been opened for the occasion like that of the prophet's animal, that much active hatred was really displayed in the North West Provinces, and that a good deal of this hatred is due to the operation of Courts and Laws too subtle or too capricious for even Orientals to admire. This *Review* has said as much in praise of Mr. Thomason as any organ in India, and nothing that has occurred detracts from the merits of his administration in so much as it was characterised by sympathy with the people, complete mastery of the revenue system, unwearied earnestness, sterling benevolence, and intimate familiarity with all the complex details of Government. But there can be no question that the system which he carefully built up and fenced round with so many bulwarks, was deficient in the elements of permanence and vitality. That settlement cannot be politic which practically prohibits the transfer of land and the investment of capital, or which can only preserve landed property in the same hands by exertions and surveillance too great for official nature. The settlement of the North West Provinces was a wonderful piece of mosaic: the talents of Mr. Thomason were those of a first-class administrator: and there is little doubt that while wrapt in admiration of the highly-wrought *Revenue* fabric, he felt the utter hopelessness of Courts of

Law as applied to such a system. But it was hardly possible to "sweep away" the Courts of Law from off the land: and it was equally impossible to keep the land free from the grasp of the Law. The results we all know. On the first shock of revolt, everything fell to pieces. The *Novi Homines* who had made money by commerce and invested it in land, fled incontinently. The ancient proprietors, sunk in some instances to the level of mere cultivators or occupants, reclaimed their own. The old animosities between caste and caste, or between one village and another, were revived in all their fierceness. There was no controlling power, none to whom Government could look for assistance, and, on the other hand, sometimes not even an individual capable of organizing revolt. Everything presented a picture of the most hopeless confusion and anarchy. If any blame may attach to the system, or if the sterling merits of Mr. Thomason be in the least impaired, in the opinion of posterity, by his inability to amend the Civil Law of the great province which he successfully ruled, Lord Dalhousie's reputation is not affected thereby. The settlement was complete before he reached India, and beyond giving the Lieutenant Governor hearty support and well merited praise, he had almost as little to do with that division of the empire as with Bombay or Madras. It derived nothing from him but some portion of that vigour which he contrived to infuse into all his subordinates. His particular policy, as it is designated, had no share in producing the reign of chaos. And, out of that chaos, what order and symmetry would he not have created!

It would be remarkable if a Viceroy with such natural gifts and such opportunities, had not given rise to divers anecdotes regarding his habitual mode of doing business and his political theories. Correct notions are abroad in the Indian world regarding his continuous power of application, his marvellous despatch of business, his fertility of resource, his quickness of conception, and his strong will when the conception was matured. But we have heard sundry erroneous stories regarding Lord Dalhousie's determination to do everything himself, and to trust to no subordinates. Some of these had their rise during the early part of his Government, when the Sikh war was at an end and internal reforms were in germ or blossom, and when the main occupation of the Chief was the civil conquest and the settlement of the Punjab. It was then familiarly said at Lahore that he wrote sixty minutes to the hour. But no man was ever more ready to avail himself of the local or departmental knowledge of his subordinates, or more willing to be saved the useless labour of picking out the facts on which orders were necessary, from the mass of superincumbent rubbish in which they often lay buried. The Governor General is always the umpire or referee in everything from "a sea-wall at Tumlook to a plunge-bath at Peshawur." No one was likely to attempt to dictate to Lord Dalhousie, or, at any rate, to attempt dictation twice. But he avoided the error so common to Indian intellects of the second-rate order, of imagining that no dependence could be placed upon others, and that nothing could be done unless he did it, *ab initio*, himself. Under his rule, besides the creation of a Lieutenant Governor for Bengal, was first introduced into the Supreme Council the separation and division of business, by which all matters of military detail and ordinary routine went first to the military member, and civil questions to the member most fitted to deal with them from previous experience. We may be quite sure that nothing of importance was done without the fiat of the Governor General, whether it regarded the prospects and character of an individual, or the welfare of a province. But to every suggestion from any official acting within his own sphere, Lord Dalhousie was accessible, and he was quite willing to take anything properly tendered in the shape of a summary of facts, the analysis of a squabble between a couple of old gentlemen who had grown grey without growing temperate, the previous history of some abortive measure, or a precis of the successive points and suggestions in some valuable but interminable report, on all of which it was imperative that either yes or no should be said. In some cases the hand of the master gave the last touch to the design of the subordinate, and some amusing deceptions were in this way unwittingly palmed upon the public. The new and more liberal rules for the grant of lands in the Sunderbunds, though approved by Lord Dalhousie as Governor of Bengal, were all conceived, drawn up, and matured by the present able Foreign Secretary. On another occasion, after the transfer of a province had been decided on, a resolution, explaining the reasons for the same, was written by a more humble official who so completely imitated the tone and style then prevalent in Despatches and Blue Books, as to delude the Press into some remarks about the Roman hand, the language, and the reasoning that no one could mistake. A Ruler of notable capacity, all over the world, acts on his followers. Napoleon had his Marshals, Alexander his Generals, Raphael his Giulio Romano and Francisco Penni. But whenever the character of the work demanded the whole force and intellect of the Government, no man could throw himself so entirely into the matter in hand. It was then no longer the master-painter, correcting the outline and throwing in a dash of colour to give effect, but it was Michel *Angelo* disdaining the ordinary practice of sculptors, who mould in clay what their workmen cut out in marble by rule, compass, and measure, and throwing himself chisel in hand, on a rude block, from which the chips would fly for a quarter of an hour or so, to the astonishment of the bystanders.

Nor was any thing more remarkable than what we must term the timeliness of appearance before the public eye. The Minute or General Order came out just when it was required: sometimes to anticipate further discussion, sometimes to satisfy a general craving. This was especially notable with farewell orders and what may be called obituary notices. If a regiment returned from action covered with glory, or a great administrator was suddenly called away from his work, out came the congratulatory validiction or the funeral oration, in language concise, elegant, and touching. Nor, firm of purpose and fond of power as he was, did Lord Dalhousie ignore the value of graceful concession. Elizabeth herself did not better know how to calm rising discontent by withdrawing an obnoxious monopoly. It is, since the mutiny, daily becoming a harder task to please any body, and those who act on the principle of trying to please everybody, may rely upon it that they will end by displeasing all. But without unworthy compliances, with determined views, and with, as is natural, some open opposition in some quarters, universal confidence was at one time as nearly reached as it was possible under any scheme of Government. A great deal of attention was paid to ceremonious forms in the past administration. Indeed the thing was thought to be overdone, and we have known men wonder at the excessive value set on points of etiquette. But "forms are things" with the natives of India as with those of Burmah, and this scrupulousness is, of itself, a sufficient answer to the assertion that the Governor General went about outraging the tender feelings of the natives and sedulously sowing the seeds of discontent. Everything relating to audiences, Durbars, meetings, exchanges of presents, bestowal of rewards, was managed with rigid attention to precedent, and with every manifestation of that outward pomp and dignity with which, neither before nor after the mutiny, can we afford to dispense. Aided by the extensive linguistic attainments of Sir H. M. Elliot, the wishes of the Governor General were most faithfully interpreted to Princes and Chiefs, and even Lord Ellenborough could not get up a better show. On less important occasions the high breeding of a Scotch nobleman was exhibited to the natives, who, whatever be their vices, are well qualified to detect the ring of the true metal. "The Governor General is a gentleman," said a sharp-eyed native to the late Mr. F. H. Robinson, as a large party of visitors were inspecting the Taj Mahal. "Why do you say so?" "Because he took off his hat when he entered the building, while Mr. ——— — and Mr. ———kept theirs on." This is a better appreciation of real politeness than the pert pretension manifested by the self-satisfied Baboo who likes to keep both turban and shoes on: a pretension discountenanced by Shore in his Notes, than whom no one had studied natives more deeply. But there was method and form, earnestness and decision, in every public demonstration of the Government of that day, and if the Viceroy was severe in his justice, and determined in overture of war, he was also generous in the bestowal of reward, and strictly punctilious in taxation of homage.

The outcry against the late policy, though at first taking the form of wild, irregular, and driftless clamour, has, after two years, settled down into two or three distinct charges. The aggressive foreign policy provoked the Chiefs and Princes: the internal improvements alarmed and excited the population. The condition of the Native Army, even then trembling in its allegiance, was entirely overlooked. On the first head we can add little to our survey of every inch of ground which was added to our possessions from January 1848 to March 1856. Two large provinces must be struck out of the list of articles of charge: a third province was entirely neutral, and caused but little uneasiness if it gave us no help. For the matter of Oude we are ready, a score of times, to admit that, as the nursery of soldiers and from its contiguity to the Doab, the annexation was discussed at every camp fire in the country. We have in our possession an unpublished letter written by the late lamented Hodson, during the year 1856, in which he alludes to conversations held with natives of many classes in Upper India, and to their frank admission that while murder and rebellion justified the second Sikh war and the conquest of the Punjab, they were unable to comprehend our obligation to interfere on behalf of the people of Oude, we having no cause of quarrel with the king. But this is exactly the feature in the oriental mind which renders so many of our reforms unpalatable, and several of our principles of action unintelligible. The divine right of kings to dispose of the lives and properties of their subjects, of Zemindars to screw every farthing out of their Ryots, and of Ryots to beat and kick their wives if the midday meal be not ready in time, is one which we are not to question. Here are vested interests and hereditary privileges which it is irreligious to scrutinise. The monarch and his subjects may very well be left to settle their own differences. This prevalent feeling seems to justify Sir John Lawrence's well known dictum that all India is naturally divided into *Zalims* and *Mazlums*, or into those who inflict, and those who endure tyranny. We doubt, considering how the population had become inured to suffering in all its forms, whether the withdrawal of our troops from Oude, as at one time contemplated, would have been followed by a rise of the masses, a march on the capital, the utter discomfiture of the King's troops, and the plunder of the bankers of Lucknow. Terrific outbreaks of long suppressed rage and terror do occur, but this problem is yet happily unsolved viz.; how much a country like Oude can really bear under a native ruler, without rising to shake off the yoke. Of the paramount obligation which lay on the British Government to interfere on the score of duty and justice, we have no sort of doubt. On these considerations the whole transaction will certainly be looked at some day, and spurious philanthropy will then either be silent or will acquiesce in the remark of Mr. Mill, the calm, impartial and just historian of India, that "misery produced by those native Governments which the 'Company upholds, is misery produced by the Company, and 'sheds disgrace on the British name."

Lord Dalhousie had, it is not denied, very strong and clear ideas on the subject of our relations with Native States, but they were equally dissonant to the views of those who advocate universal dominion from the line,

Quâ Sol utrumque recurrens
Aspicit Oceanum,

or from the Burramputer to the Indus, and from the Gulph of Cutch to the Bay of Bengal; and to the views entertained by the late Sir W. Sleeman, Sir George Clerk, and others, who would at all hazards, uphold Native States and endeavour to galvanise them into something like healthy existence. Repeated minutes shew that Lord Dalhousie held that it was not our cue to refuse to take legitimate advantage of escheats, failure of heirs, and opportunities for consolidating our dominions and our strength: and that to disinter some good looking youth from obscurity, to endorse his adoption, and to perpetuate over two or three millions of people a race of kings, whom unbroken worldly prosperity was sure to enervate, and whose prosperity was assured by the resistless British bayonet, is not sound policy, is not real justice, and is not our duty before man and God. But to assert that he intended to pursue one deliberate course of aggrandisement, and on some pretext or other, to absorb each independant State in India, by cold gradation and well-balanced form, is to assert what we honestly believe to have been as far from his intention as it would be from the course dictated by duty and right. His specific acts have been laid bare and scrutinised: his general policy is one of which no English-sanctioned a marked difference in the treatment of parties accused in the Criminal Courts: forcing the poor man to appear before them in person, and allowing the rich man, even in these serious cases of kidnapping so common in Bengal proper, to make a vicarious appearance, in an easy and comfortable fashion, by the hand and deed of an agent. This assertion of one law for the rich and another for the poor exactly suits the native, but it did not suit Lord Dalhousie's love of justice. Accordingly, as the native of Western India lifted up his hands in amazement, so do some of those in Bengal now open their mouths in spite, but we should have hardly thought it necessary to give their attacks even this prominence, were it not that readers constantly require to be reminded that sounding phraseology and very decent English do not go to the constitution of a State. Rich natives gladly avail themselves of immunity from war, and would be as glad to claim immunity from taxation, exemption from process, and superiority to the tribunals, and, while arguing cleverly on English principles, they, as steadily, act on their own. These flashes will no more damage a solid reputation than the mutiny was able to convulse society in Cuttack or Chittagong.

We are prepared to hear this *Review* denounced as a supporter of tyranny, or as giving in its adherence to a slowly-dying cause. The main principles by which it has been guided have been those of steady progress and reform attained by constitutional methods. If some discrepancy has appeared, it is owing to the different views taken by writers who probably had the same goal in sight, while like Locksley, the Periodical for 16 years, has never failed to add its shout on witnessing a good blow struck, or a shaft that pierced the inner ring. And in justice to the ruler whose acts we have been reviewing, as well as to obviate all misapprehension, we must distinctly state that we owe him nothing except what it is equally open to any person to claim from him, to wit, the inspiration of his name, and the legacy of his example. The Duke, it was well said, had shown us how any Englishman might do his duty even as a Parish overseer or clerk, and no one who witnessed Lrod Dalhousie's energy, and strong sense of duty and subordination, but may in India, whatever be his politics, exert the same faculties, according to the measure and scope of his talents, with personal advantage, and with credit to the State, in any district or office. There were probably few administrations in which so much was done and so little was concealed. Publicity was then preferred to the absurd mystery in which the Indian Government, like the Delphic oracle, was wont to wrap its proceedings. But some things that were then vehemently discussed yet remain hidden, and may one day meet the public eye. When that time shall come, the extent, depth and variety of his minutes will give Lord Dalhousie a better proclamation than any public writer or journalist has yet attempted. We may say of him, as of the Duke of Vienna;—"Let him 'but be testimonied in his own bringings forth, and he shall 'appear to the envious a scholar, a statesman and a soldier," while for those who speak without knowledge, or whose knowledge is darkened by malice, we have only to hope that they, on the other hand, may not eventually meet with the fate of the slanderer Lucio.

We are also ready to acknowledge that some writers differing from Lord Dalhousie's views, have exhibited moderation in their attacks, by reason of the protracted illness which has hindered his taking any part in public affairs since his return to England. But we may also ask ourselves what effect might not his re-appearance have on Indian topics, supposing it possible? Lord Stanhope tells us a story of the elder Pitt, illustrative of his ascendancy in the House of Commons. Having ended a speech, and finding no opponents, the writer was walking out of the House and had opened the lobby door, when an unlucky member rose with the words of reply to the Honourable Gentleman. The great Commoner, we give the words of the historian, "catching the words, stopped short, turned round, and fixed his 'eyes on the orator, who at that steady and scornful gaze sat 'down again, silent and abashed. Pitt, who was suffering from 'gout, then returned to his seat, repeating to himself as he 'painfully hobbled along, some lines of Virgil which express the 'ascendancy of Æneas. Then placing himself on the front 'bench, he exclaimed, now let me hear what the Honourable 'Member has to say to me. But nothing ensued."

The lines were the familiar ones in the sixth Æneid, where the Grecian ghosts are awed by the sight of the Trojan Wanderer.

At Danaum proceres, Agamemnoniæque Phalanges
Ut vidêre virum, fulgentiaque arma per umbras
Ingenti trepidare metu: pars vertere terga,
Ceu quondam petiêre rates: pars tollere vocem
Exiguam: inceptus clamor frustatur hiantes.

The day is past when any one individual, whatever be his talents, could command either House as Pitt or Thurlow commanded it. But could Lord Dalhousie take his seat again, avow his policy, defend his principles, and illustrate their results, we have little doubt that though the House would not be quite awed into silence, there would be a considerable reaction on the Indian question; and flimsy arguments, superficial articles, and shallow attacks by party writers, would be scattered to the winds.

We might prolong this article, but our object in putting on record a deliberate vindication of the late policy of the Indian Government has been accomplished. This *Review* in dealing with political questions, has no aim but the security of our tenure, and the good of the greatest number in India; and Lord Dalhousie's measures were, in the long run, those best calculated to attain these ends. What he sought was consolidation, not aggression: his was the deliberate pursuit of the practical objects of a statesman responsible to the nation, and to his own conscience, and not the illusive dreams of universal conquest. The time too has perhaps come when the Indian public at least, may be inclined to take a calmer view of the past, and will no longer exhibit the blind fury of a mob at an election demanding windows to smash. In statesmanship as in war, he shows the most capacity who commits the fewest blunders, and we freely admit that Lord Dalhousie, like any other mortal, must take his share of the blame of those errors which we have already pointed out. The Burmese war was a mistake in its commencement, though not in the result. The closing of the four per cent. loan was a mistake in policy, and in its results. And it was a mistake to leave so vast a country at the mercy of a native army, of such tone and temper, so capable of combination against us, so powerless to act in our behalf. But, for all this, it was Lord Dalhousie who noted with regard to the internal tranquillity of the Empire that "no man can presume to warrant its continuance, with certainty, for a day." And those who cannot agree with us, may be ready to allow that even after sowing injustice and reaping rebellion, he was eminently qualified to deal with such a crisis as the one from which we have emerged. Indeed from what he did in other eventful periods, the reading and thinking class may conceive what would have been his behaviour during the new havoc: how he would have been the first to apprehend the magnitude of the disorder, and the last to evince apprehension in his personal bearing: how, as the fiery cross spread from city to city and province to province, as rapidly one masterly state paper would have succeeded to another, and action to all: how, on the first lull of the hurricane, he would have forged a series of remedial measures, either anticipating criticism, or disarming it, or filling up the void of public expectancy, or giving form and substance to the unuttered sentiments or the half expressed wishes of the best servants of the State: how justly he would have discriminated between those who rebelled, and those who were coerced into rebellion; and how sedulously he would have laboured to calm the bad passions which the enjoyment of rapine and the hope of further license had left seething in one class, and the recovery of dominion, with the opportunity of vengeance, had excited in another: how, out of the wreck of institutions, he would have raised an edifice more compact and durable than the ruin; or on that blank surface, such as few reformers had even dared to hope for, he would have left the form and pressure of the choicest creation of administrative science: how he would have breasted the bars of circumstance, or won fortune to his standard, or grasped at happy chances: how he would have been the pillar of the State, and the centre of hope; how certainly his policy of reconstruction would have satisfied or subdued the intellect, while, swift in descent, noble in reward, and yet tempered with mercy, his deliberate justice would have won entrance into the heart. These things were not to be, and at a time when his voice might have been heard at Home in the Senate or the Cabinet with effect, it has pleased Him who raises up the humble and meek and pulls down the mighty, that the stately column should be laid prostrate, and the silver tongue of the trumpet should be hushed.

A Governor, whose foreign policy was marked by the decision of a Wellesley, and whose catalogue of internal reforms might have satisfied the appetite of a Bentinck, may well be content to await the verdict of History. Free from the mists of prejudice, the intemperance of passion, the leanings of partisanship, or the sallies of pique, a calm historical writer may one day review the last years of the Company in the fulness of knowledge, and not with the ignorant malevolence of the *Examiner*, and with all the powerful eloquence without the rancorous hostility of such a man as Mr. Bright. And while a beacon is raised to warn every one against the dangers of doing too little or too much, Justice, we say it in all sincerity, will be meted out to one whom the foremost of Indian journalists loves to designate as the Great Proconsul, and Lord Dalhousie will be pronounced as stainless in integrity, as honest in purpose, as he was wise in Council, fearless in action, and eminent in debate.

ART. VII.—*The Ras Mala, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India;* by ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES, of the Bombay Civil Service. With Illustrations, principally Architectural, from Drawings by the Author. London: Richardson Brothers. 1856.

THE "Ras Mala" is a very valuable work, and its author deserves the greatest credit for the perseverance with which he has sought to lift the veil which hides the inner life of the various races that inhabit this ancient and interesting country. Many of the facts recorded in it are doubtless historically valuable, but its chief merit in our eyes consists in the store it contains of beautiful legends which give us an insight into the religion and superstitions, the customs and every day habits, the modes of life and thought of the dark inhabitants of the land. The book is indeed a rich mine of information, but, with all its varied interest, we do not think that in its present form it will invite many readers out of India, for it contains too many names and too many details of local incidents to attract the general reader. We are fatigued by the repetition of the wars, forays, and vicissitudes of bloodthirsty petty chiefs and robbers. But we are sure that with some curtailment the work could be condensed into a delightful and readable volume.

There are few persons who have not wondered, on first arriving in India, to see the Heathenism of which they had hitherto only read, existing in actual life and vigour, and who have not longed to learn the history of its architectural remains and the singular customs of its people. We are therefore much indebted to Mr. Kinloch Forbes for having surmounted for us all the difficulties of the inquiry interposed by the jealousy of the Hindoos and by his own official duties.

Guzerat, the scene of our author's inquiries, is the Garden of Western India. Its broad, fertile and populous plains skirting the coast, are adorned with magnificent trees which give them the appearance of a continuous Park. They are intersected by wide rivers whose precipitous ravines afford shelter to tribes of daring and skilful robbers. They are studded by towns and villages ornamented with temples crowded by countless votaries, and beautified by lakes brilliant with the red and white lotus. Farther inland, forests and hills present more bold and diversified prospects.

The principal part of the work is devoted to the history of the rise and fall of the Rajpoot Kingdom of Unhilwara, of which *Unhilpoor* or Puttun was the capital. The once magnificent city of Wun Raj, the Rotuilbood King of Guzerat, has sunk into insignificance, its beautiful temples were thrown down by its bigoted Moslem conqueror, and dishonored by being made the foundation of the battlements which enchained her. The English travellers who continually pass between Ahmedabad and Deesa halt for a night at Puttun, unconscious of its former splendour, and can, if so inclined, purchase those marble pillars, inscriptions and sculptured figures dug out from beneath the walls.

The rise of the Kingdom of Unhilwara is related in this wise. Raja Bhoower, King of Kullean, fired with jealousy and martial ardour, resolves to invade the territories of Jye Sheker Sing, Raja of Panchasur. The first attacks are repulsed, but King Bhoower hurries to support his general, and rallies his fugitive troops by "reminding them that retreat is sometimes 'only the prelude to victory, and that a weapon does not strike its 'hardest blows until it has been swung backwards." The King leads his army back. "They meet good omens on the way, and the air resounds with their instruments of music—the war horn, the tabor and the terrible drum." Jye Sheker's warriors too rally round their chief, and assure him "that they are Rajpoots, 'of good descent, and that all are ready to die with him; that 'should any one disgrace himself by deserting in such an emergency, the crows would disdain to eat his flesh, and he would 'remain for ten millions of the days of Brahma in hell."

The Queen, "Roop Soonduree, from the inmost hall, hears 'the terrible sound of commencing battle. She sends for 'her lord, and entreats him not to venture into the field unless 'the omens are propitious; but Jye Sheker replies, that when a 'bride is to be married, or a foe driven from the gates, there 'is no omen but the name of Shree Krishna. The opposing 'armies meet as clouds dashed together by the violence of the 'storm; their weapons gleam like lightning; the earth resounds 'with their tread as with the rumbling of thunder; war music 'sounds, making even the timid valorous; arrows and 'missiles fall in showers, as rain from the monsoon clouds; 'with the bill, the mace, the trident, they struggle; elephant 'strives with elephant, horse with horse, chariot lord with 'chariot lord." "The shout of the battle rising to the skies attracts the attention of the divinities." "The Upsuras dance, the 'heavenly minstrels strike their lyres, the deities and the 'snakes of hell tremble." After prodigies of valour Jye Sheker is slain at last. "Four Queens ascend the pile 'with many slaves and damsels. Townspeople too, many 'of them love-enthralled, follow their Prince to the gate of 'the King of Heaven." "The sun is obscured, the four 'points of the compass wear a terrible aspect, the earth trembles, 'the river's water becomes muddy, the wind blows hot, the fires of 'the sacrificial pits emit a dense smoke, stars fall from the heaven; 'men, seeing these portents, lament that a hero has perished."

A posthumous son is born to Jye Sheker who, from being obliged to hide in forests to escape his father's conqueror, obtains the name of "Wun" or Forest Raja. After having performed many daring exploits as a predatory leader, and exhibited from his childhood upwards unmistakeable signs of his royal birth, he succeeded at length in acquiring a principality, the capital of which he named Unhilpoor from his faithful minister Unhil.

The vicissitudes of Indian Chiefs continually liable to attack from their neighbours, were often great and romantic, and the speed with which they frequently regained power from the facility of collecting followers to support the most desperate cause, never left room for despair. Many stories are told similar to that of the Wun Raja, and there is no doubt that a youth of royal descent would, though a fugitive, be able even now to collect bands of adventurers for the license to plunder, if he exhibited enterprise and intelligence. A successor of the Wun Raja, Mool Raj Solunkee, who subsequently ascended the throne of Unhilpoor, when invaded by powerful foes, wisely restraining "his valour by 'the example of the ram, retiring that he may strike the harder, or of 'the tiger, angrily crouching that he may spring with more deadly 'effect," sought refuge in the fort Kunthkote. This fort is situated in Wagur, a district of Cutch, nearly surrounded by the Runn and therefore not easy to be assailed. Like all strongholds of note a legend is connected with its erection, which we will relate.

Sad, grandson of Jam Lakho of Sami Nuggur in Sind and Chief of Wagur, attempted to erect a fort on a spot which he did not know was holy ground, but no sooner had the building been completed than a Jogee, who was seated in a cave on the side of the hill, pulled a thread out of his garment, and immediately the fort fell to the ground. Seven times the fort was built, seven threads were pulled from the Jogee's garment, and seven times the fort became a ruin. Sadjee, sorely puzzled to account for these wonders, sat reflecting one moonlight night when he observed the Jogee burning incense. Sadjee, making a profound salutation to the sage, sat down beside him, and thus reverently addressed him. "Moharaj, I have seven times built a fort on this hill and seven times it has fallen to the ground." The Jogee turned to his disciple and said, "go to my spiritual father and throw into the cave seven images of flour and sooparee, and say, let Sadjee be consumed by fire." *Seven times* the disciple threw wheaten images into the cave and seven times they were consumed in the name of Sadjee. Sadjee ran and clasped the feet of the sage who said. "Are you still alive after I have consumed you seven times with fire?" The Chief replied, "through thy protection O Jogee I am 'still alive; forgive my fault I beseech thee; I have spent lakhs 'of Rupees in seven times building a fort on this hill, and on 'rising and looking in the morning I have as often beheld it 'a ruin. Tell me I pray now this has happened." The Jogee answered, "it is because the hill is mine. Build it in the name 'of me, Kunthur Peer, and it will remain immovable." He followed the sage's counsel and built the fort of Kunthkote.

There is a legend that a King of Scotland, in attempting to build Glamis Castle, where Macbeth murdered Duncan, on a selected site, continually found the work of the day overthrown in the night. He was on the point of abandoning the attempt, when a celestial voice desired him to "build it on a boy where it will 'neither shake nor shog." The heavenly admonition was obeyed; the castle was erected and still remains entire.

Wagela Vasuldey crossed the Runn of Cutch and laid siege to his kinsman Sadjee in the fort of Kunthkote. Vasuldey was remarkably handsome, and, as he was one night reconnoitering, Sadjee's faithless wife, the Ranee Chowdee, saw and became enamoured of him. Chowdee tied a love-letter to an arrow, and discharged and struck with it the saddle of Vasuldey's horse. The Wagela read in the letter from Chowdee an offer of herself and her husband's fort, and he returned an encouraging answer. The Ranee laid her plans. She persuaded Sadjee to throw open the gates of the fort for one day as a relief to the garrison after their twelve months' siege, and she drugged his cup and made him helplessly intoxicated. No sooner were the gates thrown open than Vasuldey, who lay in ambush, stormed the place, captured Sadjee, and most ungallantly cut off the nose and ears of the wicked Chowdee and banished her from the castle. A faithful slave woman smuggled Sadjee's infant son out of the fort, and fled with him to Delhi. After having exhibited, according to the usual course of native story, evidences of his high birth even from his childhood, he succeeded at last in recovering his father's possessions, and married a daughter of the Wagela usurper. One day the Wagela, apparently in jest, let fall some hints from which her husband Phooljee, the son of Sadjee, learnt that the Wagelas had murdered his father. Phooljee, burning for revenge, laid his plans for getting possession of the person of the Wagela Chief. The Wagela possessed a wonderful winged horse, named Rutnagar, which bore him every morning to the temple of Kagsir Mahadeb where he performed his devotions. Phooljee therefore hid several fine mares in the neighbourhood of the temple. As anticipated the horse alighted near the mares, and allowed his master to be captured. Phooljee put him to death, and made his skin into the covering of a cushion. When the Wagela next visited her husband he invited her to sit on the cushion, the face on which was turned downwards. Phooljee then asked her whether she felt comfortable in a tone which made her start up from her seat. He then turned over the cushion and exposed her father's face to view. "Alas," exclaimed the Ranee, "my jest has indeed been turned against me," and in a fit of grief and indignation she snatched a dagger from her husband's belt, plunged it into her bosom and fell dead at his feet.

Mool Raj of Unhilpoor recovered his territory and greatly extended his dominions. He subsequently invaded the territories of Grah Ripoo, Raja of Soreth, whom he subdued; and slew with his own hand his ally, Lakha Raja of Cutch. The description of this war in the "Ras Mala" is most animated.

The Lakha referred to, the honor of slaying whom is disputed, appears to have been the first Jareja sovereign of Cutch, and the individual from whom that surname was derived. The original family name of this wide spreading tribe was Summa, but that branch of it now established in Cutch adopted the name of Jareja, from Jam Jado Raja of Nuggur Sami in Sind. Jado, having no son, adopted a twin son of his younger brother. Now in the Sindee language a twin is called a Joda, and therefore the adopted son was called Lakha Jareja. From the term Phulanoo Pootr, such a one's son, he was also called Phoolanee or, in full, Lakha Phoolanee Jareja. But the Jarejas also say that they derive their name from the Jaduos or gods from whom they claim descent. When Jam Jado subsequently had a son of his own, Lakha retired to Cutch where he founded the present principality.

It seems strange that Dr. Burnes and Mrs. Postans, both able writers on Cutch, should have fallen into the error of stating that the Jarejas became Mahomedans and again Hindoos. Had they ever professed themselves Mahomedans they could never have been readmitted among the clans of the proud Rajpoots. They claim a lofty descent from Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnoo, and from Raja Judoo Chundrawaunchee in the lunar line of Rajpoots.* They say that their branch of the family were driven out of India, and retired to Egypt where they reigned for many generations as Pharaohs, and that they were subsequently driven by Mahomet from thence to Ghiznee, and afterwards by his successors to Sind, where they made Nuggur Somi their capital near the modern town of Tatta. They admit that some of their race became Mahomedans, but they assert that they never departed from the faith of their fathers. With all its manifest inaccuracies this account may be founded on fact. Fugitives from India may have settled in Egypt in ancient times when the religion and manners of Egypt resembled those of India, and they may have retraced their steps in after ages, but doubtless long before the Mahomedan era when Egypt had become a Christian country.

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* We remember an amusing story *á propos* of this. A Rajah said to his Minister, "make me a Hindoo out of a Moosulman." "Very good," said the Minister. The next day, the Rajah saw in the court yard a number of men rubbing and scrubbing a Jackass—"What are those people doing?" said the Rajah. "Only trying to make an ass into a horse," said the Minister—"They can't do that," said the *Rajah*. "Just as easy," was the reply, "as to make a Moosulman into Hindoo!"

Mr. Forbes relates that when Sidh Raja was excavating the Sukusra Sing tank at Unhilpoor, he became enamoured of Jusma, one of the female labourers. He said to her, "Jusma, do not lift such heavy loads of earth, you will injure yourself." She said there was no fear of that. He told her to take care of her child and let the other Oduns lift the earth. She said, "I have hung him to the branch of a tamarind tree, as I come and go I swing his cradle." When the work was completed Jusma went off with the other labourers, but the Rajah pursued her, and she, to escape dishonour, "plunged a dagger into her belly, and, as she died, cursed Sidh Raja, and said that his tank should never contain water."

If the people of this country seldom exhibit the nobler qualities of love and lasting attachment, which in civilized society adorn and refine the character, they have never shown any lack of the sterner traits of passion, pride and jealousy. Indeed the annals of crime in India are full of deeds of blood arising from both lawful and unlawful love. It is remarkable with what unflinching firmness the people of this country sacrifice their lives to protect what they esteem their honour, or to acquire renown or sanctity. Human sacrifices were supposed by the Hindoos to ensure success to important undertakings. Thus the Raja inaugurated the building of the Fort of Satara by burying alive, with their own consent, a Mhar under each of the gate bastions. No doubt the Mahrattas thought and think that the massacre at Cawnpore by the Nana was a worthy offering to Bhowanee, the goddess of destruction. The curse of a holy man, or of any one dying for a principle, is considered effectual, and is viewed with teror by the superstitious.

Rao Ulleajee, ninth in descent from the present Rao Desuljee of Cutch, when deposed by his brother, fled to the village of Kora, where he remained disguised as a religious mendicant, and supported himself, as a Rajpoot should, by plunder. In the course of his raids he drove off some cattle belonging to a holy man in Sind, who followed them up in hot pursuit. Ulleajee would not relinquish the conquest of his spear, so the Fakeer cursed him and was in return cursed by the ex-Rao. The friends of Ulleajee were more alarmed at the curse than he was. With the Chief's mother at their head they followed up the Sindee Fakeer, and entreated him to recall his anathema. He informed them that it was beyond his power to retract his curse, but he added, that, as Ulleajee was a Fakeer as well as himself, his curse would take effect upon him too. Accordingly within fifteen days both Ulleajee and the Fakeer died. A shrine was built over Ulleajee at Kora where he died, and pilgrims still resort to it to offer up petitions and to receive answers to their prayers, through the medium of a Brahmin into whom the spirit of Ulleajee is supposed to enter. The ghost of the deceased is somewhat capricious, but his orders are always implicitly obeyed. Thus when he desired the whole of the inhabitants of the village to remove the tiles from their houses without any obvious reason, all the houses were immediately unroofed. When the late Rao Bharmaljee halted at Kora for a night he composed himself comfortably to sleep on a bedstead, but Ulleajee testified his displeasure at such a liberty by sending a serpent to the Rao's couch. No Rao of Cutch now presumes to sleep when at Kora except upon the ground, when he passes through the village he preserves a solemn silence, and the sound of the kettle drum ceases lest the shade of Ulleajee should be offended.

Mr. Forbes gives an interesting account of the wars that arose between Bheem Dev of Unhilpoor and Prithuraj Chohan of Someshwar, for the hand Echenee Koomaree, the beautiful daughter of the Raja of Aboo. The parties assembled their allies, and after mutual defiances marched to battle. Bheem Dev exclaimed. "Let us, warrior-like, take our revenge. ‘ Words of war are pleasing to my heart; valour obtains liberation ‘ in a moment, liberation which, with much pain of body the ascetic obtains, dwelling in her haunted caves in summer, winter and ‘ rains. The armies joined battle,—Som, desirous of fight, and ‘ Bheem, that never turned back in war. The shields of the soldiers, swung from side to side, seemed like the new tobacco ‘ leaves shaken by the wind. Corpse fell upon corpse. Life ‘ mingled with life; not an Upsura remained without a bridegroom. Arrows flew between the sovereigns, as charms fly. ‘ Two protectors of regions were the Kings; two canopied lords; two shielded men; before them both sounded the ‘ royal drums; both were of many titles. The noise of the ‘ music woke Muha Dev from his meditative abstraction;

'he began to clap his hands and dance, and to string a necklace
'of heads, &c."

Of all the various races of India the Rajpoots are the most interesting. In their chivalrous and martial spirit they resemble the knights of old. It was a point of honour with the knight to succour distressed damsels, and to break a lance in honour of his lady-love. With the Rajpoot it was equally a point of honour to ride gaily to almost certain death for the rescue of his own or his kinsmen's cows, and yet, though bred to be tender of animal life, he would not scruple to murder his innocent daughters for paltry motives of economy or pride. The Rajpoots claim descent from the sun and moon, and maintain their position as second of the four castes into which the Hindoos were divided, though the Brahmins allege that they have been contaminated by the use of forbidden food and by intermarriages with the Mahomedans. But it is the Brahmins who have in truth deviated most from ancient usage by forbidding the use of animal food, while it is very probable that many Brahmin females have forced their way into Mahomedan harems.

> "In times of peace and ease the Rajpoot leads an indolent and monotonous life. It is some time, usually after sunrise, before he bestirs himself, and begins to call for his hookah; after smoking he enjoys the luxury of tea or coffee, and commences his toilet and ablutions which dispose of a considerable part of the morning. It is soon breakfast time, and after breakfast the hookah is again in requisition, but with few intervals of conversation till noon. The time has now arrived for a siesta, which lasts till about three in the afternoon. At this hour the chief gets up again washes his hands and face, and prepares for the great business of the day, the distribution of the red cup "kussoomba" or opium. He calls together his friends into the public hall, or perhaps retires with them to a garden-house. Opium is produced, which is pounded in a brass vessel and mixed with water; it is then strained into a dish with a spout, from which it is poured into the Chief's hand. One after the other the guests now come up, each protesting that kussoomba is wholly repugnant to his taste, and very injurious to his health, but after a little pressing, first one and then another touches the Chief's hand in two or three places, muttering the names of devas, friends or others, and drains the draught. Each, after drinking, washes the Chief's hand in a dish of water which a servant offers, and wipes it dry with his own scarf, he then makes way for his neighbours. After this refreshment the Chief and his guests sit down in the public hall, and amuse themselves with chess, draughts, or games of chance, or perhaps dancing girls are called in to exhibit their monotonous measures, or musicians and singers, or the never-failing favorites, the Bhots and Charuns. At sunset, the torch-bearers appear, and supply the chamber with light, upon which all those who are seated therein, rise and make obeisance towards the chieftain's cushion. They resume their seats, and playing, singing, dancing, story-telling go on as before. At about eight the Chief rises to retire to his dinner and his hookah, and the party is broken up."

In the Durbar of a Rajpoot prince of high rank it is a very

pretty sight to see the kussoom
from a silver vessel resembling
more sociable and civilized tha
flowers and betel. Then the musi
to that of the Mahomedans, as t
bility. When the Chief himself
care to have a good band, and
Durbar are soft and pleasing.
ly, and do not object to other s
than opium. We recollect bein
beside a Rajpoot Chief in an e
ver-failing nautch was there to w
lently, and sipped from a small
was occasionally presented to hi
ed to know what he was indulg
fied by the Chief turning to us
partake of some cherry brandy. W
we regretted to see this indication
among the Hindoos, we would
than the most rigid temperance
exclusiveness of caste.

> "For the portraits of the fair we mu
> we behold her in the "swingumdar-mun
> or in the marriage hall shining beside
> her lord. An honored mother, we aga
> her youthful son, or in his manhood a
> ning him to works of mercy and of r
> in another mood, with strangely frenz
> lifeless form of her lord, while the sh
> still harsher scream of superstitious m
> neral flame springs fiercely upwards, a
> spread above, as if to hide the horrid sig

According to general custom gi
they are yet children, and their lot
degradation. There are instances,
held a high political position, and i
must always be felt. They are
jealousy, and too often the bloodies
sakes. Sometimes princesses hav
husband of their choice out of a
solemn Durbar. Thus Aja, son
the chosen suitor of Indamati, sist
presented to her lovers in successio
of approval, until she drew near the

> "But those doubts and fears we
> She hath found a soothing ch
> Now he hears her golden brac
> Tremble on the maiden's arm

She hath caused a string of flowers
Such as doth a Bridegroom deck,
Covered o'er with saffron powder,
To be thrown o'er Aja's neck :—
And the happy nuptial garland,
Clinging soft about his breast,
Seem'd as though it were the maiden
To his trembling bosom prest."

ch instances of freedom of choice and respect for the wishes
e softer sex, were extremely rare. Indeed the place of
ır conceded to women by Europeans, is a mystery to
ıtals. "Holy Prophet," exclaims the Mussulman as he
es his beard, "what a fuss those Infidels make about
en." But until they will allow their sluggish natures to
gitated by the charms of educated terrestrial women, they
be content to lag behind or serve the hated Feringhee.
only educated mothers who can lay in their children's
s the foundation of future eminence and virtue. Can we
say to the sons of India ;—"forsake not the law of thy mo-
?"

e refer our readers to the 'Ras Mala" itself for the
tiful and interesting tale of the adventures of Jug Dev
ıar, a soldier of fortune, the neglected son of a neglected
who was driven from his home by a jealous stepmother.
sallies forth to seek his fortune with his good sword and
rdent spirit. His attached bride, the faithful Chowree
nutee, insisted on accompanying him, but he attempted
issuade her by saying, "in a foreign land a wife is a fetter
he legs. I must go alone." But she settled the question
sking—"Can the shadow of the body be separated from
ody?" At length they reached the famous Suhusra Sing
at Puttun where Sidh Raja reigned. Jug Dev left his
at the tank in charge of the horses, while he went into
town to hire a house. The narrative of events that hap-
d to the lady during this casual separation is very remarka-
ınd characteristic of Hindoo cunning, and of the noble spirit
sometimes animates Hindoo women. She fell into the hands
clever designing procuress, from whose toils she extricated
elf by slaying several men with her own hand. These
ts brought Jug Dev to the notice of the Raja, who engaged
in his service for the extravagant sum of a thousand crowns
y. This naturally excited the jealousy of the other officers
idh Raja's Court, but an opportunity at length occurred for
Dev to prove that his services had been cheaply bought.
rainy night when "the frogs croaked, the pea-fowl scream-
the shrill cry of the sparrow hawk was heard and the flashes

'of lightning were seen, on such a night as this, a noise 'reached the King's ear: it was like the sound of four women 'singing joyful songs in the eastern direction, and of four other 'women lamenting at a short distance from them." The King desired his attendants to go out and see what had happened, but Jug Dev only went. The King followed him to see whether he would really go. "Jug Dev advanced to where the women 'were lamenting, and said to them, who are you? Are you 'mortals or wives of Devs, or are you Bhootnees, or Pretnees, or 'Siddhs, or Sheekoturs? Why are you lamenting with so much 'grief at this midnight time? Tell me what calamity it is that 'you suffer." They said, "approach, son Jug Dev! where'fore are you come here?" He said, "I am come to inquire the 'cause of your making lamentation." They said again, "We are 'the Fates of Puttun. The stroke of ten o'clock to-morrow morn'ing is the time of Sidh Raj Jesingh's death. It is on that account 'we are lamenting. Who will perform service, worship, make 'presentation of gifts and sacrifices? We must needs lament." The King heard what they said from where he stood in concealment. Jug Dev said, "But who is it that is singing?" The Fates said, "go and inquire of themselves." Jug Dev went, and paying obeisance, said, "you sing songs of good news. Who is your King, and what pleases you, that you are thus singing?" They said. "We are the Fates of Delhi. We are come for Sidh Raj Jesingh; see, there is the chariot. That is why we sing." He offered his life for the Raja's which was accepted, but he asked permission to go and obtain the consent of his wife. "The Fates laughed scornfully." His wife however consented, but said, "my prince, I have one 'petition. Why should I survive: for six hours' existence, 'why should I undergo so much calamity? I will offer my life 'with yours." Jug Dev said, "but the children—what will be'come of them?" The Chowree said, "let them be offerings 'at the same time." Jug Dev agreed, and they proceeded all together. "Sidh Rao Jesingh was filled with astonishment, 'he said, well done! Rajpoot, and well done! Rajpootnee." On seeing so much devotion the Fates relented, and granted prolonged life to Sidh Raj without equivalent. The Raja was overjoyed and could not heap too many favours on Jug Dev. He offered him a daughter in marriage, but, as in duty bound, Jug Dev consulted his noble wife before accepting such a gift. Ladies of England, who would be aghast at such a proposition, hear what the Rajpootnee said;—"You are a lord, in your fe'male apartments there should be two or four, you have done 'well, the connection is a great one."

In the Ras Mala is an account of the wonderful hill

Shutroonjye or Palitana crowned with countless temples raised by the wealth and devotion of the Jain religionists from all parts of India. It is exceedingly beautiful and interesting, and quite accessible to sight-seers from Bombay. Priests in flowing white garments with their mouths protected by cloth guards from inhaling insects, and female votaries of this ancient and once persecuted faith armed with harmless besoms with which to sweep away and preserve animal life, may be seen pursuing their devotions in this place of sanctity. The profane may not pass a night in the bracing air on the hill, though they are free to visit it by day. From the top of the mountain the view is grand and extensive, and well repays the toil of the ascent even without the additional interest afforded by its immemorable marble shrines.

Not far from them stood the ancient city of Wullusha, the legend of the destruction of which Mr. Kinloch Forbes states, "bears to the story of the cities of the plain, and of the death of 'Lot's wife, a resemblance so close, that we find difficulty in supposing it to be other than a faint and far transmitted echo of 'that wonderful tale." We have heard the same story told of the city of Puttun, and as the legend accounts for that phenomenon of nature, the Runn of Cutch, we will narrate it. In ancient times the sage, Shree Dhorumnathjee, was performing "Tuposya," or penance, in the jungle near Puttun, and his disciple, Gurreebnathjee, used to beg alms in the city, but as the inhabitants were not charitable he was obliged to maintain himself by carrying bundles of firewood which he sold in the town. From the proceeds he purchased flour which a shepherd's wife baked for him, adding always a loaf from herself.

The sage, learning the wickedness of the inhabitants from the bald spot on his disciple's head which had been worn by the loads of firewood, sent to warn the shepherd's wife and her family to quit the doomed city but not to look back. The sage then pronounced the words "Puttun Sub Duttun"—let Puttun be swallowed up—when immediately the city became engulfed. The shepherd woman, after having gone a few miles, looked back and was turned into a stone. No sooner had these events happened than Dhorumnathjee, like Christian in the Pilgrim's Progress, became loaded with a heavy weight of sin which could only be expiated by extraordinary penances. Uttering the sorrowful words, "I have committed a great sin," he wandered disconsolately from hill to hill, but all of them trembled and refused to bear the excessive weight of the penitent and his sins.

At length he thus addressed the highest mountain in Cutch;— "Dheerodhur (keep still) and allow me to perform penance on 'you." The hill answered the sage in a dream, "you are so ‘loaded with sin that I cannot bear the heat of your burning so ‘long as you ascend me with your face forwards, but if you will ‘walk up backwards I will then remain steady." The sage then succeeded in getting up the hill, on the summit of which he stood on his head on an iron spike, and fasted for twelve years in this painful position with his mind absorbed in the contemplation of the Deity.

The gods then assured him that his sins had been expiated, but, on his telling them that whatever country he looked on when he resumed his natural position, would be burnt up, they informed him that the sea was on the North and that he could not do much mischief by looking in that direction. The sage complied, and, rising up, looked towards the North, and, causing the sea to dry up and leave the Runn, vanished from the earth.

The hill has ever since been called Deenodher, and at the foot of it the successors of Dorumnath and Gurreebnath built a monastery which has been richly endowed by the Raos of Cutch. The Peer, Warnath Jogee, who presides over the establishment, holds twelve villages, and has under him twelve principal and many more inferior disciples. They are known throughout Guzerat as the "Khanphuttas" or split-ears, for that is one of their distinguishing marks. Large sums are spent by them in charity, for at the monastery, where several large caldrons of rice are always on the fire boiling, open house is kept, and every morning and evening one of the brethren ascends the hill, and, from the spot where the great penance was performed, calls out "Bhat! Bhat"! (rice! rice!) as an invitation to all persons of whatever caste within hearing, to come and partake of the hospitality of the place. On the demise of the Peer a delegate from the Rao invests his successor with the insignia of office amid the fragrance of incense and the sound of the sacred whistle.

At the conclusion of his book Mr. Forbes gives a very interesting account of the religion, and the manners and customs of the Hindoos. The Brahminical and Satanic origin of the Hindoo superstitions may be gathered from the following extracts. "On the thirteenth day after decease the ‘Pret, or newly-embodied spirit, is compelled by the emissaries of ‘Hades to set forth on its journey towards Yumpoor. The ‘roads by which the souls of the wicked are conducted thither ‘are strewed with thorns which lacerate the feet, or paved as if ‘with heated copper. Along these painful ways, where no tree ‘offers its shade to the weary traveller by day and where no ‘kindly hand guides him during the hours of darkness, the Pret ‘is urged without any repose. He cries, "alas! alas! O my ‘*son!*" and reflects upon his crimes in having made no gifts to

'Brahmins." "He who settles annual grants upon priests carries 'with him to paradise his father and mother, and the progenitors 'of both. The giver of "bride gifts" to Brahmins, obtains the joy 'of the Soors' dwelling for his paternal ancestors; he who has consecrated a wâo, a well, a reservoir, a garden or house of Devs, or 'who repairs these, is admitted to Umurpoor, and the giver to 'Brahmins of mangoe trees or daily gifts, is borne to that abode of 'happiness in a splendid chariot, upon which four servants sit to 'fan him with chamurs. They also attain to swerga who offer 'their heads to Shiva in the lotus worship, who take the "terrible leap" from the summit of some consecrated cliff, who drown 'themselves in the holy water of the Ganges, or commit suicide 'in any of those other modes which the Hindoo scriptures have 'invested with the character of meritoriousness." We can only account for the acceptance of this complicated, unequal and cruel faith by the fact that it has been familiar to the Hindoos from their childhood, is blended with all their actions and thoughts, and is calculated, from its picturesqueness and extravagance, to captivate the childish mind. That faith must be deeply seated which inspires courage to brave death in its most appalling forms. When we think of such horrors as Suttee, Infanticide, and Thuggee we cannot be surprised that India should be a base country and subject to a foreign yoke. "For blood 'it defileth the land; and the land cannot be cleansed of the 'blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it." But the most singular doctrine in the Hindoo religion is that which permits the belief that men are able by their austerities to make the gods subservient to their will. Thus the Hindoos believe that Vishnoo, in the form of a dwarf, was only just in time to prevent the heavens from falling into the hands of a certain king.

Dr. Kitto has noticed the remarkable resemblance between the temple at Jerusalem and Egyptian temples, and the same similitude is equally observable in regard to Hindoo temples and in the ceremonies performed in them. He observes;*— "The heathen boasted of the presence of their gods 'among them in their temples. And God condescended to 'give the Hebrews in the Shechinah, or miraculous gift, a 'manifest and unquestionable symbol of his presence with them. 'He would keep the state of a Court as Supreme Civil Magistrate 'and King of Israel; from whence he would issue his laws and 'commandments as from an oracle. In both the tabernacle 'and the Egyptian temple, the area was an oblong square, the 'front portion of which was occupied by a Court or Courts, where 'the worshippers attended, and where sacrifice was offered. The

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* Vol. II. p. 244.

‘sacred apartments in both were at the remote extremity, the ‘most holy being the smallest and innermost. Into these sacred ‘chambers, among both the Hebrews and the Egyptians, ‘none but priests were admitted, being, as elsewhere shown, ‘not intended for the worship of the people, but for the residence of the God, and for the performance of such services ‘as his high and chosen servants were entitled to render. In ‘a royal palace are to be found all the things that we have ‘mentioned. There are some persons who guard the palace, ‘others who execute offices belonging to the royal dignity, ‘who furnish the banquets, and do other necessary services for ‘the monarch; others who daily entertain him with music, both ‘vocal and instrumental. In a royal palace there is a place appointed for the preparation of victuals, and another (nearer the ‘presence) where perfumes are burned.” This description also applies to a Hindoo temple. These priests deliver the oracles of the god, present to him offerings of food, keep up lights, cars and palanquins for him to ride in, and dancing girls and musicians to perform before him.*

“It is well seen, O God how thou goest; how thou my God ‘and King goest in the sanctuary. The singers go before, the ‘minstrels follow after; in the midst are the damsels playing ‘with the timbrels.” Dancing is not now usually associated in the mind with the idea of devotion, and yet that it naturally is so would appear from our own Jumpers and the Mahomedan Zickers. We are acquainted with a Rajpoot sovereign distinguished for his good sense, who is known to have danced before his Idol naked and with dishevelled hair, in hopes of obtaining from him the boon of a son and heir. Should we feel tempted to despise a prince who so demeaned himself, we should remember how “David danced before the Lord with all his might.” “Let them His great name extol in the dance.”

We recollect once going to see some dancing Dervishes perform on a Friday at Cairo. We were admitted into a courtyard in which we sat on stone benches, and had coffee and pipes handed to us in consideration of the dollar we had paid. After waiting for some time we were led into a domed tomb without being required to take off our shoes. We were invited to sit down on cushions at one extremity of the dome, opposite the Dervishes, who were seated in a circle on the other side on rugs and sheep skins. They commenced with a slow and not unpleasing chant which gradually changed into a quicker measure. This excited the Dervishes who jerked their heads up and down in the most persevering manner, keeping time to the music by voice and motion. By degrees the movements became more fast and furious, till caps flew off and hair streamed wildly to and fro and up and down. At length one of the party hopped into the middle of the circle, and danced round and round in the most absurd manner. His example was followed by several others, and the whole party looked like mad fanatics, as they were, fit for any extravagance. We could only suppress excessive merriment by stuffing a handkerchief into the mouth, though if the cry had been raised that infidels were looking on and mocking them our life would not have been worth a moment's purchase.

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* It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Hindoo religion is a corruption of the true one. The Hindoos have, like the Christians, seven days in the week, and they are named as with us from the planets.

It is a popular belief among Hindoos that individuals are sometimes possessed of evil spirits, and that some forms of madness are such possessions. It is common for native officials to account for suicides by reporting to their superiors that such and such persons, having become possessed of Bhoots, had hanged or drowned themselves. Mr. Forbes observes;—"The powers which Bhoots and 'Prets exercise are the following:—They take possession of a 'corpse, and speak through its mouth; they exhibit themselves 'in the form which they possessed when living; they enter into 'a living man and cause him to speak as they please; sometimes 'they affect him with fever or various other diseases; sometimes 'they assume the forms of animals, and frighten people by suddenly vanishing in a flash of fire; sometimes remaining invisible, they speak in whispers. A Bhoot has been known 'to come to fisticuffs with a man, and to carry a man off and set 'him down in a distant place."

The annals of crime in India have recorded many shocking murders of poor old women on suspicion of their being "Dakins" or witches. Such superstitions are not confined to India, nor have similar crimes always been so. In some parts of England witches are or were believed to be able to annoy and injure their neighbours by assuming the forms of cats or other animals against whom lead or iron was of no avail. A silver bullet or a bent silver coin were supposed to be the only missiles capable of taking away the life of the hated old hag in disguise. In Scotland the freaks of the water Kelpie are well known. Once in the shape of a beautiful Shetland pony grazing on the banks of a pretty barn, he enticed to their doom some schoolboys who were playing in the neighbourhood. One of them after patting his sleek sides, ventured to mount the docile animal and then invited his companion to get up behind him. He again, finding room enough, called on another boy to get up behind him. Thus the cunning sprite by gradually elongating his body induced all the boys to get upon his back. He then slowly neared the stream and plunged into a deep pool, and then too late the urchins

> "Saw him lave,
> Delighted in his parent wave."

No one came to their aid or heard their drowning shrieks

> "For high
> The wild waves rising drowned the cry."

On another occasion the same evil spirit, assuming the form of a long green leaf, induced a village maiden on her way to a wedding to tie him round her as a sash. Her joyous welcome by the bridal party was soon turned into horror and dismay when the guests heard a scream, and saw the poor girl's body severed at the slender waist by the Kelpie who had turned himself into a sharp razor and vanished.

In King Lear, Edgar says "This is the foul fiend Flibbertigibbet: he begins at curfew, and walks till the first cock; he gives the web and the pin, squints the eye, and makes the hare-lip; mildews the white wheat and hunts the poor creatures of earth." And in the Tempest, Ariel says, "I come to answer thy best pleasure; be to fly, to swim, to dive into the fire, to ride on the curled clouds."

> "Where the bee sucks there lurk I,
> In the cowslip's bell I lie;
> There I couch when owls do cry.
> On the bat's back I do fly."

In the Midsummer Night's Dream, the Fairy says:

> "Now it is the time of night
> That the graves all gaping wide,
> Every one lets forth his sprite,
> In the Churchyard paths to glide."

We know that the belief in "second sight" and the "Black Art" was formerly very prevalent in Scotland. We have been told that a Scottish gentleman on his way to visit a friend in the country, on nearing a ford not far from the country seat, as the shades of evening began to close in, observed a procession descending the other bank of the river by torch light. Pausing to see what it was, he beheld the funeral of a child attended by his friend as chief mourner and followed by many of his acquaintances. The mournful cavalcade slowly descended to the river and there faded from the sight. The traveller proceeded, and arrived at his destination only just in time to see his friend's child alive. We knew one gallant officer who was persuaded that he had seen the apparitions of more than one deceased person, and another officer who professed to be able to call up the shades of the departed. When hard pressed to exhibit his powers, his answer was that he would not do so because he must begin by committing a great crime.

Mr. Forbes says;—"There are six descriptions of charms ' or "Muntras," known in Goozerat, which are described in a ' series of works forming the scriptures on the subject, or "Mun- ' tra Shastrus." A charm called "Marun Muntra" has the power ' of taking away life: "Mohun Muntra" produces ocular or auri- ' cular illusions; "Sthumbhun Muntra" stops what is in motion; "Akurshun Muntra" calls or makes present anything; ' Wusheekurun Muntra" has the power of enthralling; and ' Oochatun Muntra" of causing bodily injury, short of death." We have heard the opinion expressed at Baroda that the late Guicowar had caused incantations to be made with a view to take the life of an obnoxious Resident. The charm certainly failed for the time, but we are not sure that subsequent events did not strengthen the popular belief. We have been entreated by natives of rank to interfere to prevent a Brahmin at enmity with them from perambulating a temple dedicated to the goddess of destruction the contrary to the usual way. Repeating the Lord's prayer backwards was formerly a favourite incantation in Europe. Villagers will often in this country abandon a tract of rich land, or the cultivation of a particular crop, from the belief that it had been cursed.

Charms and propitiatory offerings to idols are more relied on than medicines in sickness and pestilence. Ashes from the fire pit, the "Turth," or water that has been poured over the god, are believed to be powerful remedies. Visitations of cholera are attempted to be averted by processions of village maidens carrying garlands of flowers or other offerings to the god presiding over their hamlet. Sometimes villagers make a miniature cart and placing, as they suppose, the cholera in it, drag it to the lands of a neighbouring village, the inhabitants of which forcibly resist the unwelcome visitor. But if the little chariot gets within their boundaries in spite of their wishes and efforts, they do not rest until they have dragged it on to another village where the same scene recurs. The friends of persons attacked with cholera often refuse to administer medicine to them lest Bhowanee, in revenge for being deprived of her prey, may visit them with a more dire calamity. Mr. Forbes observes. "Of omens, Krishnajee, the author of Rutun Mala, has left us a ' very full enumeration. The following are the inauspicious omens ' which an army encountered on its way to a field of battle, ' where it was defeated. First, as they went, a man sneezed when ' he met them, a dog howled—an omen not good, a cat passed ' them on the right hand, a donkey brayed, and a kite cried terri- ' bly. Meeting them, came a widow and a Sanyasee, a Brahmin ' without a teeluk on his forehead, a person dressed in mourning 'garments, one who carried a plate of flour, and a woman with 'her hair dishevelled."

Omens are still more or less regarded even in England. We all know the prejudice against single magpies. The ticking of the "death's head" is supposed to be the muffled drum that gives warning of the approach of death.

> "Now the hungry lion roars,
> And the wolf beholds the moon,
> Now the wasted brands do glow,
> Whilst the scritch owl scriching loud,
> Puts the wretch that lies in woe
> In remembrance of a shroud."*
>
> "The death bell thrice was heard to ring,
> An aërial voice was heard to call,
> And thrice the raven flapped his wing,
> Around the towers of Cumnor Hall.
> The mastiff howled at village door,
> The oaks were shattered on the green,
> Wo was the hour—for never more
> The hapless Countess e'er was seen.
> And in the manor now no more
> Is cheerful feast and sprightly ball,
> For ever since that dreary hour,
> Have spirits haunted Cumnor Hall."†

Mr. Forbes treats of so many interesting matters connected with the manners and customs of the Hindoos, that our space admits of our noticing onlya few of them. We must refer our readers for the rest to the "Ras Mala" itself which is replete with the most valuable information and gives a greater insight than any other work we know into the inner life of the natives of Hindoostan. Owing to the insecurity of property and the exactions to which the people were subjected under native Governments, the industrial classes were reduced to the greatest poverty. Mr. Forbes graphically describes the indebtedness of the agriculturists in Goozerat and the steps by which they became, and even now sometimes become, inextricably involved in the meshes of the money lenders. It is usual to denounce the monied class as the bane of the agriculturists, on whose ignorance they prey and fatten. But with all their avarice it must be allowed that they are most useful and indeed necessary to them. In times of scarcity and sickness the poor cultivators, would, without their aid, be left without cattle to plough or seed to sow their land, and in danger of perishing of starvation. When pestilence or famine may sweep off scores of debtors in a single season money must be dear to the needy, and the monied man is forced, for his

* Midsummer Night's Dream.

† Mickle.

own protection, to indemnify himself out of the means of those who can, for the loss he is sure to sustain from those who cannot, pay. The monied class is therefore as deserving of protection as any other. Mr. Le Bas, a Mofussil Judge on the Bengal Establishment, has expressed an opinion that our Civil Courts are blots on our administration, that they ought to be swept away, and that the people should be left to manage their pecuniary affairs without the aid of law, since, though Native Governments had no Civil Courts, money was freely lent and borrowed under them.

We believe that the remedy which our Civil Courts offer to creditors induces prudence among borrowers, and, whilst they protect the latter from all other modes of pressure, their cost and delay are sufficiently deterring to the former. There were no Civil Courts under Native Governments, it is true, but what was the consequence? If a rich creditor dragged his poor debtor from his home and occupation, starved him in a dark room, made him stand on one leg uncovered in the sun, hang suspended from a rafter, or gasp under the pressure of a heavy weight, who would interfere between them? The rich man had only to say that he was settling accounts with his constituents and no more questions were asked; and even if the cry of oppression chanced to reach the ear of authority a silver veil soon shut out sight and sound. Those were the days of cruelty and extortion on one side, and of falsehood, deceit and evasion on the other, of one party endeavouring to exact and the other to withhold as much as possible. If a creditor could not shut up a rich debtor or lay a finger on his property, he still had other modes of pressure. Hear Mr. Forbes on this subject. "About thirty years ago, a Chorun asserted a claim against 'the chief of Syela, in Katteewar, which the chief refused 'to liquidate. The lord thereupon taking forty of his caste 'with him, went to Syela with the intention of sitting in, '"Dharna" at the chief's door, and preventing any one coming out or going in until the claim should be discharged. However, as they approached the town, the chief, becoming aware 'of their intention, caused the gates to be closed. The bards remained outside, for three days they abstained from food; on 'the fourth day they proceeded to perform "Iraga," as follows:— 'some hacked their own arms; others decapitated three old 'women of the party, and hung their heads up at the gate as a 'garland. Certain of the women cut off their own breasts. The 'bards also pierced the throats of four of their old men with 'spikes, and they took two young girls by the heels and dashed 'out their brains against the town gate. The Chorun to whom 'the money was due, dressed himself in clothes wadded with

'cotton, which he steeped in oil, and then set on fire. He then
'burned himself to death. But as he died he cried out, "I am
'now dying; but I will become a headless ghost (kuvees) in
'the palace, and will take the chief's life, and cut off his poster-
'ity.""

It is thus manifest that we must have Civil Courts or something worse. Our author further observes. "Whether the
'paramount power sought a guarantee from the half independent
'principalities for the payment of their tribute, or a private indi-
'vidual desired assurance of oblivion and personal safety from
'the Chief whom he had offended,—whether the money-lender
'looked for a pledge of repayment, or the merchant for the safe
'transit of his goods through a country infested with robbers, the
'bard was alike resorted to as the only person whose security
'would be accepted without danger. As the descendant and fa-
'vourite of the gods, his person was sacred in the eyes of men,
'who reverenced but little else, and he had at his command
'means of extorting compliance with his demands, which were
'seldom used in vain. These were the rites of "Iraga" and
'"Dhurna," which consisted,—the former, in the shedding by
'the bard of the blood of himself or of some member of his fami-
'ly, and the calling down upon the offender whose obstinacy
'necessitated the sacrifice, the vengeance of heaven; and the
'latter in placing round the dwelling of the recusant, a cordon
'of bards, who fasted, and compelled the inhabitants of the
'house also to fast, until their demands were complied with."

But this system of guarantees was not always confined to bards. The Guicowars of Baroda were obliged to make up for their want of credit by offering the guarantee of their powerful mercenary Chiefs, the Sindee Jemadars. Those Chiefs were all powerful at Baroda when British influence was first established there, and it was not before force and diplomacy had been used that the Guicowar could be rescued from their grasp. The guarantee of the British Government superseded that of those unruly mercenaries, and was interposed between the Prince and most of his high Officers of State before tranquillity and confidence could be restored. Those men did not hesitate to ask, nor was the prince ashamed to accept, the interposition of such a shield between himself and his own subjects. Under Native Governments dishonest debtors had an easy way of escape from their creditors at all times open to them. They could and often did join some of the bands of plunderers with which the country was at all times infested. They not only blotted out the old score by decamping, but probably came some dark night accompanied by congenial associates, and relieved their creditors of all their hoards without the formality of any written acknowledgments.

The Bheel and Koolie plunderers of Guzerat, aptly termed "the soldiers of the night," form an important and troublesome part of the population. In times of tumult they were ever ready to take advantage of every opportunity of plunder, and to join the standard of any chief who promised to gratify their love of rapine. For many years subsequent to the introduction of the British Government in Guzerat, it was common for persons, having real or supposed grievances, to attempt their redress by going out in what was called Bharwuttea or self-outlawry. The habit of such persons was to inflict as much mischief as possible on all but their personal friends, as a means of forcing the authorities to interest themselves in their case. They took care to have friends in every village ready to give them intelligence, food and shelter. The people generally, who were spared by those outlaws, gloried in their deeds. Most persons who have been in Guzerat must have heard of the notorious Bharwuttea, Gendat, who was at length brought to bay and destroyed by the late Major Fulljames. The villagers were full of his exploits, and everybody in the country could recount numbers of his hairbreadth escapes and daring exploits. How when hotly pursued he would disappear miles off from the city of Ahmedabad, and presently re-appear in the centre of the town out of subterranean passages known only to himself, and how he eluded capture and mocked his pursuers on his fleet Katteewar mare. Besides whole tribes of hereditary robbers India was infested by associations of the most desperate criminals, as Thugs, Dacoits and many others, who disguised their real pursuits under the pretence of honest callings. All attempts to reclaim such men have failed. We have been told by a professional robber whom we had placed under the surveillance of the Police, that he would at any time prefer being blown from a gun to the degradation of manual labour. The History of India has recorded the dreadful atrocities committed by predatory hordes in times of anarchy. The towns and villages of whole Provinces were sacked and burnt by them. "Before them was the garden of Eden, 'and behind them a desolate wilderness." Candeish has hardly yet recovered from the devastations committed by the Pindarrees. The "Ras Mala" gives a very interesting description of the beautiful temples, gateways, reservoirs and other architectural remains of the Kingdom of Unhilwara. We can testify to the exceeding beauty of the curved gateway still remaining at Dubhoee, which doubtless only conveys a faint idea of the magnificence of the buildings that once adorned the city Unhilpoor.

We would venture to recommend Mr. K. Forbes to employ his able and indefatigable pen in recording the glories of the dynasty of the Nurputtee Rajas of Annagoondee, which claims descent from the Pandoos. They were the authors of innumerable irrigational works of great magnitude in the Southern Mahratta country, and unless distance leads enchantment to the view, the Annagoondee Rajas were according to popular tradition, models of good government. Nothing can exceed the number, richness, profuseness, and variety of the architectural remains at Annagoondee. The beauty and variety of the brackets, fluted to their pillars and sculptured walls, to be found there, is quite marvellous. One specimen of carving that we particularly noticed was an elaborately finished granite chariot. The figures showed traces of delicate colours, and when they were all fresh from the painter they must have presented a most gay and animated appearance.

Our author gives a spirited description of the city of Unhilpoor from a native writer. No doubt the scene must have been most lively and picturesque. We can well imagine what a gala day was there, especially at the Dussera festival, when all the inhabitants proceeded in their gayest attire to the place of sacrifice, and the sovereign, surrounded by his nobles, auxiliaries and ministers seated on painted and gaily caparisoned elephants and prancing studs, moved on in state to slay the sacred buffalo. Nothing can be conceived more animated than such a scene; a bright sky above, green fields and trees below, and sparkling fountains, the flowing and many coloured dresses of the people, the shrill notes of martial music, the sound of the hollow drum, the neighing of horses and the shouts of men. The scene would appear to represent the pleasures of a people of peaceful and polished manners, and yet the ceremony of the day is the unloosing of the dogs of cruel war. The lust of conquest has inflamed the Chief and his followers with the desire of unprovoked war and plunder. Their track will be stained with blood, and marked by ruined farms and burning villages.

The dynasty has come to an end and its place has been taken by the stranger, because it was buried under sensuality, intrigue and corruption, because it was not guided by law and a care for the well-being of the people, but by unjust caste distinctions, and by superstitions which fostered animal life while they disregarded the life of man.

We say of Unhilwara and her dynasty with the Poet—

"In ruin 'mong the States unblessed,
Thus perish every King and State
That run the guilty race she ran.
Strong but in ill and only great
By outrage against God and man.
Let her rest."

And in regard to other Native States we would add in the words of our author. "Where royal power has ceased to exist, 'there royal rights also must be admitted to have perished, and 'a great supremacy must necessarily extinguish petty jurisdic-'tions, as the sun does a little fire."

ART. VIII.—*Copy of a Despatch from the Government of India, dated the 3rd day of June* 1859, *reviewing the Report of the Commissioner for the Revision of Civil Salaries and Establishment throughout India. Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated* 4*th August*, 1859.

"THE thing," said a recent traveller to the writer, "the thing 'which has struck me most forcibly in India is the hate the 'Anglo-Indians have for it. No man, by his own account, would 'remain an hour but for the money." The traveller spoke the truth. The old liking of Anglo-Indians for their career, that devotion to the interests of India, that profound acquaintance with the people which made them the most successful of conquerors, and the most egregious of bores, has disappeared. In its stead we have a growing distaste for India, its climate, its people, and its habitudes, which threatens to ripen fast into disgust. The alteration is of comparatively recent origin, fifteen years having in this instance done the work of a generation. The process began with the opening of the Overland route in 1845. From that date Englishmen, previously interested only in India, began to interest themselves in European affairs. The rapid and vigorous life of the West, the constant progress of ideas, the momentous consequences to the world which follow every change, soon exercised their wonted fascination. Men began slowly to re-Anglicise themselves. The new furlough rules followed, the services swarmed homeward, and returned to find the monotony and solitude of Asiatic life almost insupportable. Then came the Mutinies, and with them the temporary extinction of that sympathy for the population which, above all other causes, had given an interest to the work of administration. They were followed by a season of universal discontent, discontent with new taxes and new reductions, with the changes rendered imperative by public opinion at home, and the quiescence enforced by the feebly repressive policy of the Governor General. The Indian world, worn out with excitement, disappointment, and political disgust, sighs only for the home it is for the majority impossible to reach. Every man who can leave, leaves. Every man who stays, consoles his despondency by calculating when he may follow. England has become all in all, and India, as our travelling friend declared, is simply an object of disgust.

This access of nostalgia, even if temporary, is a serious misfortune to the Empire. Civilization, progress, the security essential to the accumulation which is the basis of both, rest mainly on the views and character of the white aristocracy, of the few Europeans of all professions and modes of life. It is they who have created every system of law now in operation in India. It is to them the Empire owes its magnificent commerce, its peace, its wealth, its growing facilities for intercommunication. The immense evils which still exist, and which cause thoughtful men almost to despair of the future, must depend for their removal or amelioration on the exertions of the same class. Any cause which deteriorates their character or impairs their energies, is injurious in a double sense to the tone of the administration. The effect of discontent in India is prospective as well as actual. It is not merely that soldiers become dissatisfied and irreverent of authority, that civilians give up the hope of improvement, that the great adventurer class surrenders itself to the passion for gain as the one object realizable, the one pearl to be extracted from the mass of rottenness around. Those are evils; but there is one greater than them. The talk of this generation is the gospel of the next. The rising men of England will not come to a land which every one who is in it hates. Already in one service the supply is beginning to fail. Medical students at home are beginning to avoid India. At the last examinations the number of competitors has been less than the number of appointments, and men who have succeeded have not been such as Government, when the patronage was surrendered, desired to secure. Leadenhall Street may offer all the promises it can invent. Surgeons may be promised a competence after 17 years, and the fact that it is not available for twenty-five years may be successfully concealed. The few prizes left may be carefully paraded in print, but the young Surgeon is not guided by all that. His gospel is the talk of the Surgeon on furlough, and when he finds every Indian doctor filled with disgust of his position, his prospects, and the country in which he is compelled to labour, he naturally avoids a competition which offers him as its only inducement, a chance of a bitter disappointment. Needy students, Prussians and other Germans crammed for the nonce, step into the vacant places, and the Empire as to this special branch of its administration is permanently injured. It becomes then a most serious question whether the disgust admitted to be felt at present springs from an evanescent or a lasting cause. Is it in short the fact that India has ceased to be the best career for the average Englishman of the educated middle class? We fear a careful enquiry, if it reveals a possibility of remedy, proves also that a change has passed over the position of all Englishmen in India, a change which if not promptly met by adequate and well considered remedies, will make an Indian career a refuge for the destitute instead of an object of ambition to the enterprising.

Ordinary men work and strive in youth under one of four stimulants;—the desire of wealth, the passion for distinction, the wish for a comfortable independent life, or a sense of duty. The last it is not worth while to consider. The lad may think himself called to convert the heathen, or to teach them, or even, though the thought is less common, to guide them into new paths of industry. Or it may be his duty to come to India on personal grounds. He may have a business to keep up, or a family to assist, or friends to gratify, and may be unable to attain those ends by any other means. That motive will operate for ever whatever the circumstances of the country; it drives men to Sierra Leone as well as India, to Central Africa as well as Bombay. But the mass are influenced by the three first described, and the question before us is reduced to this. Is there sufficient chance left in India for the acquisition of money, or distinction, or comfort, to tempt young men of ordinary character and ambition—and India wants neither roués, nor men of unimpeachable morals and decided imbecility—to risk the chances of an Indian career.

First as to wealth. There still exists in many quarters an idea that India with all its drawbacks is *the* place for the rapid acquisition of wealth. The liver may be congested, but the salaries are magnificent. The natives may be evil, but the profits are unprecedented. Exile may be painful, but there is the prospect of a wealthy home in the not far distance. It may be questioned whether this notion, once universal, was ever in accordance with the facts. It certainly is not so now. A few men have indeed always, until lately, made considerable sums. From 1772 to 1800 any man once in the service might, if he survived certain risks, become rich. So few were the Anglo-Indians, so vast the consumption of life, that the prizes—and they were large—shifted incessantly from hand to hand. If a man lived, and the chances were seven to five against him, he must come into something, a high official position, or a mercantile—official—military dictatorship in a province, or a monopoly, or a contract, or a right to make out a bill for stores, or a jaghire, or a command, or something which enriched its possessor almost by magic. The wealth of Bengal was in the hands of less than a hundred men. But since that period, from the day when the services were filled and the Army constituted, the chances of acquiring large wealth have rapidly diminished. For it must be remembered the point at issue is not the sum acquired, but the differe[illegible]tween that sum and the money the adventurer woul[illegible]tained at home. The Civilian who took care of him[illegible]ess was *well paid.* Some of [illegible]re extravagan[illegible]ut the number who retired early with great fortunes was extraordinarily small. One or two who stayed late took large sums,—Mr. Barwell being the most fortunate[*]—but not one carried away the amount which has repeatedly rewarded the great speculator in England. Not one made a fortune like some of the Army contractors of Queen Anne, or speculator-swindlers of the Georges, or Levant dealers of George the Third. We have paid much attention to the point, and we utterly disbelieve that any European in any stage of the Empire ever took home with him a million sterling. We doubt if more than five, Clive, Barwell, Vansittart, and Rumbold ever took more than half a million, and the great majority of the "enormous Indian fortunes" were within twenty lakhs. The notion of the inconceivable wealth of Anglo-Indians, a notion so widely spread that Macaulay mentions it among the phenomena of a century, and so inveterate that it raises the price of hotel fare to all Anglo-Indians now, arose from a different cause. Whatever the Anglo-Indians possessed was spendable wealth. They had no estates crippled with mortgages, dowers, and charitable claims, tenants too old to be dismissed, tenants too ready with their votes to be dunned; tenants always on the flit, tenants who spoilt the land for a generation in the effort to make it pay for five years. They had no palaces to keep up, no double establishments to maintain, no heirs with enormous allowances sanctioned by precedent, as strong as law. They came to England at a time when the landed interest was impoverished,[†] and they came with clear incomes of from six to twelve thousand a year, and no indisposition to waste the capital. Of course they outshone the squires, but they did not outshine the merchants, and the belief in the unique character of their wealth rests only on popular dislike. It must be remembered, too, that their wealth differed from that of their mercantile rivals in this essential point. It did not continue to accumulate. The moment the Anglo-Indian left Calcutta, his resources ceased. He had his fortune, but no fountain whence more and more wealth might flow. The English merchant who retired with perhaps the same sum had his share of a business besides, worth in income more than his capital. There are houses in London which have endured for two hundred years. There is not a house in Calcutta which has lasted forty, and scarcely three in India which have outlived a half century. The tales of enormous wealth made, then, in India really signify that a very limited number of Englishmen returned to England with capitals equal to those accumulated by tolerably successful English merchants. That is all. To relatives who knew nothing of the hazard, heard nothing of the struggle, of the fierce toil of energetic life within the tropics, the fortune seemed made by magic. John had gone out at twenty with a five pound note. John had returned at forty with £200,000. That was all they saw, and India became of course the land of fortunes. Had John made his money on 'Change, or as a bullock-contractor,[*] not a feeling of surprise would have existed.

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[*] He had ninety lakhs. Vansittart too, who owned half Calcutta, was almost equally wealthy. The Vansittarts we can trace. Where are the Barwells?

[†] Nothing is more remarkable than the rapidity of the change in this respect. In 1800 the landowners were paying for a century and a half of extravagance and dissolute living. Their rents were low, and their mortgages heavy. To be a Peer was in popular estimation to be a poor proud man. The Comedians are never tired of contrasting the rude luxury of the "Cits" with the barren dignity of the Peers. Read any of the novels of the period, and the man of wealth is either a Nabob or a merchant. It was commerce and the growth of mighty cities, London especially, which made the Peerage rich. The great House of Gower, for example, with all its estates, had not £15,000 a year.

Gradually even this small number became smaller. The private trade ended. The great salaries were clipped. The commission granted on the Company's purchases was stopped.[†] Contracts were given out of the services, and the best of them—the commissariat contracts,—to natives. Life became more secure and promotion slow. Above all, the influence of Europe began to be felt, making all life expensive. It is one of the forgotten facts of Indian history that the old Nababs lived like natives. Wages were low, sumptuary allowances were almost universal, and retinue was almost the only personal expense. They imported nothing from Europe except wine, bought no books and no millinery, never furnished, rode native horses, kept native boats, had no wives at home, and sent their children to Serampore instead of to England. Soon the best chance of wealth for a man in the service became the great salary attached to a post only attainable in the autumn of life. The great war, too, shut up India, and officers remained steadily hoping, till they had lost even the desire to return to Europe. In old age the few who lived again became wealthy, but the standard was lowered and a man with £100,000 was exceedingly fortunate. Even this sum cost forty years of labour, labour which was as often unsuccessful as in Europe. True, the *cause* of failure was different the great bugbear of life changed, there was no English fear of the workhouse, but there was an Indian dread of untimely death, and the tropical foe numbered at least as many victories as the Northern one.

[*] We know at least one instance where a fortune larger than any made in India was made in England in ten years by a small grazier who got a contract.

[†] One man, very late in the day, had Rs. 15,000 a month as silk dealer for the Company at Moorshedabad.

Yet another change, and we come to the India of the last day, the India of from 1820 to 1845. During all that period the country offered undoubtedly the prospect of a slow competence to all within the groove. The ratio of life had improved. Salaries, though seriously reduced, were still large. The pension funds were not overcrowded. Promotion was certain irrespective of exertion, and the man who lived might after his tenth year save, on a plan, and in security. But that the prizes were larger or more quickly gained than in Europe, we deny. No man of any grade took home a fortune suddenly made. Very few took home fortunes slowly made, and of those few scarcely a dozen reached the limit of the old citizen ambition—" a round plum." From four to seven lakhs has been since 1820 a considerable Indian fortune, and that rarely acquired before fifty-five, never before fifty. Competence there was for those who could work and live, as there is in England. The only difference in favour of India was that the unsuccessful, instead of dying of heartbreak, died of the climate. From 1845 to our own day the progress in this matter of money-making has been steadily downwards, until it has pretty nearly reached its level. And now in the year 1859 what are the special chances of acquiring wealth, substantive transferable wealth, in India? We say briefly—none at all. That a lucky barrister makes Rs. 15,000 a month, that a luckier merchant succeeding to an old established business realizes £30,000 before he is thirty, that a luckiest speculator in Indigo doubles that sum before he is forty-five, are no proofs to the contrary. Accidents of that kind occur in all countries. It is true also that a man who will devote the capital English trade requires, will obtain double the return English trade yields, but he can only make it for half the time. It is a choice between £1000 a year for life, and £2000 a year for fifteen years. Of special facilities for money-making the country offers few or none. The old Colonel who retires on £1800 a year, is considered most fortunate. How is he more fortunate than the English Colonel with the same sum, equally little to do, and a sound liver? The Civilian retires on £1000 a year, and perhaps a lakh besides. He is fortunate, but wherein more so than his brother, the barrister, who earns that sum till he dies, and leaves wife and child with insurances, valuable as his brother's cash? The latter has felt the pressure of pecuniary anxiety most, but it is not a whit more severe than the pressure the climate involves with its separations, deaths, illnesses, and constant alarm. Official salaries in India look large. As a matter of fact do officials make fortunes? Every one acquainted with the interior working of Indian society knows that they do not, that the accumulation of money by officials is rare, the accumulation of sums of any magnitude rarer, and the accumulation of more than £50,000 an event which does not happen twice in a generation. Soldiers have long since given up the hope of wealth, and the case is little better with the adventurers. How many of the merchants, tradesmen and professional men in Bengal really make fortunes? Or, to put the question in a still more definite form, how many in the last twelve years have carried away £30,000? They can be counted almost on the fingers. Incomes, it is true, are large, and so are profits sometimes, but too many circumstances war against accumulation. In the first place there is the question of time. In England a man passes from 20 to 30 in a kind of apprenticeship, and has thirty years at least of independent work remaining. If he succeeds to a house, his apprenticeship is even shorter. In India ten years are consumed in the apprenticeship, and then undoubtedly a successful adventurer might make a fortune. Before six more years have elapsed he is either ill, or homesick, or craving for wife and child, or seized with that fierce hatred of the country which breaks out in Europeans like a disease, and fortune is flung to the winds in hope of peace. Competence comes it is true, but no oftener than in England, and always on the English conditions—steady, attentive, unswerving work. Of the grand prizes in the race, the colossal fortunes made occasionally in New York, London, Marseilles, and the China ports, India is wholly destitute. Of the second class fortunes—£50,000 to £100,000,—she is so far destitute that the prizes are certainly nor more frequent than in a lottery, and of the third class fortunes, the wealth which is distinguished from competence by being transmissible, she offers as many and as few as a home career. If India ever was the land which to a man seeking wealth offered the best career—and this we doubt—she certainly is not that land now.

Distinction. The love of Distinction is not the strongest or most widely spread of English passions. A Frenchman always longs for fame. If he cannot get it, he will put up with notoriety; but notice, applause, the recognition of himself individually, is to him the highest object of desire. The conscript dreams of his bâton, as an English recruit dreams of bacon. Even the placid Germans have an intense susceptibility to applause, a feeling strong enough to make all classes tenacious in the extreme, from the politician who deems censure of himself reason for a mitraillade, to the savan who fights to the death lest he should be robbed of the credit of some infinitesimal contribution to knowledge, and the priest who will pardon any thing save forgetfulness of his good deeds. Among Englishmen, however, partly from character, partly from cir-

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cumstances, the desire is far less strong. Still there are sufficient of the educated class who feel this motive to make it a powerful impulse in society. What prospect then does India offer of distinction? As little as of wealth. At first sight a stranger might imagine capacity had no better field. Everybody is known. Everybody is watched. There is sufficient esprit de corps to induce each class and each section of the community to feel a keen interest in the reflected credit of the successful member. In fact, however, distinction is in India almost unattainable. The same village character which induces every one to watch others, induces every one to depreciate others. Learning, political acumen, business ability, all the powers of the mind are displayed in India in forms Europe cannot appreciate, and prophets have no honour in their own country. What matter that a Benares professor has exhausted a philosophy as wide as that of Germany? Who understands even its terminology? What matter that a Civilian has solved the most intricate problem of land tenures, released a few millions of fertile acres from encumbrance? Who knows what his tenures mean? A politician devises a plan which enables 5000 men to control a Border of 800 miles inhabited by a million of marauders? Who cares about him or his barbarians? General appreciation is baffled by ignorance. Local appreciation, again, is impaired or interrupted, partly by the village spirit remarkable in all colonies and most remarkable in India, and partly by an insouciance peculiar to tropical life, and proceeding perhaps from the aristocratic constitution of Indian society. There is no direct depreciation. It is admitted that the hero did the deed allowed. It is admitted that he is a very fine fellow. But there the Indian world stops short. Nobody doubts or denies the deeds of Hodson, or Nicholson, or Kavenagh, or any of the fifty men the mutiny volcano threw up. But nobody acknowledges them, nobody cares particularly about them. It would not occur to Calcutta to give a dinner to a hero simply as a hero. Nobody in Bombay would have walked across the road to see General Nicholson. As to service being a claim to social distinction, it simply does nothing for the aspirant. A "leader of society" in Calcutta would leave Mr. Kavenagh standing, or decline to dine with him after his feat as readily as before it. Major Tombs would in India be no lion of an evening. Of more serious distinctions the officer has the same chance as in Europe but no more, and they carry with them little social weight. Who honestly cares whether an acquaintance be C. B. or not, except when addressing a letter? In England men do care, and there is just the difference in the chances of distinction in the two countries.

As to the civil officer his opportunities of distinction are practically nil. There is no political stage on which capacity can be displayed. Government may know that a certain Commissioner has a singular creative power, can be relied on for a new plan in a troublesome emergency. The public only knows that he is an "efficient officer." There are scores of "efficient officers." How many even in India really distinguish men under the rank of Lieutenant Governors? How many remember what Col. Dixon did? At home the ignorance is perfect. Col. Davidson saves a kingdom. The Sovereign grants him a civil K. C. B. The Overland paper applauds, and calls him, twice over—Col. Dickinson. Mr. Dorin lately member of Council, who had held high offices for a quarter of a century, was always called Mr. Durrant, while Col. Durand is generally Col. Doran. How many men in civil office have obtained English distinction? Scarce one has been created a baronet. Only two have ever been made Peers, and of those one was rewarded for services outside India. Of the long list of men who have helped to consolidate India one only has, under the most exceptional circumstances, made himself a household word. Nobody out of the Court circle knew "Mr. Hastings of Daylesford" till he was impeached. Lord Wellesley was at home called a "Sultanized Englishman," and considered overrated. Lord W. Bentinck obtained no mark. Lord Dalhousie might have been recognized, but the Indian climate terminated his hope of a h career. Sir John Lawrence is appreciated, but the cl decry him already, and ten years hence he will be forgotten.

As for adventurers, distinction is for them about as possible as for laymen in Rome. There is no political agency through which to work. Of the thousands of families who have risen in India, outside the services, to usefulness and competence, few if any have left a mark. The Ouseleys present almost the only instance of a family founded by an Indian adventurer, and they have not risen beyond embassies. We question if there is a name outside the services to be found in Indian history, or one which educated Indians can recall as marked among the crowd. Yet these men raised the commerce of the country from four millions in 1813 to eighty millions in 1859, introduced Railways, civilization, education, the Press, and Christianity. In the ordinary walks of life India affords no scope. There is no room for poets, or writers, or painters, or physicians, or lawyers, or even engineers. If first class men appeared, the Indian world would not believe that local men could be first class. Who ever heard of Fergusson, indigo planter, one of the first authorities in existence on architecture, and probably not only the first in fortification, but so far the first that it will be twenty years before

Europe has realized his ideas? How Engineers trained at Addiscombe, and accustomed to barracks, would have sneered and cavilled, and protested, had Fergusson "an indigo planter" been told to fortify Calcutta. Calcutta residents stare when told that a quiet man working among them with his sleeves up in a Museum they are too ignorant to enter, is one of the four first living ornithologists. Col. A. Cotton seems to be recognized, but he only seems. A Presidency has taken up his leading idea as a party cry, but the rest of India only chatters over ideas too deeply impressed with originality to be intelligible to any but trained minds.

For the smaller distinctions of life there is of course in India no scope. No European has a chance of making himself locally important, of heading a public movement, of reforming a great abuse, or developing power of any kind. If in the services he will, if active, be promoted quietly; if out of the services he will be called a meddlesome agitator.

Lastly, as to the chances which exist in India for securing a comfortable life. This is the impelling motive of the large majority of Englishmen. They want to live easily, without too much work, or, having work, without too much fret about the future. They want to marry early, to see their children flourish, to enjoy life in a moderate and equable spirit. India presents to such men one single advantage. As yet Anglo-Indians are free, if not wholly, at least to a very wide degree, from the crushing evil of Europe—pecuniary care. No matter the rank or the pay, or the encumbrances, a moderate sensible Anglo-Indian has usually enough. He may crave for more. He may desire things utterly unattainable with his means, but the inability to live, the fear of ultimate ruin which weighs on whole classes in England, is absent here. India is not yet a competitive wild beast's den. All in service are protected from competition. The trade expands faster than the merchants. The tradesman feels still that quality is more important than price, and lives without underselling all his neighbours. The one profession practicable is becoming a little overstocked but the competition is still not excessive. How long thi security may last it is impossible to predict, and it may b dying fast. There is a distrust of the future growing i all men's minds. The civilians fear the abolition of the monopoly. The lawyers declare too many new men are cor ing in. The tradesmen look gloomily at the "little me who are creeping in, and who will beat them in cheapness they now strive to do by attention. The merchants mark rise of native houses, possessed of an attribute of permane which overcomes all other qualities.* Still life is in pecuniary matters easy, and poverty takes forms less hard than those of England. All necessaries are still comparatively cheap. It is superfluities which a change of fortune cuts away. Descent may be painful, but it is still possible. The broken merchant can fight up the hill as broker, the failing broker as clerk, the ruined indigo planter as factor or assistant, the lawyer without fees as Government official. There may be and is misery in India, but for the man who can and will work, pecuniary fear is unnecessary. We readily acknowledge that this advantage is a great one. No man who knows English society, the fear which bows down almost all middle class minds, the bitter struggle forward, can doubt it. But it is the only advantage of an Indian career. The country offers no other single form of inducement.

Take the first incidents of domestic life, wife, children, and homestead. Indians, it is true, can marry early, but many circumstances war against domestic feeling. That most delightful hour of an Englishman's life, when the house door is closed and the world and its botherations shut out, the shutters up, the fire blazing, and himself with wife and children independent of the world, is unknown here. We live in huge barns, hot in summer, cold in winter, full of doors, with rafters all visible in the ceiling, white-washed walls and a floor of puddled clay covered with a rush mat. Every one who reaches the door sees as much of the house as its owner. Servants, noiseless, watchful, are everywhere, and keep up a system of espionage unknown in Europe, though it is bad enough there. The sense of isolation, the foundation of domestic feeling, never exists. The wife's health is not perhaps in more serious danger than in England, but the low average of mortality is maintained by incessant visits to Europe. The wife often passes whole years away from her husband. Sometimes it is her health, sometimes her childrens', more often inability to meet the expense of double establishments. Every four or five years there is a pain of parting equal perhaps to the pain of a domestic bereavement. With children the matter is even worse. Children after eight years must return to Europe. The devices tried to avoid the necessity are all illusory. Health may be obtained in the hills, but where are the associations of England, the vigorous healthful life, the hard training, the battle of school life, which alone make men? Even in the hills the English child must be surrounded by native servants, the most evil class probably existing on earth, learning to lie before he can talk, to quote filth before he can feel passion. The children sent home do not of course invariably suffer. But through life they regard their parents as third persons, scan them as closely, judge them as hardly as ordinary acquaintances. Who wants to be judged by his wife, or his son, or his daughter as he is? This despatch of children to England, too, furnishes the one exception to the Indian freedom from pecuniary fear. There is always enough for the house. There is not always enough for the home establishment which drains the purse of every married Indian, yet – to the credit of the class be it spoken—this is the first expenditure always met. Part of the expense incurred may be unnecessary. We incline to believe it is. Indians always strike us as mad upon the subject of schools, but it is an hallucination for which circumstances afford every justification. Competition demands over-education, and Indians look to competition as the primary resource. An aristocracy always admires over-cultivation, and Indians form an aristocracy. Above all, parents absent from their children feel that they cannot compensate for the defects of cheaper schools by personal care and home affection. Either therefore children are sent to the school most like a home, *i. e.* the most expensive that can be found, or they are sent to relatives, thereby incurring the double charge for school training and home comfort.

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* The *China* trade, for example, is passing to Jews, Armenians and natives.

All this while the process going on in the homestead is one of incessant loss. Nothing is more remarkable than the manner in which in England the "belongings" of persons of very moderate means accumulate. A man who starts in life with his wife on £300 a year has usually as little as he can make shift with, but in ten years he is sure, extraordinary misfortunes apart, to have all his comforts around him. In India everything he has, is, from the moment of purchase, perishing. His house goes to decay at a pace which demands repairs every three years. His garden is ruined by a week's neglect. His furniture is spoilt by the climate, and the servants in an about equal ratio. His books are mildewed, and lost, and stolen, till in despair he purchases no more. An incessant war is waged by his servants against economy. Everything small enough is lost, everything too large to lose is broken. A native will steal the screws of a microscope, the handles of a door, the edges from a salver, the clothes on their way to the wash. Nothing endures, and between the climate and the people watchfulness is thrown away. The only plan is to accept the conditions of camp life, calculate deliberately how much you can throw away for comfort, and throw it away accordingly.

There is no relief from all this internal discomfort except society, and what kind of society is it? Nine-tenths of us to begin with, live either in the scattered barrack, called a cantonment, or in a station with at most ten people. If all the other inmates were angels life under such circumstances must be narrow. There are no new ideas and few new faces, no new incidents, nothing to feed the mind. There are no politics and no local news. Society either grows stupid, or, more frequently, talks of persons instead of things and becomes scandalous. Real society, the interchange of ideas with a few close friends, backed by a world of acquaintances, is impossible.

There can be no friendships where no man stays a year in any one place. There can be no acquaintances in a station of twenty people. You must either make them intimates or cut them dead, as in a ship, and one process is as ruinous as the other to society. That Indians as a class are singularly intelligent, is true. Men occupied with the Government of an alien race, linguists, administrators, and masters, could hardly be otherwise. But, though the training strengthens the mind, it does not fill it. An Indian's intellect runs, like the meat of an overworked ox, too much to bone. He can grasp any subject, but he has no fund of ideas, facts, incidents, and aspirations to pour out in the intercourse of society. We question if there are five men in the country who would point to the friendships they have made, the society they have enjoyed, as sweeteners of their cup of life in India.

And this society he seeks in a climate which, all medical chatter notwithstanding, most Indians believe to be the worst in the world. There has been of late years a sort of reaction upon this question. Because the country does not kill its visitors as it once did, it is pronounced healthy. Doubtless the mortality is very much lower. The frequency of visits home, the extinction of drunkenness, the diminution of some special forms of disease, and an excessive caution about health, have kept down the average of deaths. But a climate may be unhealthy without causing death. A climate which saps all the vital powers, destroys the capacity to work, and deprives its victims of the full possession of every faculty, is an unhealthy climate, and that is India. Who in this country ever feels real health, the delight of simple existence, the keen pleasure which in England follows exercise? Life in the tropics is for Englishmen a mere drag, a fight up the hill with a foe which only lacks just sufficient strength for final mastery.

And when worn and sick, suspicious of all men, the Englishman at fifty returns home, what is his position? Half his relatives are dead. The other half have forgotten him. He has left his children usually behind, but if not, they regard him almost as a stranger. He has nothing to do. Indian training is too special to leave full power for other work, but granted the capacity, where is the opportunity? English prizes of course must be foregone, and the Indian is *too old to* contest the ordinary race with his own sons. If he can take an interest in politics as well, though an Indian is seldom a successful politician. If he can live in London and stand the wear and tear of active London life, it is also well. But if not, he idles about at Bath or Cheltenham, or the thousand pretty village-towns scattered about England, conscious of wasted powers, without a purpose or a hope.

Is it so certain that India is still the best field for educated ambition?

CRITICAL NOTICES

OF

WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

Luxima, the Prophetess. A Tale of India. By Sydney, Lady Morgan. London : Charles Westerton. 1859.

At the dawn of the period which we generally consider as the beginning of the last phase of our modern English Literature, when Cowper and Burns were striving to recall it to that realism and unartificial truth which had been buried under the falsehood of the period of the Restoration and the Revolution and had merged into a tame lifelessness under Queen Anne and the first two Georges, Lady Morgan wrote. Byron and Moore were not ; Wordsworth and his School were yet in the future except in so far as they were anticipated by Crabbe ; the French Revolution had just awoke the mind of Europe to young ideas. Born in Dublin in 1783, the daughter of an Actor and song-writer, with just sufficient education to quicken without dulling her native talent, Sydney Owenson was a poet and a novelist on a somewhat large scale. Ere she was out of her teems she had written "Kate Kearney," and had seen seven editions of her "Wild Irish Girl." In the former she anticipated Moore, and in the latter laid the basis of a reputation which opened to the Actor's daughter the most brilliant society of London, and gained for as a husband the well known physician Sir Charles Morgan, whom she first met in 1811 when on a visit to the Marquis of Abercorn. Moving with acknowledged grace and power in this society, and entering with Irish-like zest into all its pleasures, she yet found time to issue with wonderful rapidity, novels, sketches, travels and semi-moralising works, which make at least seventy volumes. "Kate Kearney" will probably survive them all, but there are few of them which do not manifest distinct traces of the possession by the writer of some of the characteristics of Irish genius. It was these characteristics which gave them a large sale and a favourable reception when they were issued, it is these that with even this generation consign them to oblivion. She never, save in detached passages, approached the power of her relative, Oliver Goldsmith. With a pension of £300 a year from the Civil List, Lady Morgan lingered on till last year, connecting like Rogers the literary present with the past.

In her old age, she seems to have turned from the broad humour and playful satire of her other works to the more sober and elaborate subject and style of "The Missionary," published upwards of forty years ago. She was engaged in superintending a reissue of it only a few days before her death. Reduced from three volumes to one, and with the more attractive title of "Luxima, the Prophetess," her Indian Tale is now before us, published at this time in the hope that the new interest felt in India will ensure its sale. But the work is essentially one of the past, and has all the vices of the old School of three volume novels. Lady Morgan caught the new spirit of realistic truthfulness that was arising in literature in her early days only partially. In all that she wrote about her country and her people, she was as entertaining as Lever and as truthful as Miss Edgeworth or Mrs. S. C. Hall ; but beyond that she walked upon stilts, she indulged in unreal extravagancies and in an unnatural style, she shewed some of the worst vices of the Minerva Press School. Her Indian Tale is badly conceived, its incidents drag along with a painful slowness, its end is monstrously untrue to nature and probability.

Hilarion, Count d'Acugna, is a second Xavier. Sacrificing the splendours and power of his birth for the exercises of St. Francis, and gaining a reputation for sanctity which spread far and wide over Spain, he suddenly resolves to undertake a spiritual mission to India. In spite of the intrigues of the Jesuits, he is appointed Apostolic Nuncio in India and lands in Goa, accompanied by a young Jesuit who secretly acts as a spy on his actions and finally accomplishes his ruin. Received with the most demonstrative enthusiasm by the people of Goa who groaned under the tyranny of the Spanish Jesuits and the Inquisition, and with the utmost coldness by the Bishop and Grand Inquisitor, the Missionary determined to avoid the snares that were being laid for him by leaving the place. He chose Cashmir as the scene of his future labours, and soon found himself in a "budlow" of 12 oars on the Indus bound for Lahore, where Dara was at that time preparing to wrest the Empire from Aurungzebe. There, under the tuition of a Pundit, he devoted himself to the study of the dialects of Upper India. While there, Lahore was visited by a holy Guru on his way to Cashmir with his grand-daughter, Luxima, who had become a Brachmachira. As they performed sacrifice and discussed in public the doctrines of the Veds, Hilarion was stirred up to preach the truth even in the temple of Brahma. He witnessed the interest of Luxima in his words, was awed into love with her mystic beauty, and resolved to make the conversion of the Priestess of Cashmir the one object of his mission. Once converted, she might prove the redemption of her whole nation.

The course of the story may be conjectured after this. The Missionary loves and he is a priest. In the vales of Cashmir, described in prose as

Moore has done in verse, they often meet, and Luxima learns to love him in turn and to fancy that her love has made her a Christian. The greater part of the book is occupied with a somewhat tedious description of their intercourse. Throughout it is outwardly and professedly merely that of the new-born neophyte and the holy Missionary Father. In reality it is that of lovers whom religious vows, and the dread of everlasting curses, have for ever separated. The vicissitudes of remorse and hope, the ever changing ever struggling passions in the breast of Hilarion, as he thinks now of his celibate vows, now of the fact that he is beloved, now of the glory of wedding a Brachmachira to Christ, and now of the course that nature and true religion alike point out, are on the whole well painted. At last all is discovered, Luxima is excommunicated by her grand-father and they flee, she that she may ever be with the man who has now her heart, he that he may give her up to a Goanese convent. After much suffering they meet with a trading caravan on its way to Tatta, in which is the Jesuit spy. There Hilarion is arrested by the familiars of the Inquisition, as one who had broken the vows of his order, ruined a neophyte and defamed the Jesuits. He and Luxima are bound and carried to Goa. The Pundit of Lahore now appears on the scene like a good genius. He frees Luxima from the convent of the Dominican sisters where she is confined, and when Hilarion is about to be burnt at an *Auto da fe*, she suddenly appears on the scene with the sacred mark of Brahma on her forehead, springs upon her lover's pile, and rouses the Hindoos by the cry of Brahma. They, eager to avenge the wrongs they had so long groaned under, and believing that their God addressed them from her lips, fall with fury on the Inquisitors, are joined by the sepoys in their pay, and almost beat off the Spanish soldiers, though finally defeated. In the *mêlée* the Missionary, clasping Luxima in his arms, escapes, enters a boat, and finally finds refuge in a cavern for himself and her. But it is too late. She had been stabbed with a poignard in the struggle around the pile, and she looks only for death.

> "Luxima !" exclaimed the Missionary wildly, "Luxima, thou wilt not die ! Thou wilt not leave me alone on earth to bear thy innocent blood upon thy head, and thy insupportable loss for ever in my heart !—to wear out life in shame and desolation—my hope entombed with thee—my sorrows lonely and unparticipated—my misery keen and eternal !—Oh ! no, fatal creature ! sole cause of all I have ever known of bliss or suffering, of happiness or of despair, thou hast bound me to thee by dreadful ties ; by bonds, sealed with thy blood, indissoluble and everlasting ; and, if thy hour is come, mine also is arrived, for triumphing over the fate which would divide us, we shall die, as we dared not live—together !"
>
> Exhausted by the force and vehemence of an emotion which had now reached its crisis—enervated by tenderness, subdued by grief, and equally vanquished by bodily anguish, and by the still surviving conflicts of feeling and opinion—he sank overpowered on the earth ; and Luxima, held up by the sympathizing Pundit, seemed to acquire force from the weakness of her unfortunate friend, and to return from the grasp of death, that she might restore him to life. Endeavouring to support his head in her feeble arms, and pressing her cold check to his, she sought to raise and cheer his subdued spirit, by words of hope and consolation. At the sound of

her plaintive voice, at the pressure of her soft cheek, the creeping blood quickened its circulation in his veins, and a faint sensation of pleasure thrilled on his exhausted nerves. He raised his head, and fixed his eyes on her face with one of those looks of passionate fondness, tempered by fear, and darkened by remorse, with which he had so frequently, in happier days, contemplated that exquisite loveliness which had first stolen between him and Heaven.

Luxima still too well understood that look, which had so often given birth to emotions, which even approaching death had not quite annihilated; and with renovated strength (the illusory herald of dissolution) she exclaimed—"Soul of my life! the God whom thou adorest did doubtless save thee from a dreadful death, that thou mightest live for others, and still he commands thee to bear the painful burthen of existence. Yet, oh! if for others thou wilt not live, live at least for Luxima! and be thy beneficence to her nation, the redemption of those faults of which for thy sake she has been guilty! Thy brethren will not dare to take a life, which God himself has miraculously preserved—and, when I am no more, thou shalt preach, not to the Brahmins only, but to the Christians, that the sword of destruction, which has this day been raised between the followers of thy faith and of mine, may be for ever sheathed! Thou wilt appear among them as a spirit of peace, teaching mercy, and inspiring love; thou wilt soothe away, by acts of tenderness, and words of kindness, the stubborn prejudice which separates the mild and patient Hindu from his species; and thou wilt check the Christian's zeal, and bid him follow the sacred lesson of the God he serves, who, for years beyond the Christian era, has extended his merciful indulgence to the errors of the Hindu's mind, and bounteously lavished on his native soil those wondrous blessings which first tempted the Christians to seek our happier regions. But, should thy eloquence and thy example fail, tell them my story! tell them how I have suffered, and how even thou hast failed:—thou, for whom I forfeited my caste, my country, and my life; for 'tis too true, that still more loving than enlightened, my ancient habits of belief clung to my mind, thou to my heart: still I lived thy seeming proselyte, that I might still live thine; and now I die as Brahmin women die, a Hindu in my feelings and my faith—dying for him I loved, and believing as my fathers have believed."

Exhausted and faint, she drooped her head on her bosom, and the Missionary, stiffened with horror, his human and religious feelings alike torn and wounded, hung over her, motionless and silent. The Pundit, dropping tears of compassion on the chilling hands he chafed, now administered some water to the parched lips of the dying Indian, on whose brow the light of the moon shone resplendently. Somewhat revived by the refreshment, she turned on him her languid but grateful eyes, and slowly recognising his person, a faint blush, like the first doubtful colouring of the dawn, suffused the paleness of her cheek. She continued to gaze earnestly on him for a few moments, and a few tears, the last she ever shed, fell from her closing eyes,—and, though the springs of life were nearly exhausted, yet her fading spirits rallied to the recollection of *home!* of *friends!* of *kindred!* and of *country!* which the presence of a sympathizing compatriot thus painfully and tenderly awakened—then, after a convulsive struggle between life and death, whose shadows were gathering on her countenance, she said in a voice scarcely audible, and in great emotion: "I owe thee much, let me owe thee more—thou seest before thee Luxima, the Prophetess and Brachmachira of Cashmere! and thou wast haply sent by the interposition of Providence to receive her last words, and to be the testimony to her people of her innocence; and, when thou shalt return to the blessed paradise of her nativity, thou wilt say—'that having gathered a dark spotted flower in the garden of love, she expiates her error by the loss of her life; that her disobedience to the forms of her religion, and the laws of her country, was punished by days of suffering, and by an untimely death; yet that her *soul* was pure from sin, as, when clothed in transcendant brightness, she outshone, in faith, in *virtue*, all women of her nation!"

This remembrance of her former glory deepened the hues of her complexion, and illumined a transient ray of triumph in her almost beamless eyes: then, pausing for a moment, she fixed her look on the image of her tutelar god, which she still held in her hand—the idol, wearing the form of infant beauty, was symbolic *of that religious* mystic love, to which she had *once* devoted herself! she held it for

> a moment to her lips, and to her heart—then, presenting it to the Cashmirian, she added, " Take it, and bear it back to him, from whom I received it, on the day of my consecration, in the temple of Sirinagur ! to him ! the aged grandsire whom I abandoned !—dear and venerable !—should he still survive the loss and shame of her, his child and his disciple ! should he still deign to acknowledge as *his* offspring the outcast whom he cursed—the Chancalas whom—" the words died away upon her quivering lips, " Brahma !" she faintly exclaimed, " Brahma !" and, grasping the hands of the Missionary, alternately directed her looks to him and to Heaven ; but he replied not to the last glance of life and love. He had sunk beneath the acuteness of his feelings ; and the Indian, believing that his spirit had fled before her own to the realms of eternal peace, and there awaited to receive her, bowed her head, and expired in the blissful illusion, with a smile of love and a ray of religious joy shedding their mingled lustre on her slowly-closing eyes.

Very melodramatic, certainly, and very absurd. And to complete the drama and add to its unreality, the Missionary, the Apostolic Nuncio, the son of St. Francis, the rival of St. Xavier, became a Hermit or a Faquir, it is difficult to gather which. In the suite of Aurungzebe a European Philosopher visited Cashmir and heard there of a lone recluse, who " prayed at the confluence of rivers, at the rising and setting of the sun." He was one morning found dead at the foot of an altar he had himself raised to the deity of his secret worship :—

> " Beside him lay a small urn, formed of the sparry congelations of the grotto : on opening it, it was only found to contain some ashes, a cross stained with blood, and the dsandam of an Indian Brahmin. On the lucid surface of the urn were carved some characters which formed the name of " Luxima !" It was the name of an outcast, and had long been condemned to oblivion by the crime of its owner.
>
> The Indians shuddered when they pronounced it ! and it was believed that the Recluse who lived so long and so unknown among them, was the same who once, and in days long passed, had seduced from the altar of the god she served, the most celebrated of their religious women, when he had visited their remote and lovely valley in the character of a Christian Missionary.

Subjects of Examination in the English Language, appointed by the Senate of the Calcutta University for the Entrance Examination of December, 1860. *Calcutta : C. B. Lewis.* 1859.

THIS work, both in its subjects and general ' getting up,' is worthy of its academic origin and objects. In its subjects it is altogether of a higher character than the preceding issue, and yet not so far removed above the understanding of youths as to be too difficult. The repeated reading of such works as Rogers' Pleasures of Memory, Coleridge's Hymn in the Vale of Chamouni, De Quincey's Revolt of the Tartars, Arthur Helps' Essays, Craik's Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties, and Mantell's Thoughts on Animalcules, cannot fail to have a most elevating effect on the numerous schools all over Bengal and the North West. Mantell's work is illustrated by a series of Plates, some of which have been engraved in the Industrial Art School, Calcutta.

anarchy as this was most pleasing and profitable to all the governing and military classes. Can we wonder that they hated us when we called order out of the chaos ?

But the successful extortion and tyranny of these classes must have been the ruin and misery of the masses from whom they squeezed their ill-gotten wealth ? Surely the people welcomed our rule as a deliverance ? Captain Hutchinson supplies an answer :—

> " Too weak to resist, lowest in the scale of extortion, the small land cultivator rarely retained of the fruits of his labour, more than sufficient to support Indian life ; and the only wages he could afford to those who shared with him this manual toil, was in Oude, usually, three and half seers of bajra (a very common grain) per diem, equal to about 6 lbs. weight English measure. Passing in a direct line from Lucknow to Shajehanpore, in September 1856, I went through many tracts where the old state of things remained untouched, and where men and children, leaving the plough, ran to catch a glimpse of one of that foreign race of whom they had often heard, but had never seen, and under whose rule they had lately, but most vaguely heard they soon would come; in their simple mind, the news of the annexation raised but one new train of thought. What share shall I now retain of the fruits of my toil? Will this new master take less than my old one? He could not more; to me therefore it may be good.
>
> To such men a change of masters was objectionable or otherwise, simply as it affected their own life interests. They had no nationality, and had been too long depressed ever to combine and lift a finger to aid either the good or the bad master: no doubt these petty landholders welcomed the annexation, very soon they saw a real chance of reaping a fair share of what they sowed, and they were not backward to declare their satisfaction ; many voluntary expressions of pleasure were daily made to me by such men, nor was it at all wonderful ; they could not be worse and might be better.
>
> In former years, the small remnant of their crops that the district lord left them was sadly diminished by the extortions of many smaller lords, and even the very Passee cattle grazed on their lands untouched. Those Passees, those free-booters of the jungles, were too great adepts with the bow and arrow, for any poor man to drive their cattle away openly, though many a stone was slyly thrown at the unwitting beasts. I witnessed this myself, but the dread of the silent arrow was so great, that they begged me not to take any notice of them, they would perhaps scare the cattle away gradually.

The class of middlemen removed one stage above these emulated their superiors in aggression. The large Talookdars or Zemindars, though more merciful to their own tenants than the Chuckladars, were merciless to and ever at war with all else. The whole revenues of Oude thus raised were about one million sterling.

As soon as the annexation was effected, our Punjab system of Government was introduced, supported by an army of 20,600 men of whom only 800 were Europeans. To carry out the administration was a most difficult task among men to whom justice was a myth, uprightness a tradition. With the most earnest desire to do justly, an English Assistant Commissioner could not fail to make mistakes in settlement among an Asiatic population, who will not always tell who is the real owner of the soil even if they know it, who are alarmed by the very fact of enquiry, and to whom lying to an alien seems a virtue. The people, ordered by their *own king* to submit to us, did not manifest any great dislike to our rule at first. The poorest among them had at least a chance of being benefited by it. The large landholders looked on, awaiting the results of a system of which they knew nothing.

> "Soon however as disagreeable enquiries arose about their landed rights, each felt the enemy, and like the hedge-hog curled up accordingly : all were not equally dissatisfied ; many were left in undisturbed possession of their estates, but unavoidably and justly were called on to pay up those arrears of revenue which were due from them to the former administration. This they disliked and endeavoured to evade by every species of chicanery and procrastination. It followed, as a matter of course, that non-payment of revenue met with the usual treatment in our courts, and the lands were taken from the defaulter. Other wealthy men again, who did not owe any arrears to the late Government, still suffered from the faulty nature of their landed rights, losing many villages they had lately and forcibly seized *vi et armis*, and shorn of half their power, they saw with no kindly feelings, villages and lands return to the poor, but rightful owners, to eject whom had probably cost them the blood of their best friends.
>
> From the foregoing sketch it may be readily understood, that from the very constitution of the various ranks of life in Oude, combined with events occurring after the annexation, all were, at the first burst of the mutiny, inclined either for active enmity or passive friendship, and that the European community could expect no assistance from the people in crushing the spirit of the mutiny, or stemming the current of rebellion."

Such was the attitude of the people of Oude towards us when the cloud burst in 1857. The coming of the storm with them was preceded and presaged by the now notorious Moulvee, known as Ahmed Alee Shah in Arcot his native place, who established himself with a band of armed followers in Fyzabad in February 1857. There he preached a *Jehad*, a religious war, against the Kaffirs, and after some trouble and bloodshed was apprehended by the Magistrate. In March Sir Henry Lawrence assumed the reins of Government in Oude ; at the end of April the 7th Oude Irregulars refused to use the objectionable cartridges. May was occupied with active preparations for the outbreak, and on the 30th the troops in Cantonments mutinied. The rest is well known.

To China and Back : being a Diary kept, Out and Home. By Albert Smith. London. Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

THIS book, like its author, combines the characteristics of showman and litterateur. Of the former it is a fair specimen, of the latter it is quite unworthy. It is intended as a companion to the writer's Lecture in the Egyptian Hall, and evidently he has compressed so much of his wit and ability into that, that he has had none left for the book. Even a clever fellow like Albert Smith will seem to be stupid when he pretends to write of a Settlement and a people whom he observed for but a few months. Leaving London at the end of the season of 1858, after a voyage of 20,000 miles he returned in July "with the Cattle-Show and Pantomimes." To those who know the voyage well his Diary is tiresome, to those who wish for information about China or the English in it, it is disappointing even in its fun. To appreciate Albert Smith our readers must see and hear him at the Egyptian Hall. From some "Tea Leaves" which act as an appendix of whims and waifs of the journey, we select the following, some of the satire of which is not undeserved, though the whole sketch is a gross exaggeration of the peculiarities of Anglo-Indians as they are now. But we must remember Mr. Albert Smith lives on exaggeration and farce. He was never in India, knew nothing of its hospitality, went home with a bad 'set' evidently, and has a soul which cannot rise above the comic :—

OF INDIAN SNOBS.

"Sometimes I meet people who irritate me very much, and I wish it was allowable, in polite society, to throw something at their heads ; but I was most made so continuously angry by a lot of people I met coming home from India in one of the Peninsular and Oriental boats. You would have thought that India was the world, and England some small province, somewhere or another, used for brewing beer and preserving provisions. You would also have encountered the originals of those irritable old men in bygone five-act comedies, who swear, and bawl, and get red in the face, and talk emphasized trash all on one subject ; and you would have seen really nice women, originally, who had become so eaten up by a sense of some position or another, which gave them a poor little Calcutta precedence over one or two other ladies, that they would fidget and fuss and sulk for a week if they did not get the place at dinner that their station in the perspiring society of India afforded them.

The manner of all these people towards the servants of the ship was most atrocious. They looked upon them as so many niggers, to be driven and ordered about as occasion required ; and not a word of civility or acknowledgment ever passed their lips towards their inferiors. They were all helplessly, hopelessly, idle ; and could not even move a cushion from one chair to another without calling their "Boy !" whom they would afterwards keep tugging the punkahs for hours, until his arms must have been ready to drop off. But it was pleasant to know what rough checks all their whims would receive when they got to London. How they would be pushed about in the streets like any other average persons. How, in society, nobody would care one husk of a straw what they had been in Calcutta, unless they proved nice intelligent, agreeable persons in London. How those long-boring stories would be yawned down, and those imported sixth-hand anecdotes coldly crushed. How, above all, if they wanted anything done, they would be compelled to be commonly civil to our attentive household servants—even in the Brompton lodging, for which they had exchanged their big, bare, barn of a bungalow.

Very frequently we got up little concerts at night, on board the ship ; and to teach those Anglo-Indians that they were not such wonders, I wrote the following lyrical lesson —

GREAT FAILURE IN THE EAST.

"*There's nae luck.*"

There is a land, a long way off,
  Six thousand miles at least,
At which none yet have dared to scoff,
  'Tis called "The gorgeous East."
Its gems, its spice, its woods we praise,
  Its wealth—its native race—
But just the coat of tinsel raise,
  And 'tis a wretched place !

Sing *Lalleballoo and juggerbedam*,
Sing *Pukkera dobie pore*,
Sing *Cursejee, dirtyjee, jabberjehoy*,
Sing *Chilly go wallah badore !**

Obedient to the tropic laws,
The sun's a perfect lens,
Which cholera, plague, and fever draws
From jungle, quags, and fens.
All day you gasp—all night you pant,
And sweltering vigils keep,
Lest poisonous gnat, or stinging ant,
Should through your curtains creep.

Your house a *bungalow* is called,
O'er whose gaunt space you roam :
Its general tone is bare and bald—
So unlike English home !
There are no bells, so if you want
Your servant—" *Boy !*" you call ;
When p'rhaps he comes ; and if he don't,
You still must sit and bawl.

These servants you will always find,
Not overclean, or sweet,
With tawdry rags about them twined,
And fancy !—naked feet.
Ungrateful, idle, silent, sly,—
Though humble they appear,
The dark expression of each eye,
Is hatred quenched in fear.

The cookery is all dabby mess,
Though meant to copy home :
For all is stale, you must confess,
Which round the Cape has come.
The meats, preserved in air-tight pot,
Oft go off with a bang !
And at the best, have always got
A most suspicious twang.

The beef and mutton's all so tough—
You cannot hang your meat,
You kill of what you want enough,
That very day to eat !
But odds and ends you can re-dress,
To make a " curry" nice,
And get so sick'ned of that mess,
In its eternal rice.

The scorpion swarms about the house,
The serpent—four feet long,—
The spider, cockroach, rat, and mouse,
About the bedroom throng.
You eat ants wholesale—white and red—
Or drink them in your tea,
And often, wriggling in your bread,
A centipede you see !

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* This chorus is pure Hindustani, but the Author is not allowed to publish its meaning.

You order all in tones severe,
Half bullying, most absurd,
And " If you please," and " Thank you" here
Are phrases never heard,
Its " Bitters !" " Water !" " Pepper !" " Tea !"
But vengeance will come yet !
Just try that line at home and see
What answers you will get.

You live in such a ring, confined
To one small paltry state,
That for good general talk, your mind
Grows perfectly stagnate.
When strangers come, you do not call
On them—you're too great nobs :—
Which, by our *English* standard, seems
Uncommonly like snobs !

And then your half-penny pretence,
That shrouds your lack of wit,
Of ball or dinner " precedence,"
And where you are to sit.
Oh ! Darling Snobs ! take my advice,
And ne'er in England try,—
Even, if very *very* nice,
Such ultra-flunkery.

And worst of all, each steamer brings
Some lovely English girls,
Here to be sold, for wedding rings,
To Chutney-livered churls.
Who bawl, and swear, and make a fuss,
And such dull stories tell,
First rate at Poonah—but with us
They don't go very well.

The whole is such a grand mistake,
Of purse pride and red tape,
That all should do their best, to make
Its form a wholesome shape.
The Company's done up, and won't
Say much more now about it,
So long live India—if it don't
The world can roll without it.

Ishmael ; or a Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity. By the Rev. Dr. J. Mühleisen Arnold. London ; Rivingtons. 1859.

We should be glad to hear that this book had a large sale, as the ' entire proceeds will be given towards founding a society for propagating the Gospel among the Mohammedans.' Yet we cannot but express our fears that if the establishment of such a society be dependent upon the proceeds of this book it will be a very long time before it is founded. " The work is published with a view to cherish, if possible, the Missionary spirit which has been called forth by recent events ; and to place some of the leading truths of Christianity antithetically to the falsities and perversions of the Koran, so as to render the comparison available for actual Missionary operations among the numerous posterity of Ishmael." To effect this the sympathies of two classes ought to be secured, viz. the large body of the members of Christian Churches and those who are actually engaged in Mahommedan Missions. To secure the sympathies of the first, the book is too learned and makes too much parade of its learning. Ordinary readers will not, nay cannot, read it through. The great number of notes and references amounting to nearly fifteen hundred, and abounding in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, Persian and Arabic quotations, render the perusal exceedingly wearisome. But on the other hand, while there is not enough of solid information and original matter to render it absolutely essential to those actually labouring in the arduous task of Missions to the Mahommedans, it may be very useful as a compendious handbook. There is scarcely a fact mentioned but its authority is given. The Chapter on the character and influence of Islamism, and that on the General Survey and things to be done, are the most interesting, and contain some valuable hints and reflections. There is one class to whom we can fancy the book will be more than ordinarily useful, and through whom the author's object in publishing it may perhaps be ultimately gained. We mean the class of popular lecturers—men who have a great tact for popularizing subjects and impressing an ordinary audience with a profound sense of their intimate acquaintance with the topic in hand. We can fancy Dr. Cumming, for instance, reading this volume and getting materials which he would be able to work up again and again into sermons, or lectures, or even a book, and with his popular style and the weight of his name diffusing information and cherishing the Missionary spirit amongst thousands who would never know the source of his information. The force of the appeal is weakened by the attack on Unitarianism in the closing Chapter. With all his detestation of Mahommedanism the author seems, on the whole, to prefer it to Unitarianism.

A Memorial of the Futtehgurh Mission, and her Martyred Missionaries: with some Remarks on the Mutiny in India. By the Rev. J. Johnston Walsh. 1859.

THIS is a book of that class which lies beyond the range of ordinary criticism. Were we disposed to find fault we might point out many verbal inaccuracies, but the man is not to be envied who could read the book without being thankful that it was published. Written without artistic pretension, it is what it professes to be, a simple Memorial of the Mission and Missionaries of Futtehgurh. The Missionaries, Messrs. Freeman, Campbell, Johnston and McMullin with their wives and two of Mr. Campbell's children, were amongst the band of one hundred and twenty-six in number that left Futtehgurh on the 4th of June 1857, in the hope of escaping the ravages of the fearful storm then raging in all its fury around them. On the evening of the 8th they struck on an island five miles below Bhitoor and about the same distance from Cawnpore. They made every effort to open communications with Sir Hugh Wheeler besieged at that very time in his own intrenchment at Cawnpore. They were unsuccessful—how useless for them even had it been otherwise we all now, alas, know too well. On the 12th June, having been four days on the island, they were fired at by a party of sepoys crossing the bridge of boats, and a child, a lady and a native nurse were killed. In consequence of this they left the boats and took shelter in the long grass on the island. The same day they were captured by a boat load of sepoys, taken over to the Cawnpore side, bound two and two together, and marched off to Nana Sahib. One of the party makes a final effort for their release and offers three lakhs of rupees for liberty and safety. The reply annihilates hope, it is *blood* we want and not money. Through the still calm hours of evening they march,—anxious, weary, fasting. At last some utterly exhausted sink down unable to proceed. The sepoys close around them, and there, with nothing but a little water given them, they remain all night. At day-break they resume their march. Three carriages sent by the Nana take on the ladies who cannot walk further. Soon they reach the station where for about an hour they are shut up in a house by themselves. At seven o'clock in the morning they are marched out to the parade ground and there—man, woman, and child—are shot down like dogs.

A memorial to them and their work Mr. Walsh undertakes to erect. Providentially he was in America at the time of the outbreak. He is thus the sole surviving member of the Mission. His therefore should be the hand to erect this memorial, and with what faithfulness and sympathy he has executed his task, the work before us tells.

The history of the establishment and progress of the Futtehgurh Mission, interesting in itself, is peculiarly so as illustrative of the history of Missions generally. It is impossible for a Missionary to determine what shall be the peculiar character of his labours until he enters upon the very scene itself. Circumstances that he cannot possibly foresee and that are altogether beyond his control, determine, more often than not, the mode in which he is to do his work. Utterly absurd is the cry so often raised that Missionaries are to confine themselves to preaching and to that only, that, to use Livingstone's expression, they are to be 'men going about with Bibles under their arms.' Gladly as they would, if they could, devote their whole time exclusively to the glorious work of declaring the glad tidwork, as those who know the circumstances of his undertaking it and are old fashioned enough in this enlightened age to believe in the overruling Providence of God, will easily understand.

> "The task was no ordinary one, but encompassed with great difficulties. The children were addicted to almost every vile practice, and unaccustomed to restraint of any kind. It, therefore, required much patient and persevering labour to bring them into proper working order. In this Mr. Wilson possessed peculiar qualifications, and the system started by him and followed by others, was crowned with more than ordinary success."

So was established the Mission at Futtehgurh. See how this Institution for orphans gradually and naturally led to other things :—

> "Our Christian village at Futtehgurh grew out of our asylum. From the very first of our operations there, it was designed, as the children of the asylum grew up and were married, to settle them in a Christian colony, and by furnishing them with suitable employment, retain them under Christian influences. These two objects, giving them a suitable education with religious culture, and providing them employment, characterized all our labours from the commencement of the asylum ; for it was foreseen that unless these two objects were kept in view, our wards would after a certain period, break loose from us, and by exposure to the peculiar temptations of their situation, probably return to heathenism, and thus our labours would be lost and their souls placed in jeopardy. Accordingly, as our wards grew up and were married, we built for them houses on a separate piece of land, and these buildings have so multiplied as to entitle the place to the name of a village, which has been called I'SAIPUR or Christian town. * * * * * * * The support and employment of our native Christians has always been to us a subject of much thought and solicitude. Their position as outcasts cut them out of all the usual channels of employment, and made it obligatory on us to devise something which would enable them to earn their own support. This was not a pleasant position for us to fill, but as it seemed necessary, we were willing to do anything to advance the interests of the Mission and our native Christians, by whatever name it might be called, and by whatever unpleasantness it might be accompanied ; and, accordingly, we introduced several branches of manual labour in connection with the asylum for our wards, the first of which was the manufacture of woollen carpets, and afterward that of tents. Both of these were successful, and the tent department flourished beyond our expectations, and furnished the means of permanent support to the villagers and wards of the asylum. The heaviest part of the management, involving the secular part of the labour, was taken by two of the young men who acted as assistants, and filled their post with much satisfaction and success. The above is a historical fact ; and the plan pursued, however environed with objections and difficulties, was the only feasible one that could be adopted to meet the case, and we believe eventuated in much good to our people and church."

Was not this growth natural ? First the Missionary is seen superintending an orphan asylum, then establishing and organising a Christian village, then introducing trades, becoming schoolmaster, builder, carpet-maker, tent-maker, in fact anything that the peculiar circumstances demanded. Would he have been acting more Christlike if when the care of these orphans was offered him, or if when the subsequent opportunities of usefulness presented themselves, he had stood aside and said "Oh these are duties I cannot undertake ; I came to preach the Gospel, I will go and give them an address if you like but I cannot do more than that." There may be some who will blame them for engaging in these duties but there is one—the one who told us the tale of the Good Samaritan—who will, instead of condemning, say "Well done, good and faithful servant." And his 'well done' will far outweigh the sneers and adverse verdicts of men.

But it must not be supposed that the Missionaries' efforts were confined to the care of these orphans, and to the fulfilment of the duties that arose from them. In addition to these duties they carried on energetically the special work for which they came to this country. Accordingly we find that as soon as possible they commenced preaching, and apparently with no small measure of success. In the year 1841 a church was organised, the number consisting of ten, of whom four were natives. From that time to the year 1857 the number gradually increased until it reached over one hundred, although as some were dismissed to form and help weak churches at other places, they never had more than eighty native members at one time in fellowship with them. With bazaar preaching regularly carried on, with itinerancies in the cold season for the purpose of evangelising the districts round about, with the translation of tracts and the preparation of school books, with several vernacular schools established or carried on under the superintendence of the Mission, with the conduct of a High School for imparting a knowledge of the English language and the higher branches of study, and with the management of schools expressly for the children of native Christians, it may be concluded that the best energies of the men were devoted to the work they came to do.

An interesting episode in the Mission is the connection with it of the Mohá Rajah Dhulip Singh. Succeeding in the fourth year of his age to the throne of his father, Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, his dominion was destined to pass away from him ere yet he was of age. With the Sikh wars and their result—the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions, our readers are familiar. A guardian was appointed by the Government for the young Mohá Rajah, and Dr. (now Sir John) Login was selected to fill this onerous post. The following particulars respecting the conversion and baptism of the young prince will be read with pleasure, though the quotation is long.

> "In the early part of 1850, Dr. Login, accompanied by his charge, marched with tents from Lahore to Futtehgurh, which was the place chosen by Government for the Mohá Rajah to reside. Nor was the selection of a tutor of less importance, and we rejoice to say that it was equally as happy as the choice of a guardian. Mr. Walter F. F. Guise, who occupied this post, possessed peculiar qualifications for the discharge of his duties, and he laboured hard and most patiently to impart the best advice and instruction in all matters, both of a worldly and religious nature. But his greatest power consisted in the influence of an example worthy of the Mohá Rajah's imitation, and in the beautiful harmony of his Christian character, which was the greater because of its simple and meek characteristics. These, more than his instructions, were instrumental for good. Quiet, but persevering—patient, and yet with strong determination, he exerted himself to bring his pupil, who had never been accustomed to restraint of any kind, much less to study and books, to a willingness to hear and learn; and to do this it became necessary to coax and humour the young prince, and even to follow him from place to place. Every inducement

was held out if he would learn, and all kinds of plans adopted, which in the end proved successful and the little ex-King at last formed better habits, and a more decided taste for study.

"As he expressed a desire to have some one of good birth and talents for a companion, Bhajan Lál, one of the young men educated in our City High School, and a Brahmin, was chosen for this purpose. This young Brahmin soon became a great favourite with the prince, and so won his regard as to enjoy his entire confidence. Whilst in our school, Bhajan Lál acquired a fondness for the Bible, which he read in his leisure moments at the Mohá Rajah's palace. This was noticed by the prince, who began to enquire about the book which so much interested his chosen companion. He was told; and Bhajan Lál at the Mohá Rajah's request, promised to read and explain the word of God on condition that it should not be known. Anterior to this, however, a process had been going on in his own mind by which he became alienated from the Sikh religion, and prepared for the reception of Gospel truth; for such was the impression made on his mind by the extortion of the Sikh priests, who accompanied him from Lahore, and their great unwillingness to leave their own country, the Punjab, that disgust and almost an entire withdrawal of affection was produced. Their mummery and oppression were the more impressed on his attention, by the complete contrast furnished in the example and spirituality of Christians, whose friendship was not only undoubted, but dictated too by purer feelings than lucre and selfishness. Being thus prepared for a purer faith, he could not but admire the religion of the Bible, which has more reference to the heart and inward life than to the body and outward rites and ceremonies. The reading of God's word, as taught and explained by a heathen youth and Brahmin, led him to give up his form of idol worship and to express a desire to break his caste. But as this was such a very important step to take, and the Mohá Rajah was so very young, he was advised to take it into longer consideration now, and to wait until he could know and understand more of the religion of Jesus. He did so, and such was his improvement and knowledge, and his faithful attendance on the means of grace, that on the 8th of March, 1853, he was baptized and received into the Christian church. The ceremony was performed at his own palace by the Rev. W. J. Jay, the Military Chaplain of the station.

"The baptism of our young friend, the Mohá Rajah, was witnessed by all the Europeans and by a few native friends; and the sight was one of deep interest to all, but especially to the members of our own Mission, some of whom had been engaged in teaching him the way of life; for he had not only been taught by the Missionaries, but instructed also by a tutor who was a member of our church, and a heathen young man who was a Graduate of our High School. Through these instrumentalities he was led to embrace Christ as his Saviour, and received a member of the Christian Church, and we could not but feel particularly interested in his baptism."

The conduct of the young prince was such as to warrant the belief that the act thus described was something more than a mere profession. He was willing and desirous of identifying himself with those through whom he had himself received such benefits. At Lahore and Futtehgurh he established Relief Societies for the poor, and placed them under the control of the Mission at both places. The expense of these Societies averaged not less than three hundred dollars a month, and besides being a liberal donor to all the Mission operations, he established a number of village schools with the view of interesting and identifying himself more in the ways of doing good.

There are many topics touched on in the course of the book that we should have much liked to notice had we space, such as, the Christian village system and the development of a more manly, self-reliant and

Christian feeling in the converts, manifested in the organization and success of a fund for the relief of widows and orphans of Native Christians (the rules for the regulation of which we would commend to the notice of any who may be endeavouring to establish similar funds). We should have liked too to notice the fact, of which, were they given to boasting, the members of the Mission might well be proud, that they had so succeeded in instilling into their converts' minds the idea of Christian benevolence that the Native Christians (and we draw special attention to the fact) were in the habit of contributing regularly on an average *one-eighth* of their incomes to various benevolent and religious societies. Well might the author say, "how many there are in our own land with much better means, and more enlarged views of duty, who do much less."

But we must close. No Mission perhaps was more prosperous. None had been more blessed. In 1856 a new Church, a neat and chaste structure, was built, and all promised well. Then arose the terrible storm of 1857. Around them and in their midst it raged, and for a time utterly scattered them. The beautiful Church was destroyed. All the Missionaries were murdered, many of the members suffered—some of them were blown away from guns by the Nawab of Furruckabad, and when a Missionary visited the place in January to enquire about the native Christians he found the Mission grounds the head-quarters of Sir Colin Campbell, and ten thousand British soldiers encamped in and around the premises.

No one will read the book without an earnest wish that the author may soon see around him in the spot to which he has returned to recommence his labours, a band of men as devoted, zealous and successful as those to whom he has raised this affectionate memorial of their integrity and worth. Just one word to the author. Should another edition be called for, we would recommend him to revise it for the purpose of correcting verbal errors that have crept in through the evidently hurried manner in which the book has been written. Especially would we urge upon him the proper use of *will* and *would*, the perpetual recurrence of which for *shall* and *should* grates most harshly upon an Englishman's ears.

Speeches of the Managers and Counsel in the Trial of Warren Hastings. Edited by E. A. Bond, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol. I. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. London : Longman. 1859.

THESE Speeches have been issued in their original form as spoken, at the suggestion of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the former Ministry of Lord Palmerston. The plan of the work embraces the

Speeches of the Managers of the Commons in support of the Charges, the answers of the Counsel for the Defence, and the replies of the Managers. As the trial proceeded the evidence was printed and filled nine folio volumes. The whole of the texts of the Speeches will occupy three volumes in addition to the one before us. The discussions between the Managers and Counsel relative to forms of proceeding and admission of evidence, are not to be published. Reports of the Speeches were taken down by a short hand writer from Mr. Gurney's office, who was commissioned to take exact notes by the Prosecution. A nearly complete set of these notes is preserved in the Library of Lincoln's Inn. The report of Mr. Burke's Speech was wanting, except in the form as revised by himself, which differs considerably from the original as spoken. But an extended transcript of it was found in the office of the descendants of Mr. Gurney, and hence Mr. Bond's text. Hastings' solicitors also employed a short hand writer to report the proceedings for their own use, but the work was done very inaccurately. An imperfect set was acquired by the British Museum in 1848. The first volume now published contains Mr. Burke's Speech delivered from 15th to 19th February 1788 ; Fox's, Grey's and Anstruther's ; Burke's Observations on the Evidence on the first Charge ; the Speeches of Adam and Pelham ; and Sheridan's Speech in summing up the Evidence on the 2nd Article of Charge relating to the Begums of Oude, continued from 3rd to 13th June 1788. Thus the Articles of Charge comprised in the present volume are connected chiefly with Bengal, Oude and Benares. The whole is introduced by a sketch of events from the year 1760, to render the speeches more intelligible to the purely English reader.

Warren Hastings was installed Governor of Bengal in 1772, and two years after, Governor General. From the autumn of that year to September 1776 the Members of Council—General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Mr. Francis—being a majority, uniformly thwarted and reversed his measures. By the death of Monson in that year, however, and the introduction of Mr. Barwell who supported him, Hastings was enabled to use his casting vote in all questions that were discussed, and so obtained the ascendancy. But when Francis returned to England in 1780 weakened in health and wounded in his duel, he was more the evil genius of Warren Hastings than ever he had been in India. The Court of Directors in 1775 approved of Francis' conduct and that of his colleagues, and censured the acts of their Governor General in the strongest terms. Lord North, then at the head of the Ministry, agreed with them, and strove to obtain from the East India Proprietors an address to the Crown for his removal. Colonel Macleane, the agent in whose hands he had placed his resignation to be given in under certain circumstances, now did so, and on the 18th June 1777, Hastings was informed that it had been accepted. But he had now power in Council, and had written in May of that year to his agent withdrawing from him the power he had given him, and the Judges of the Supreme Court decided he was right in remaining. But the time came for the renewal of the Company's privileges, and in 1781 the Commons appointed a Select Committee to take into consideration several petitions received against the Supreme Court. Henry Dundas, the great Lord Advocate of Scotland, presided. The question of Hastings' resignation came before them, and they decided unfavourably respecting it.

Lord North resigned in 1782 and it was expected that his successor, the Marquess of Rockingham who had been Hastings' early patron, would be favourable to his interests. But Burke was a Member of the Government; he had been Private Secretary to the Marquess during his first Ministry, and he made the recall of Hastings the condition of his continuing in office. Francis was at his ear, and he had a kinsman, William Burke, Agent for the Rajah of Tanjore, who urged him on. Accordingly on the 15th April 1782 Dundas brought forward 112 resolutions condemning the whole course of Government in the three Presidencies, and on the 30th May the House resolved that it was the duty of the Court to recall Hastings, "the grand delinquent of all India," as Burke called him. On the death of the Marquess of Rockingham, Lord Shelburne succeeded, and on his resignation the coalition of Lord North and Fox. Driven out on their India Bill, which was rejected by the Lords, a new Ministry was formed under Pitt, who in August 1784 carried the Act which constituted the Board of Control. In the Debates on these Bills, Hastings was again and again attacked.

Meanwhile the Governor General returned from India, and on the 20th June 1785 Burke gave notice that he would make a motion respecting his conduct. On the very first day of the Session of 1786 Major Scott, Hastings' devoted Agent, reminded him of the notice. It was made, copies of papers called for, and at last on the 4th April 1786, war was declared, and 22 Articles of Charge were produced. On the 1st May Hastings was heard in his own defence at the Bar of the House. Pitt's adhesion to the cause of his enemies was secured, though he was not very active in his enmity. In 1787, after that famous speech of Sheridan, of which no record has been preserved but which is said by those who heard it to have eclipsed all previous displays of eloquence in the House, the Impeachment was resolved on. By a majority of 120 to 52 Francis was, to Burke's great chagrin, rejected as one of the Managers for the prosecution :—

> "The names of the Committee of Managers were, Right Hon. Edmund Burke, Right Hon. C. J. Fox, R. B. Sheridan, Hon. T. Pelham, afterwards second Earl of Chichester, Right Hon. W. Windham, Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bart., Charles Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, William Adam, Sir John Anstruther, M. A. Taylor, James Viscount Maitland, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, Dudley Long, General J. Bur-

> goyne, Hon. George A. North, afterwards Earl of Guilford, Hon. Andrew St. John, Colonel Fitzpatrick, Roger Wilbraham, John Courtenay, Sir James Erskine, afterwards St. Clair, Bart., and Right Hon. Fred. Montagu.
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> The preliminary proceedings concluded by Mr. Hastings being brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and admitted to bail. The commencement of the trial was appointed for the second day of the ensuing session.
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> The Counsel retained by the Managers were Dr. Scott and Dr. Laurence, with Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Piggott, Mr. Richard Burke (brother of the Manager), and Mr. Douglas. The Counsel retained by Mr. Hastings were Mr. Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Plumer, afterwards Vice-Chancellor of England and Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Dallas, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. The Solicitors for the Prosecution were Messrs. Wallis and Troward. Mr. Shaw acted for Mr. Hastings.
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> By request from the House of Lords to the King, Westminster Hall was fitted up for the trial; the body of the Hall being occupied with a wooden structure for the purpose. The Court was so arranged as to correspond exactly with the House of Lords. A throne was erected to represent the presence of the King, and was occupied by the Lord Chancellor. Places were allotted to the members of the House of Commons, and on the opposite side were seats for the Peeresses. Boxes were erected, one on either side the throne, for the accommodation of the King, should he desire to attend, with his suite, and for the Prince of Wales and royal family. The Queen, the Prince of Wales and others of the royal family, were present on the first day of the trial, the 13th of February, 1788. The Lords went in formal procession from their House to the Hall, attended by the Judges.
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> The proceedings opened with the usual proclamations. Mr. Hastings appeared with his bail, and knelt before the Court. He was arraigned by the Lord Chancellor, and the Articles of Charge, the answer and replication, were then read; in which two days were occupied. On the third day, the 15th of February, Mr. Burke opened the Prosecution in a speech which occupied four days in its delivery, and which is the first of the series comprised in the present work.
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> The trial itself, from the opening of the proceedings to the vote of the Lords of acquittal on the last of the charges, extended over seven sessions of Parliament, from February, 1788, to April, 1795, and occupied one hundred and forty-eight sittings of the Court, together with several days' debates on the verdict on the several Articles of Charge in the House of Lords.
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> Of the twenty articles of impeachment presented at the bar of the House of Lords only the first, second, fourth, sixth, and portions of the seventh and fourteenth, relating to Benares, the Begums of Oude, to presents or bribes, and to contracts, were proceeded on. In the course of the trial many points of constitutional law and precedent were evolved, occasioning long arguments on either side, and frequent adjournments of the Lords to their own House for their consideration. Of these, and of other incidents of the trial, it appears unadvisable to attempt to give a narrative in this Introduction. A complete history of the proceedings was published at the time by Debrett, and has been regarded as accurate and impartial. It extends to considerable length, forming an octavo volume of nearly eight hundred pages of double column."

Such is a skeleton of the scene which Macaulay has sketched so gorgeously in his pictured pages.

Sir G. C. Lewis has done both history and literature a service in sending forth these speeches in their present authentic form to the world. Recent events give them a new value, and enable us to estimate at their proper worth the motives of the Prosecution and the services of the Impeached.

1. *My Friend's Wife; or, York, You're Wanted. By John Lang, Esq.*
2. *The Secret Police; or, Plot and Passion. By John Lang, Author of "Too Clever By Half," "Forger's Wife" &c. &c. London: Ward and Lock.* 1859.

IN these brochures we see at once the strength and the weakness of Mr. Lang. As an evidence of the former there is a clever dialogue, a keen appreciation of the weak side of a certain class of character, and not a little French melodramatic power. But the latter painfully predominates in the abundance of caricature, the improbability of incident, the unnaturalness of all but a few of the actors, and above all the total absence of any moral element or healthy tone. Of both stories, as of nearly all Mr. Lang's novels it may be said that they are sufficiently interesting to sell, and illustrated outwardly in a style to attract railway travellers and the lovers of the lower kind of melodrama. "My Friend's Wife" is Mrs. Bink, the pretty wife of a Bengal Civilian, with three children. Lieutenant York was one of her most enthusiastic admirers when in a Mofussil Station, and when after the close of the campaign he found himself on board the Steamer for England, he was delighted to discover that Mrs. Bink was also on her way home, and still more so to be asked by her husband, who could not accompany her as he expected a Commissionership, to shew his wife *and children* attention. "And children"—ay, there it is! and of the annoyances to which these children subjected Mrs. Bink's devoted admirer, and the ludicrous incidents called forth in the course of the overland route, this little volume of rubbish tells the story, and does not tell it so well as to lead us to advise any one to spend half an hour in reading it. Mrs. Bink is the only well-drawn character, and there are few who do not come across at least one specimen of the class on their way to England.

"The Secret Police" is decidedly a higher effort. It is an attempt at the melodramatic as the former is at the comic. The story is well known from the play "Plot and Passion" which Mr. Tom Taylor in conjunction with Mr. Lang dramatised from its incidents. Fouché and his 'Cytherean Court' are introduced to us, and the main interest centres in an effort made to discover the author of certain Junius-like letters written against Fouché and Napoleon. Marie St. Cyr, a lady of exquisite beauty, is engaged to procure clear proofs of the authorship, by winning the love of the writer, who, aware of his betrayal, has fled with his sister to London. There as the Countess de Calmet, she finds out the author, Jerome Lagrange, and induces him and his sister to accompany her to Paris where they are given over to Fouché. But as the Minister is about to send his prey to prison, Marie St. Cyr avows her love for him, and threatening Fouché with a disclosure of certain secrets, forces him to free her lover. Of course they are married; they take up their at Dresden and there give shelter to Fouché when, as a fallen Minis- to flee from France. In their house he dies.

g is incorrigible. There is hardly one of his works from ch we do not rise with the regret that he has so abused owers.

A Treatise on Problems of Maxima and Minima, solved by Algebra, by Ramchundra, late Teacher of Science, Delhi College. Reprinted by order of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company for circulation in Europe and in India, in acknowledgment of the merit of the author and in testimony of the sense entertained of the importance of independent speculation as an instrument of national progress in India. Under the superintendence of Augustus De Morgan, F. R. A. S., F. C. P. S., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor of Mathematics in University College, London. (*Pp.* 217) *London: W. H. Allen and Co.*

THIS is one of those books which provoke rather than deserve remark. It is a reprint heralded into the world by a preface of about twenty octavo pages by the Professor of Mathematics in University College, and published by order of the Court of Directors "in acknowledgment of the merit of the author" and "*to promote native effort towards the restoration of the native mind in India.*"

The original work was published in Calcutta in 1850, and noticed in the pages of this *Review** in a way which Ramchundra is pleased to style "very unfavourable," and like many others with even less grounds of complaint, he rushed to his own defence through the columns of the *Englishman*. We are not aware that newspaper complaints and defences, so notoriously common in certain of the Calcutta Newspapers and so disgraceful to the press, ever bring any amends to the writers of them, or that the Editors find that in so satisfying a depraved appetite for gossip they increase the sale of their papers in certain quarters,—but we presume that if Ramchundra had taken the hint offered in our pages with a sincere desire for his good, and shewn that we were correct in expressing our conviction, 'that he was capable of far better things than are achieved in the work before us,' he would have gained much in the opinions both of "Calcutta Reviewers" and of Mr. De Morgan.

Ramchundra is by birth a Hindu, and was born at Paneeput in 1821. He was educated in Delhi, and in 1844 appointed teacher of European Science in the Oriental department of the College there;

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* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. xiv.; Miscellaneous Notices, p. xxxii.

there he seems to have very usefully and creditably employed his talents in compiling and translating into Urdu works on "Algebra, Trigonometry, &c." up to the Calculus. "These translations," he relates, "were introduced into the Oriental department as class books; so that in two or three years many students in the Arabic and Persian departments were to a certain extent, acquainted with English Science." He also formed, a society consisting chiefly of the higher students for the diffusion of knowledge among his countrymen, and they, in imitation of the *Spectator*, started a bi-monthly, the *Fawâedánnâzireen* (useful to the reader) at two annas a number, "in which notices of English science were given, and in which not only were the dogmas of the Mahommedan and Hindu philosophy exposed, but also many of the Hindu superstitions and idolatries were openly attacked. The Mahommedans published in Urdu a refutation of the motion of the earth on the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, mostly copied from the *Myboodee*. His friends refuted it. In addition to the bi-monthly they started a monthly magazine, the *Moohib-i-Hind*. In this they were encouraged and aided by Sir John Lawrence, and other English gentlemen. It was however discontinued, and in 1852 the bi-monthly also ceased to exist, after it had been carried on for more than five years. Here was work, peculiar work no doubt, but as deserving of commendation and reward as the solution *in extenso* of ever so many mathematical problems, had the *policy* of the Court of Directors only permitted the reward of such real services. Nor had Ramchundra the disadvantage of being a Christian at that time, to have stood in the way of it. He and his friends were condemned by the Hindus as infidels and irreligious, "But" he goes on to say "as we did not advocate Christianity but only recommended a kind of Deism, and as we never lost our caste publicly, by eating and drinking, all our free discussions did not alarm our Hindoo friends. When in private meetings, our friends, seeing us so warmly advocating English science and knowledge, taunted us by saying we will become Christians, as such and such pundit had become, then we considered this as an insult, and stated in reply, that the pundit referred to had not received any English education, and that he was ignorant, and was therefore deceived by the missionaries, whom we considered as ignorant and superstitious as our own uneducated friends." Once a learned Mahommedan came to him with an Urdu Testament, "and having read some portion of St. Paul's Epistles, spoke greatly against the apostle, and the missionaries in general, because that St. Paul teaches that circumcision is of no use for Salvation." His object was to get a man who was acquainted with English literature and science to inveigh against Christians and their religion. The wily Mussulman had not properly measured his man, and the deistical Hindu, as truly ignorant of that in which true religion consists, and quite as greedy of praise as his opponent, replied 'that for his part he considered not only Christianity, but also Mahommedanism, and all bookish religions, as absurd and false.' "Upon this" he says "all Hindus and Mahommedans present paid me the compliment of being a philosopher, and departed with marks of approbation and good-will." This narrative is not uninstructive, and as a genuine specimen of native inner life, is not without its value in helping us to understand the light in which Englishmen are regarded as Christians by natives, even when so highly educated as to renounce the absurdities of the Hindu mythology.

After finishing the book which is the subject of this notice, Ramchundra had become a believer in the Gospel. Mr. De Morgan however does not "feel authorized to introduce into a work published by the late and present Government of India what might originate a discussion on a most difficult question of Indian policy," and therefore he omits Ramchundra's observations on the bearing of Government education as affecting the Christianity of the English in the eye of the native. Before becoming a believer in Christianity he says "there were two erroneous notions in my head (and which I believe must ever be in the heads of nearly all native youths educated in Government colleges and schools, as long as the system of instruction continues to be pursued as it is till now)." These were, (1) that *the English themselves did not believe in Christianity*, because they did not, as a Government, exert themselves to teach it, and, (2) that a person believing in one God does not require any other religion. His errors were dispelled thus :—"Once a Brahmin student," he relates "was sent by an English officer from Kotah to the Delhi College, and was recommended to the Principal's notice. This stranger in Delhi waited to see the church during Divine Service. The Principal, Mr. Taylor, also requested me to go with the Brahmin student to see the Divine Service in the church, if I liked. And thus, out of mere curiosity, we went there, and saw several English gentlemen whom I respected as well informed and enlightened persons. Many of them kneeled down and appeared to pray most devoutly. I was thus undeceived of my first erroneous notion, and felt a desire to read the Bible. Mr. Taylor recommended me first to go through the New Testament." Here we can scarcely help interrupting Ramchundra to ask whether if this act of Mr. Taylor's had occurred under the regime of the present Governor General he would not have been called upon to give an account of his conduct in thus abetting the missionaries, and so far fostering religious enquiry among the native teachers under him? Ramchundra however took the advice so wisely given. He proceeds ;—"I commenced it, and read through it with attention ; and thus I became aware that salvation is not merely in knowing that there is one God, and that polytheism and idolatry are false, but that it is in the name of our most blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ; and in this manner I was cured of my second error;" and "at last I was persuaded that what is required for man's salvation was in Christianity and nowhere else." The final step of baptism was difficult to take; "for," he adds "by this I was sure to lose caste and dissolve all family connection," &c.; on the 11th May 1852 he and late Sub-Assistant Surgeon Chimmun Lall were, "by God's special grace, brought to submit to baptism by the late Rev. Mr. Jennings." Chimmun Lall and Mr. Taylor were among the victims of the Delhi atrocities. Ramchundra was at first concealed by his Hindu brothers, and afterwards escaped to the village of Matola. Here he was lodged by a Zemindar, though in great danger of being betrayed. "Here" he says "I daily used to persuade the Zemindars that it was wrong that the English were gone for ever, by telling them the vast resources, the power, and the knowledge of the English nation." Who knows how much we may have been indebted to arguments like Ramchundra's in many parts of India during the late revolt for the protection of many,—both European and native Christians? Had there been more such,—had there been *even a few* native Christians in the ranks of the once vaunted Indian army, how much bloodshed might have been spared? Even though disbelieved, a native's declaration on our behalf is specially calculated to shake the confidence of his countrymen in any erroneous estimate of their own and our relative powers. At Matola, Ramchundra was informed upon, and had a narrow escape for his life. He fled to the jungle and traversed it to the British camp at Delhi, which he reached 12th June 1857, where he was engaged as an English translator of the daily news from the city. He is now Head Master of the Government school there.

We make no apology for giving these details of the life of the author in noticing a mathematical book. To the mind of any one but the merest tyro in science they form the most interesting part of the work before us. We have quoted the author's own words from the feeling that they contain the most unvarnished piece of native biography we have met with. The most sceptical must believe it. It is the manifestation of a spirit which it would rejoice every true well-wisher of India to see pervading its masses. After reading it, we turned with real interest in the author to the work it precedes, but must confess to disappointment. In his preface the author 'flatters himself that his labours will be of some use to those mathematical students who are not advanced in their study of the differential calculus.' This at once led us to expect a preliminary dissertation however brief, on the nature of *Maxima* and *Minima*. But not a word of it. The young student is not even told that the terms are not used absolutely, but only in reference to the values of the functions immediately adjacent to those to which the names are applied. If the work is intended for students who require to be instructed in the *reduction of equations*, in *finding the area of a triangle*, *the circumference*, and *area of a circle*, the *summation of the squares of the first n digits*, &c., which Ramchundra has carefully treated* of, we are certainly of opinion that definitions, with some illustration of the terms *maximum* and *minimum* at least, were also required. And as the work is styled a "treatise," we had a right to expect some criteria † by which to judge when a function does or does not admit of such maximum or minimum values, and a general analysis of the method he proposes to follow. Had the author proceeded on such a plan, and followed up an outline of the principles by a few illustrative examples and as copious a collection of exercises as he pleased, his object would at least have been comprehensible, and to some extent his book might have deserved the attention of the teacher and the student.

Mr. De Morgan himself, though evidently bent upon making matters look the best, glosses over the fact that it is merely a collection of solutions, as well as he is able, by saying,—"It was Ramchundra's object to found an elementary work upon his theorem, for the use of beginners, with a large store of examples. As to the method which he has adopted, Europeans must remember that his purpose is to teach Hindoos, and that probably he knows better how to do this than they could tell him." We have always held a very high opinion of Professor De Morgan both as a logician, and as a writer on mathematical subjects, but we are forced to differ from him here. Whatever may be the aptitudes of the Hindu, we never have been struck by his skill in the pedagogic art. It is a thing too alien to his traditions and experience to expect. Education has not, for centuries past at least, if ever, appeared to him in the light a Pestalozzi or a Stow would view it. To the Hindu, if we keep out of sight the passing of a creditable examination and the obtaining a lucrative situation, knowledge is the first and last object; mental power is what he has perhaps never dreamt of obtaining. It would be strange indeed if he attempted to present his knowledge in such a form as tended to train the mind of his pupils or readers. We do not mean by these remarks to reflect on Ramchundra. He may be a very able teacher for ought we know, but we presume, as Professor De Morgan has done on another matter, to point out to young Hindus what we consider one of their weak points, and which can only be strengthened by the exercise of self-denial and self-reliance,—seeking, as students, to master their difficulties by independent thought, without having recourse to the vicious system of consulting *keys*, and such mental soporifics, and, as teachers, to inculcate *principles*, rather than destroy the minds of their pupils by allowing them to burthen their memories by ever so much committed by rote.

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* Pp. 1—11.

† In questions producing quadratics, x being the variable and r the value of the function, there will be no *maximum* or *minimum* value when the root is of the form $x = ar + \sqrt{a^2\, r^2 + b}$, since the radical remains positive whatever value is given to r.

Without even a definition, Ramchundra commences his first chapter consisting of 55 examples selected from well known English works on the calculus, involving equations of the first and second degrees only. Nearly every one of these is solved twice. The first method is that given in some of our ordinary school books, the second, which the author is pleased to term a *new method*, is neither more nor less than the solution of a quadratic by first *taking away the second term*, and then solving the equation thus rendered a *pure quadratic*. So far as the solution of an equation is concerned then, the process is as old as the time of Cardan ; and Ramchundra himself confesses that he had found it employed in English works on Algebra. It was no discovery then to employ it for the determination of maximum and minimum values of functions, since, if these are found by *one*, they will also be found by *any* solution of a quadratic. But had he compared a few of his solutions, he might have seen that when the function is written in the form—

$$F(x) = x^2 - 2\,ax + r = 0,$$

$F'(x)$ has always a *critical* value (is a maximum or minimum) when $x = + a$, that is, when the root is equal to half the co-efficient of the second term with its sign changed. Having proved this general proposition, all that was necessary in order to solve the problems in the first chapter, was to reduce the proposed question to the type form of the function, and halve the co-efficient of the second term changing its sign. As it stands, *every* problem is first reduced to an affected quadratic and solved at length, the quadratic is then deprived of its second term and again solved.

So much is made of this second solution that Professor De Morgan remarks :—“The constant occurrence of *the same solved without impossible roots*,” and the transformation by which it is effected, will remind the English mathematician who has his half century over his head, of the old ‘*pure quadratic*,’ and the victory which was supposed to be gained when the ‘*adfected quadratic*’ was evaded by attention to the structure of the given equation. Ramchundra and Dr. Miles Bland, &c., &c., are here precisely on the same scent, both making much of the same little.” Ramchundra does not seem to have been ignorant of the *general* solution of the equation, for in a supplement, (p. 178) he deduces it from the ordinary adfected quadratic. And though he does not put the statement in words, he shews that the quadratic is a maximum when its roots are equal.

In the second and third chapters he applies this principle to the determination of the roots of functions of the third and fourth degrees. Here he deserves credit for an ingenious and original application of the familiar principle in the theory of equations that if a be one of the roots of the equation $F(x) = 0$, $F(x)$ is divisible without remainder by $x-a$. Making a negative and indeterminate, Ramchundra divides the cubic $F(x)-r$ by $x + a$. Making the remainder vanish, he obtains an equation between r and a, and the quotient is a quadratic which, in order that the function may have a critical value, must have *equal* roots. The same principle is applied to equations of the higher degrees, the problem in its most general form being *to determine the value of* r *so as to render a pair of the roots* of F (x)—r *equal*. But the execution of the solutions is clumsy, and the constant repetition of the same processes in their minutest details is schoolboy-like, if not pedantic. Professor De Morgan evidently allows this to be a defect, and he begs the reader to excuse Ramchundra, by remarking that, "the excessive reiteration of details, and the extreme minuteness of the Algebraical manipulations, are excellent examples of that patience of routine which is held to be a part of the Hindoo character." A person may take a fancy for fencing by observing the expertness of a good swordsman, but he will never become a fencer from merely watching the skilful play of another,—he must do something himself. Ramchundra's minute manipulations are all very necessary practice for the learner, but he has left nothing for his reader to trace,—every step, however self-evident, is carefully indicated. We see how he deals with the problem, but we are not left to find out or supply a single process. Our thinking powers find nothing to call them into action. To solve the last problems we are not even required to remember what has been repeated in a hundred before.

The work has been reprinted in England under the following circumstances. In 1850 Ramchundra visited Calcutta and was introduced to the Hon'ble J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, whom he presented with 36 copies of the first edition, and from whom he received Rs. 200 as a donation. These copies were forwarded to England for distribution among Mr. Drinkwater Bethune's friends, and among others a copy was sent to Professer De Morgan. He saw, or thought he saw, merit in it, worthy of encouragement both for its own sake and for the promotion of native independent speculation as an instrument of national mental progress, and accordingly in 1856 brought the matter to the notice of the Court of Directors through Colonel Sykes, the Chairman. The Court made inquiry, and reported back to Professor De Morgan, requesting him to point out how Ramchundra might be brought under the notice of scientific men in Europe. The author himself was at the same time presented with a Khillut and Rs. 2,000 by order of the Court, and Mr. De Morgan recommended the circulation of a reprint of the work in Europe and India. The reprint is a very careful one fessor De Morgan affirms, were like her earliest, *inquisitive*, seeking after the unknown, the undiscovered.

We must now conclude. We have acknowledged what merit the work seems to possess. Its inaccuracies of expression have been passed over. The publication of such a book, and in an expensive form, we do not consider likely to have much, if any effect, in re-creating native mind in India. It may flatter an individual to his hurt, but little more. No scientific man will be greatly delighted with it. The publication is not a method that will ever succeed in exciting native thought. And we believe that if there is a God who rules above, no unreal or sham mode of action will ever succeed in renovating India to any extent intellectually or morally. We verily believe that a conscience, as well as an intellect, needs to be awakened; and we do trust that native Christians, like Ramchundra, with some mental power, will redouble their efforts in one form or another, whether in science or morality, to bring about such a re-creation of mind and soul in this country.

The Religious Condition of the Chinese; with Observations on the Prospects of Christian Conversion amongst that people. By the Rev. Joseph Edkins, B. A., Author of a Grammar of the Shanghai Dialect, and of the Chinese Colloquial Language, commonly called Mandarin, &c. London: Routledge. 1859.

Ten years in China, an acquaintance with the literature and language of the Chinese, a practical knowledge of their colloquial dialects, and the pursuits and aims of a Missionary, are no mean qualifications for one who would write regarding the Religions and Peoples of the Celestial Empire. When to these are added a quiet common sense, and a power of observation, both resembling Livingstone's, we may expect the work which is their fruit to be as trustworthy as it is interesting. Such is the character of this little work, which originally appeared in the columns of an English newspaper. It meets a want in our English books about China, and meets it well. With Wingrove Cook, and Meadows, and Mr. Edkins, and, we may add De Quincey's Tract, the truth of which the recent disaster has so wonderfully illustrated, we may be sure we have materials for a picture of China as it was and as it is.

We have an account of the three great religions of China, and of the others which may be considered as foreign to it,—of the Nestorian, Jesuit, and Protestant Christians, of the Jews and of the Mahomedans. The first consist of Confucianism, Taouism and Buddhism, and the strange fact that the Chinese believe in all three at once, is explained not merely by the truth that they are superstitious and wanting in conscientiousness, but that these three systems are supplemental to each other, so that to poor human nature they form but one. Confucianism supplies the *moral* element; the only worship connected with it is that of ancestors, which is founded on the duty of filial piety. Taouism is *materialistic*. The soul which is but a pure form of matter is fitted for immortality by undergoing a sort of chemical process which etherealises it. Its gods are the stars, and deified hermits, magicians and seekers after the philosopher's stone and plant of immortality. Buddhism fills up with the complement of the *metaphysical*. To it the world of sense is unreal ; its gods are personified ideas ; its worship is the negation of worship, an abstraction of mind which renders prayer unnecessary. But at the same time the people shew a preference for one over the others of these, while admitting them all in theory. Taouism with its easily understood doctrines and material ideas is their religion, and in their relation with the State it may also be called the State religion, with its god of war, its god of literature, its tutelary gods of cities and towns, all of whose temples are visited on certain great occasions by the officers of Government. But looking at the governing class as such, in themselves, theoretically or rather esoterically Confucianism is the only State religion. The conversation which Ex-Commissioner Yeh had with Mr. Wingrove Cooke, while occasionally partaking of the latitudinarian belief in the three systems, shews him to have been a genuine Confucian. Buddhism again still retains a little of its exotic character ; and its influence, apart from its great confraternity of monks, is seen chiefly in the way in which it modifies Confucianism. It is, however, not so respectable, and does not afford such a scope for those who have energy and enterprise, as the ethical creed. Most Confucianists adopt the *rites* of Buddhism as the practical part of their creed.

From all this the difficulty of convincing the Chinese of the truth of Christianity is apparent. The missionary may prove its Divine origin, and his hearers will assent, but will not allow that it excludes other systems, that their own three are not also divine, and, *quoad* themselves, much better. The same difficulty, though in a modified form, has been found in India.

> "Christianity was said, by some of the early Romish missionaries, to have been introduced into China by the apostle Thomas. This statement, they said, there was evidence for in the traditions of the Chinese. The Buddhists speak of a celebrated ascetic named Tamo as having come from India by sea, early in the sixth century. His full name in Sanscrit was Bodhidharma. There is no want of particular information respecting him as to his religious opinions and his biography. There were at the time 3,000 Hindoos in China helping to propagate the Buddhist faith. The early Romish missionaries, having very insufficient information on Chinese history and religions, caught at the name Tamo as a Chinese form of the word Thomas, and the description of his personal character, as a severe ascetic and worker of miracles, decided them in regarding him as identical with the Christian apostle.
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> Whether Christianity was preached in that country before the time of the Syrian Christians we do not know. The Jews arrived there much earlier than the Nestorians. If there were also teachers of Christianity, all historical traces of them are wanting till the Tang dynasty. What we know of the Nestorian missions extends from A. D. 636 to 781, the period included in the Chinese monument erected

> by the converts of those missions, and containing a short history of them, with an abstract of the Christian religion. That they should have afterwards declined and disappeared was not from want of zeal in the first missionaries. For the first century and a half they extended themselves rapidly. Their bishops and archbishops were appointed from Persia, the head-quarters of the missions. It was the Syrian missionaries that first taught Christianity to the Mongols, and introduced among them the art of writing. The present Mongolian alphabet, which is that used by the Manchoos in China, is a modification of the Syrian. Prester John was a Tartar prince, who became the neophyte of the same zealous missionaries. Like the other Oriental churches, the Nestorians gradually lost their ardent faith and evangelistic enthusiasm. Their missionaries ceased to visit China, and the converts there gradually diminished, till the last remains of them were incorporated in the Catholic missions. Confucian authors speak of three foreign sects as having existed in the seventh century in China, the Roman (Ta-tsin), the Manicheans, (Mani) and the Mahommedans. By the "Roman" they mean the Nestorian Christians, who belonged, at the time they reached China, to the Eastern Roman empire, and who assumed the name that they found already in use in China to designate the part of the world from which they came. It is curious to find traces of the Manicheans in China. The word Mani can scarcely mean any other religionists than they, and church history tells how widely they were spread in the time of Augustine. A circumstance still more curious is, that Manes derived part of his system from the Buddhists. So Neander tells us. Resident in Persia, he had Christianity on the west, Buddhism on the east, and the system of Zoroaster in his own locality. His religion was derived from these three sources. Referring to Chinese history of a time very little later, we find notices of his sect, of the Parsees or fire-worshippers, of Christianity in the Nestorian form, and of Buddhism, existing side by side. Buddhism only was become the popular faith through all China. The other three were but striving for existence, and in a few centuries they entirely died out.
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> The next attempt made to introduce Christianity was by the Papal missionaries of the Mongolian period. One result of the extraordinary career of Zinghis Khan was the opening of the way for travellers to and fro across the vast plains of Central Asia. What was impracticable while the nomade races of Tartary were without a head, and while Asia was split into small kingdoms, became easy of accomplishment when the short-lived empire of the Mongols was formed. It was then that the Polos resided for some time in China, and that our own Sir John Mandeville served as a soldier for several years under the Emperor of China. It was then, also, that Archbishop John of Peking, a missionary from the Pope, attempted, during a lengthened residence, to establish a permanent mission in the metropolis of the Grand Khan."

Then came Jesuitism, and the disciples this system sent forth to China have not been surpassed by any, for high scientific culture and devotion to their religion and order. The character of their converts is superior to what it is in India and some other heathen countries. In the province of Kangsoo alone there are 75,000 converts, chiefly villagers, while the whole number in China is a million. Few converts are now made from the surrounding heathen, and so dangerous is it for their European missionaries to be seen in the interior, that their presence is carefully concealed by their flocks. The colony of Jews at Kai-Fung-Foo has dwindled down to 200, unable to read the Law, and fast adopting the rites of the heathen around them. But the Jews of London recently resolved to open a communication with them for the purpose of educating some of their youths in Europe. The Mahomedans consider them as a sect of their own religion. In the northern provinces the followers of the false prophet compose a third of the populathe one great unitarian truth, 'God is God,' and will adore none but *Chin-Choo*, the true Lord.

Mr. Edkins considers the prospect of the introduction of true Bible Christianity into China as highly encouraging :—

> "The number of conversions that have taken place in the free ports since the war of 1842, will well bear comparison with those of other countries where missionaries labour. Among the native preachers that have been trained to assist the foreign missionaries, there are some devoted men and eloquent expounders of Bible truth. At Amoy, five hundred converts abstain from worldly business every Sabbath-day, and meet for praise and prayer in God's house. Near to Ningpo there are some interesting little communities that have sprung up amidst the village population through the operations of native catechists. In the region called Sanpoh, noted for the roughness of its inhabitants, the labours of these men have been so far aided with the blessing of God that the nucleus of two or three bodies of village Christians has been originated, which are likely to thrive in respect of numbers and of zeal. In the neighbourhood of Shanghai, missionaries have frequently succeeded in effecting a residence in several cities and towns. On two occasions the British consul has, at the instance of Chinese government officers, recalled one of his countrymen to Shanghai. But several residences of some months in duration have been effected, and the rite of baptism has been administered to converts in three cities and several villages as the result of these rural efforts. At the present time the work of conversion progresses in an increasing ratio."

It is useless to speculate as to the effect that the Third China War, now impending, may have on Missions in China. Sober faith points to a bright future, but meanwhile there is the sowing in tears, and it may be long ere the harvest appear.

Chronological Account of India, showing the principal events connected with the Mahomedan and European Governments in India. By Charles John Burgoyne, Esq. In Two Parts. London : W. H. Allen and Co. 1859.

THIS is a work of little pretension and of as little use. Beginning no earlier than A. D. 873, it gives the dates of the principal events in Indian History subsequently, slightly analysing these events. To the mere English reader it may be of a little use ; but the student of Indian History will find nothing in it to aid him. The chronological lists in the Bombay Annual Directories are much more useful. What is a real desideratum at the present moment is a Dictionary of Indian Dates descending to the minutest details of Administration as well as History, on the plan and with even more than the fulness of Haydn's Dictionary. In such a work it ought to be as easy to find the date of the passing of an Act by the Supreme Government, or of the erection of an important public building in Calcutta, as that of Sultan Mahmood's Invasion or Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi. The work should also contain tabular lists of dynasties, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Governors General, Presidents of the Board of Control and Court of Directors, and general statistics of all India. We trust such a Dictionary of Dates will be shortly published. It will be invaluable.

LIST OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER.

(In addition to those already noticed in this Number.)

Essays on the Indian Army and Oude. By the late Sir Henry Lawrence, Bart., K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of Oude. Serampore: *Friend of India* Press.

Indian Missions viewed in Connexion with the Mutiny and other Recent Events. By the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, LL. D. Nisbet & Co.

The Experiences of a Landholder and Indigo Planter in Eastern Bengal. Aberdeen. John Smith.

The Inam Commission Unmasked. By Robert Knight, Editor of the *Bombay Times.*

A Few Notes on a Recent Trial, illustrative of Mofussil Judicature, by a Bengali Zemindar. Calcutta. *Englishman* Press.

The Universal Review for June.
Article V.—The Resources of India and its Colonization.

The Edinburgh Review for July.
Article VII.—Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels.

The Quarterly Review for July.
Article VI.—The Islands of the Pacific.

Bentley's Quarterly Review for July.
Article III.—Lord Cornwallis.

Westminster Review for July.
Article V.—The Government of India, its Liabilities and Resources.

British Quarterly Review for July.
Article I.—Correspondence of Marquis Cornwallis.

Wall Street to Cashmere. A Journal of Five Years in Asia, Africa, and Europe, comprising Visits, during 1851-2-3-4-5-6, to the Danemora Iron Mines, the "Seven Churches," Plains of Troy, Palmyra, Jerusalem, Petra, Seringapatam, Surat; with the Scenes of the recent Mutinies (Benares, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Delhi, &c.), Cashmere, Peshawur, the Khyber Pass to Afghanistan, Java, China, and Mauritius. By John B. Ireland. With nearly One Hundred Illustrations, from Sketches made on the spot by the Author. Sampson Low and Co.

Hints to the Amateur Gardeners of Southern India. By A. T. Jaffray. Madras.

The English in India. Letters from Nagpore written in 1857-58. By Captain Evans Bell.

Syria as a Sanitarium; or Outline Sketches of a Tour in that Country in 1858, by Dr. Maillardet, Madras Medical Establishment.

Campaigning Experiences in Rajpootana and Central India during the Suppression of the Mutiny in 1857-58. By Mrs. Henry Duberly, Author of "A Journal kept during the Russian War." With Maps. Smith, Elder & Co.

Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamstchatka, Siberia, Tartary and various parts of the Coast of China in H. M. S. "Barracoutra." By J. M. Tronson, R. N. with Charts and Views. Smith, Elder and Co.

Colonial Administration of Great Britain. By Sydney Smith Bell of the Supreme Court of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Longman

Photographs of an Eastern Tour.

A Cruise in Japanese Waters. By Captain Sherard Osborn, C. B., Royal. Navy, Author of Leaves from an "Arctic Journal," "Quedah," &c. Edinburgh. Blackwood.

The Cruise of the Pearl round the World in 1857-8-9. With an Account of the Services of the Naval Brigade in India. By the Rev. E. A. Williams, M. A., Chaplain of the Pearl. Bentley.

The Rose and the Lotus; or Home in England and Home in India. By the Wife of a Bengal Civilian. Bell and Daldy.

"Lucknow." The Newdigate Prize Poem, recited in the Theatre, Oxford, July 6th, 1859, by Anthony S. Aglan, Scholar of University College. Oxford. T. and G. Shrimpton.

The Pasha Papers. Epistles of Mohammed Pasha, Rear Admiral of the Turkish Navy, written from New York to his Friend, Abel Ben Hassen. Translated into Anglo-American from the original MSS. To which are added sundry other Letters, Critical and Explanatory, Laudatory and Objurgatory, from gratified or injured Individuals in various parts of the Planet. New York: Charles Scribner.

Speech of the Hon'ble W. B. Reed, (American Plenipotentiary to China) at the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, 31st May, 1859. Messrs. C. Sherman and Son.

An Elementary Treatise on Artillery adapted to instruction in Camp or reference in the Field With Plates. Bombay: Chesson and Woodhall.

Hand Book of Australia. By W. Fairfax, Melbourne. London: W. Fairfax and Co.

Wanderings in India. By John Lang. London: Routledge.

Up Among the Pandies; or a Year's Service in India. By Lieut. Vivien Dering Majendie, Royal Artillery. London: Routledge.

Adventures of a Mounted Trooper in the Australian Police. By J. Burrows.

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1 View of Ghorebunder.
2 Ruins at Bassein.
3 Group of Parsis.

No. 27. Contains—
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2 Hindoo Banians of the higher class.
3 The Musjid of Dada Hazir, Ahmedabad.

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Art. 1. Lieutenant J. P. Frye on the Urrya and Kondh Population of Orissa.

Art. 2. Chronology of the Medes from Deioces to Darius. By J. W. Bosanquet, Esq.

Art. 3. The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana. By Osmond De Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq.

Art. 4. Prof. H. H. Wilson on the Travels of Hiouen Thsang.

Christianity Contrasted with Hindu Philosophy. An Essay in five books, Sanskrit and English with practical suggestions tendered to the Missionary among the Hindus. By James R. Ballantyne, L. L. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy and Principal of the Government College at Benares. London : James Madden.

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Papers regarding the Principality of Dhar.

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The Commercial Annual or a Tabular Statement of the External Commerce of Bengal during the years 1857-58 and 1858-59. By P. Bonnaud. Calcutta. Military Orphan Press.

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Personal Narrative of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary, and various parts of the Coast of China; in H. M. S. "Barracouta." By J. M. Tronson, R. N. With Charts and Views. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1859.

We turned to this volume with some eagerness, for information regarding Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary and the Coast of China. But we have been disappointed. The Author was Surgeon on board the *Barracouta*, a paddle-wheel steamer of 6 guns, which, as part of Sir James Stirling's Squadron, scoured the China Seas and North Pacific in search of the Russians, during the War of 1854-55-56. As a professional man, and with such opportunities, we might have expected a work, if deficient in interesting narrative and description, at least filled with the fruits of scientific observation. But there is neither. The countries visited were new, the tribes met with comparatively unknown, the whole character and results of the Government of Russia in Eastern Asia, undescribed. To the mere Surgeon, with the most ordinary acquaintance with the science of his profession, the Botany, Geology, Ethnology and Dialects, would have offered some new facts. But instead of this we have an inferior description of the outskirts of Japan, published at a time when Lord Elgin's expedition has laid it fully open and thrown all past attempts into the shade; a dry account of the movements of the various vessels of the fleet and their occasional intercourse with the French, a bald description of the oft-described Hong-Kong and Shanghae, and of a few Russian Settlements, and a singular ignorance of the whole history of the East, and European adventure in Eastern seas and lands.

Confining ourselves to the chapters which treat of Siberia, Russia and Tartary, we may be able to extract the few facts which are either interesting or new, and arrange them in such order as to render them of value. The Russian possessions in Eastern Asia we may divide into these three. Kamtschatka, Siberia and Tartary, and Seghalien. From these the Russians are bringing an influence to bear on the roving tribes of Mongolia, and on the whole of Eastern and Central Asia and China, which, in spite of the fears of

> dispensary; the doors were covered with the skins of reindeer, which tended to modify the extreme rigour of the climate.
>
> A narrow stream running through the valley, divided the town in two parts: the southern side contained rude huts and houses, and a barrack for Cossacks; the houses on the north were in rows, each house detached: many of them had small gardens in front. The Russian barracks were not at all in a creditable state; the building was a large wooden structure of two stories, the under one for the men: inclined benches for beds ran along the centre, beneath which were small cavities for the reception of the soldiers' kits and working utensils; the upper story was divided into small rooms, warm and comfortable; some of them still furnished, and no doubt lately occupied by officers. The priest and physician resided near the barracks in a neat double house. The town was supplied with a very fine draw-well, roofed over, and in close connection with a bake-house, and there were some stores or shops, with various commodities, from Cognac brandy to Sheffield cutlery. A very handsome Greek church stood at the end of the town, in the prettiest part of the valley, and near to a shaded grove; the interior was neat, and similar to that at Petropolovski; and it was supplied with a peal of bells. Every precaution was taken by the senior officers of the squadron, to protect the sacred edifice from violation.
>
> The Governor's house, situated on a rising ground near the church, was a long and low structure, with a small garden in front, surrounded by a paling; a porch with a door projected from the front of the house. Entering by the porch, on the right, was a large office, with desks and shelves; many boxes of useful materials lay scattered about—thermometers, charts, garden seeds, &c. A door on the left led to a comfortable sitting-room, fitted with modern furniture and a very good stove; a folding-door communicated with the drawing-room which was furnished with sofas, lounges, &c., covered with green damask; the walls being painted of a corresponding colour. There were bagatelle-boards, billiard-rooms, and other comforts, in a great measure necessary in a country where the winter is long and severe and social intercourse very limited. The upper part of the house contained a suite of bed-rooms; the windows being double-framed and glazed in the interspaces. A brick was placed with some salt piled upon it: I suppose, for the purpose of absorbing moisture and keeping the glass clear; papers and periodicals in the Russian language were strewed in various rooms: I observed in one of the store-houses a *shwan pan*, or instrument used by the Chinese for calculating.
>
> The Government store-houses were filled with navy stores, oils, paints, ropes, and some packages of furs ready for transport to St. Petersburgh. A small river steamer, nearly ready for launching, and filled with bales of paper and canvas, lay on the shingled beach above the harbour; this was blown up, being Government property, and most likely destined for the river Amoor. Another vessel on the stocks, far advanced towards completion, was spared; Captain Frederick having learned that it was the private property of the Superintendent of Ayan. I may here remark, that the contents of the store-houses and of the private houses were respected by the squadron; though, on the evening after our departure, the rights of hospitality were grossly outraged by the crews of some whalers which entered the port, and who pillaged the stores. This fact was known to the inhabitants on their return to their homes."

The Amoor, on which the Russians are now raising a vast colony, seems to be like the Ganges, difficult of access from the sea, but, once gained, navigable from Nicolaiewsk at its mouth, to Nertchinsk 1,500 miles up. On the great bar there is not more than two fathoms of water, and the sand-banks are yearly increasing in number and extent. Its length is reckoned at 2,800 miles.

> "The Amoor, or Seghalien Oula, rises in lat. 50° N. and long. 110° E., by two sources: one in a sharp bend of the Davurian Mountains near a small fort of Doroninsk; the other lower down near Nishney Oulkhounsk, after a winding course to the north-east. It also receives a small branch from the south-east extremity, a

gains its southern limit in lat. 47° 48′ N., and long. 132
ascends in a north-easterly direction, receiving the Songa
river which drains a great part of Manchouria ; many small
volume, including the Usuri from the south. It also rec
Seghalien-Oula, as it approaches the mouth or outlet, wh
N., and long. 142° E., and is three miles wide. Here t
obstructed by the opposite coast of Seghalien and the man
the gulf—into two lesser streams of great force ; one pursu
to the Sea of Ohkotsk, the other towards the Gulf of Tarta

Since Nertchinsk was founded in 1658, this mos
the land stretching to its south was an object of
Government, and by the treaty of 1858, vast territor
theirs. Under General Mouravieff as Governor Gene
lation of the Amoor Province has immensely increas
of sending Military colonists and persons banished
the foundation of a new Empire in Asia. At prese
trade, which every year must develop into larger pro
Amoor, and China, Japan, the Sandwich Isles and Sa
can traders "speculating in notions" are to be found
Siberia and Tartary. In land, all restrictions on t
tween China and Russia have been removed. Gre
the North of China every season traverse the road to
Western provinces to Semipolotinsk. A man may
Petersburgh to Pekin, comfortably, for £80, and read
or *Siberian Gazette*. The Grand Duke Constantine
ther Scientific Expedition under M. Mainnow, to ex
debateable land between the Amoor and China.

But little is known of Russia's new territory, the i
Tarakai, opposite the mouths of the Amoor, long co
It is about 600 miles in length, and in some places

ort stature, with broad faces of Mongol type ; they live in small huts, and
fish and the indigenous fruits and roots of the country: they closely re-
he Kurile Islanders. They are badly treated by the Japanese, who have
hem from their homes in Yezo, to seek peace on the rock-bound shores
m Japanese settlements. They would gladly exchange their rulers for the
dministration of government which the Russians usually exercise towards
ed races."

Christians and as men we cannot but view the progress of Russia in
vast territories with gratulation. She, the youngest and freshest of
ropean races, seems destined to share with the Anglo-Saxons in the
ration of the East. It may be hers to expel the Ottoman from Eu-
to humble his pride in Asia, to lead the Mongolian to the truth af-
which he has so long struggled, and to civilise all but Southern Asia.
s that has been given ; and there is little fear that either of us shall
cross the Himalaya to attack the other. In China, Japan and the
fic let us meet as generous rivals.

llection of *Rhymes, Hymns, and Tunes, for Bengalee Christian Infant
Schools.* [*Printed for the Calcutta Christian School Book Society.*] *Cal-
cutta : Printed at the Bishop's College Press.* 1859.

The natives of Bengal have, by their own confession, very imperfect
ideas of music. To write music, is now to them a term synonymous with
attempting an impossibility. Even their professors of song have little
idea of any thing further than teaching the notes of the gamut, a few
vocal modulations, and the stereotyped unchanging tunes which have been
handed down from past generations, adapted to words applicable to the
various seasons of the year and the different hours of the day. The composition of a new tune is beyond their capacity. In the art of singing they
allow that they are excelled by the inhabitants of the North West.

The ancient Brambuns understood more of music ; and from the article in the Asiatic Researches, (Vol. III.) on the Musical Modes of the Hindoos, it would appear that they had a method of writing music, very different from that in use among us, yet sufficiently clear to hand down their songs to future generations. "The flexible language of the Hindoos," says the writer "readily supplied them with names for the seven *swaras* or sounds, which they dispose of in the following order, *Shadja* ষড়জ, *Rishabha*, ঋষভ, *Gandhara*, গান্ধার, *Modhyama*, মধ্যম, *Panchama*, পঞ্চম, *Dhaivata*, ধৈবত, *Nishada*, নিষাদ. But the first of them is emphatically called *swara*, স্বর, or the sound, from the important office which it bears in the scale ; and hence by taking the seven initial letters or syllables of those words, they contrived a notation for their airs, and at the same time exhibited a gamut, at least as convenient as that of Guido. They call it *Swaragrama*, স্বরগ্রাম, (corrupted by the Bengalees into Sareegam,) or *Septaca*, সপ্তক, and express it in this form,

"Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dhi, Ni,"

In writing music, a separate system of notation like our own, was not adopted. Thus, if *Sa* represents A; Sa, Ma Pa simply written thus, would represent A. D. E. "Since every Indian consonant includes, by its nature, the short vowel *a*, five of the sounds are denoted by single consonants, and the two others have different short vowels taken from their full names. By substituting long vowels, the time of each note is doubled. Other marks are used for a further elongation of them. The octaves above and below the mean scale, the connection and acceleration of notes, the graces of execution or manner of fingering the instrument, are expressed very clearly by small circles and ellipses, by little chains, by curves, by straight lines horizontal and perpendicular, and by crescents, all in various positions. The close of a strain is distinguished by a lotus-flower. But the time and measure are determined by the prosody of the verse, and by the comparative length of each syllable, with which every note or assemblage of notes respectively corresponds." This system of writing music almost prevents the possibility of using chords, of which the Bengalees, we believe, have no idea.

Native Christians, converts from Hindooism, have brought with them the tunes they learned as idolaters, and have composed hymns adapted to them; so that the notes with which they formerly celebrated the dark deeds of their idol gods, are now applied to hymns of praise to the only true and living God. But in the mode of singing there is no improvement; nor can any be expected until we are able to introduce among them the principles of music as taught in Europe. An attempt of the kind was made very soon after the first introduction of Hindoos into the Christian Church, when Dr. Marshman, Mr. Ward, and even Dr. Carey who had but little of poetry in him, translated some of our English hymns into Bengalee, which for some time were used almost exclusively in the native church. To these Mr. Chamberlain added a great many more. But as the number of native converts increased, their genuine productions, adapted to songs more suitable to their taste than English tunes, took the place of those hymns, which have gradually fallen into disuse.

If any improvement is to be made in the singing in native congregations, it must be by the introduction of European music. This will be found no easy matter among the older members, who, with their characteristic adherence to long prescribed customs, will still show a preference for the notes and tunes their fathers sung. But children may be brought up to a new system of tastes, and a different ear for music; and with the view of accustoming them in early years to European modes of song, the book now before us has been published. Here the interesting, simple, instructive songs of the infant school have been translated into as simple and easy Bengalee, and set to tunes familiar to every English child. In addition to these, we have a number of devotional hymns, adapted to the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of the Christian of maturer years.

The book is well adapted to the object in view, and will doubtless be introduced into every Christian school. One on a more extensive scale, including some of the tunes and hymns of purely native origin, is still a desideratum ; and such a book is, we believe, in course of preparation.

Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy. An Essay in Five Books, Sanscrit and English : with Practical Suggestions tendered to the Missionary among the Hindus. By James R. Ballantyne, LL. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Principal of the Government College, Benares. London : James Madden, Leadenhall Street. 1859.

In the advertisement prefixed to this volume we are told

> "This Essay, slightly modified subsequently, was submitted in competition for a prize of £300, offered by a member of the Bengal Civil Service. The prize was divided, and a moiety was adjudged to this Essay, the judges being gentlemen appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Oxford. In the terms of the prospectus, the prize was offered "for the best statement and regulation in English, of the fundamental errors (opposed to Christian Theism) of the Vedanta, Nyaya, and Sankhya Philosophies, as set forth in the standard native authorities, in the Sanskrit language, treating of those systems ; together with a demonstration (supported by such arguments, and conveyed in such a form and manner as may be most likely to prove convincing to learned Hindûs imbued with those errors), of the following fundamental principles of Christian Theism, viz.
>
> *First.*—Of the real, and not merely apparent or illusory, distinctness of God from all other spirits, and from matter ; and of the creation (in the proper sense) of all other spirits, and of matter, by God, in opposition to the Vedanta.
>
> *Second.*—Of the non-eternity of separate souls, and their creation by God, in opposition to the Nyaya and Sankhya.
>
> *Third.*—Of the creation of matter, in opposition to the tenet of its eternity in the shape of atoms (as maintained in the Nyaya and Vaiseshika Schools), or in the shape of Prakriti (as maintained by the Sankhya).
>
> *Fourth.*—Of the moral character and moral Government of God ; and of the reality and perpetuity of the difference between moral good and evil with reference to such dogmas of the above systems as are opposed to these doctrines."

Few men are better able to write on such a theme than Dr. Ballantyne. Evidently possessing a decided taste for philosophical studies, he has had very favourable opportunities for acquiring a competent knowledge of the Hindu systems. Added to this, though a Government servant and writing as the Principal of the Government College, Benares, he had the moral courage to publish in 1854, and what is still more to his honor, to republish in 1859 (in an appendix to the work under notice) the following, indicating the object which he had, and which every one ought to have, in educating the natives of this country.

> "In designing an educational course, if we are to go to work methodically, systematically and profitably, regard must be had to the end and to the means. Where no distinct end, or not the same end, is kept in view by those who take part in a discussion, agreement as to the means is pretty well out of the question. And how can we hope, as Bacon says, to achieve the course if we have not first distinctly fixed the goal? It may be said, indeed, that there are more goals than one, inasmuch as we do not expect all our pupils to go as far as the one who goes the furthest. Be it so; but let us first settle the goal for that *one*, and then the various stages which the others may content themselves with reaching, will all lie along that more extended course. Shall our absolutely ultimate end, then, be the production of a first-rate engineer, or of a valuable revenue officer, or of an accomplished native Magistrate?* *With this I am not prepared to be satisfied. My proposed end is the making of each educated Hindoo, a Christian, on principle and conviction.* This end, as I propose here to indicate, implies everything that the amplest course of education can comprise."

We are prepared then to listen to Dr. Ballantyne on this subject, satisfied that he is willing and able to do both parties justice. Nor are we disappointed on a perusal of his admirable Essay. It may not contain much that is new or that cannot be obtained from other books, but it possesses the merit—no slight one—of putting in a small compass the chief points at issue between us. After a brief introduction (to which we shall presently return) he gives a general view of the Hindoo systems of Philosophy.

> "The three systems, the Nyaya, Sankhya and Vedanta differ more in appearance than reality, and hence they are, each in its degree, viewed with a certain amount of favour by Orthodox Hindoos; assuming, each of them, implicitly the truth of the Vedas and proceeding to give on that foundation a comprehensive view of the totality of things, the three systems differ mainly in their severally regarding the universe from different points of view,—viz., as it stands in relation severally to *sensation*, *emotion*, and *intellection*.
>
> The Naiyayika, founding on the fact that we have various *sensations*, enquires what and how many are the channels through which such varied knowledge flows in. Finding that there are five very different channels, he imagines five different externals adapted to these. Hence his theory of the five elements, the aggregate of what the Nyaya regards as the causes of affliction.
>
> The Sankhya, struck with the fact that we have *emotions*,—with an eye to the question *whence* our impressions come,—enquires their *quality*. Are they pleasing, displeasing, or indifferent? These three qualities constitute for him the external; and to their aggregate he gives the name of nature. With the Naiyayika he agrees in wishing that he were well rid of all three; holding that things pleasing, and things indifferent, are not less incompatible with man's chief end than things positively displeasing.
>
> Thus while the Nyaya allows to the external a substantial existence, the Sankhya admits its existence only as an aggregate of qualities; while both allow that it really (eternally and necessarily) exists.
>
> The Vedanta, rising above the question as to what is pleasing, displeasing, or indifferent, asks simply, what *is*, and what is *not*. The categories are here reduced to two—the *Real* and *Unreal*. The categories of the Nyaya and the Sankhya were merely scaffolding for reaching this pinnacle of philosophy. The implied foundation was everywhere the same,—viz. the *Veda*; and this, therefore

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* The Italics are our own.

> we shall find is the field on which the battle with Hindu Philosophy must ultimately be fought.
>
> The Nyaya, it may be gathered from what has been said, is conveniently introductory to the Sankhya, and the Sankhya to the Vedanta. Accordingly in Hindu schools, where all three are taught, it is in this order that the learner, who learns all these, takes them up. The Nyaya is the exoteric doctrine, the Sankhya a step nearer what is held as the truth, and the Vedanta the esoteric doctrine, or the naked truth.
>
> This view of the matter suggests the distribution of the following work. A separate account of each of the three systems is first given; and then a summary of Christian doctrine is propounded, in the shape of aphorisms, after the fashion of the Hindu Philosophers with a commentary on each aphorism, combating whatever in any of the three Hindu systems is opposed to the reception of the Christian doctrine therein propounded. A systematic exposition of the dogmas of Christianity seems to furnish the likeliest means of inviting the discussion of the essential points of difference—any points of difference in philosophy that do not emerge in the course of such an exposition being, we may reasonably assume, comparatively unimportant to the Christian argument."

Here then we have the plan of the book. Accordingly we have some twenty pages taken up with a necessarily very brief and condensed, but interesting, sketch of the three systems. Passing over any notice of the Nyaya and Sankhya systems, we come at once to the Vedanta system, and as this is the most refined, the highest system—the one that, in fact, embraces the others—any remarks made against it must *a fortiori* tell against the others. We give the first paragraphs.

> "The Vedanta theory arrives at the limit of simplification, by deciding that nothing really exists besides *one*, and that this one real being is absolutely simple. This one simple being, according to the *Vedanta*, is *knowledge* (jnana),—not the knowledge of anything, for this would imply a contradiction to the dogma that nothing exists except knowledge simply. This conception, of the possible nature of knowledge, is quite at variance with the European view, which regards knowledge as the synthesis of subject and object. According to the *Vedanta* there is *no* object, and hence it follows that the term subject is not strictly applicable, any more than is the term substance, to the one reality. Both of these terms, being indicative of a relation, are inapplicable under a theory which, denying duality, does not admit the conditions of a relation. Soul, the one reality, is accordingly spoken of in the *Vedanta*, not as a substance (*dravya*) as it is reckoned in the *Nyaya*, but as the *thing*, or, literally, 'that which abides' (*vastu*). Let us enquire how this conception may have been arrived at, consistently with the seeming existence of the world.
>
> Suppose that God—omnipresent, omniscient, and omnipotent—exists. Suppose, farther, that, at some time or other, God exists and nothing else does. Suppose, in the next place, as held long in Europe, and still in India, that nothing is made out of nothing (*ex nihilo nihil fit*); and suppose, finally, that God wills to make a world. Being omnipotent, He *can* make it. The dogma "ex nihilo nihil fit" being, by the hypothesis, an axiom, it follows that God, being able to make a world, can make it without making it out of *nothing*. The world so made must then consist of what previously existed,—i. e. of God. Now what do we understand by a world? Let it be an aggregate of souls with limited capacity and of what these souls (rightly or wrongly) regard as objects—the special or intermediate causes of various modes of consciousness. Taking this to be what is meant by a world, how is God to form it out of Himself? God is omniscient, and, in virtue of his omnipresence, his omniscience is everywhere. Where is the room for a *limited* intelligence? Viewing the matter (if that were strictly possible) á priori, one would incline to say '*nowhere*.' But the *Vedantin*, before he had got this length, was too painfully affected by the conviction, forced upon him, as on the rest of us, by a consciousness which will take no denial, that there *are*

limited intelligences. "I am ignorant" he says; and if he is *wrong* in saying so, then (as a Pundit once remarked to me) his ignorance is established just as well as if he were right in saying so. "Holding then that the soul *is* God, and confronted with the inevitable fact that the soul does *not* spontaneously *recognize* itself as God, there was nothing for it but to make the fact itself do duty as its own cause, to say that the soul does not know itself to be God, just because it does not know it,—i. e. because it is ignorant,—i. e. because it is obstructed by ignorance (*ajnana*.")

"At this point let us suppose that our speculator stopped, but that a disciple took up the matter and tried to make something more palpably definite out of the indefinite term *ignorance*. Were it not, he argues, for this *ajnana* of which my teacher speaks,—the soul would know itself to be God,—there would be nothing but God, there would be no world. It is this *ajnana*, then, that *makes* the world; and this being the case, it ought to have a name suggestive of the fact. Let it be called *prakriti*, the name by which the *Sankhyas* speak of their unconscious maker of world. Good, says another; but recollect that this *prakriti*, or "energy" can be nothing else than the power of the all-powerful, for we can admit the independent existence of God alone; so that the *ajnana* which you have shown to be entitled to the name of *prakriti* will be even more accurately denoted by the word *Sakti*, God's "power," by an exertion of which power alone can the fact be accounted for, that souls which are God *do not know* that they are so. The reasoning is accepted, and the term *Sakti* is enrolled among the synonymes of *ajnana*. Lastly comes the mythologist. You declare, says he, that this world would not even appear to be real, were it not for *ignorance*. Its apparent reality, then, is an *illusion*; and for the term *ajnana* you had better substitute the more expressive term *Nyaya*, "deceit, illusion, jugglery." The addition of this to the list of synonymes being acquiesced in, the mythologist furnishes his Nyaya with all the requisites of a goddess, and she takes her seat in his pantheon as the wife of *Brahma* the Creator."

And now let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter—

"The supposed root of all evil—the belief that ought besides the "one" exists—is to be got rid of, we are told, by a right understanding of the great sentence. "That art thou." i. e. "Thou—whosoever thou art—art the one" When this dictum has been rightly understood and accepted, the acceptor of it, changing the "thou" to the first person, reflects thus—"*I* am the one." This is so far well; but he must finally get rid of the habit of making even *himself an object* of thought There must be *no* object. What was previously the *subject* must now remain alone,—an entity, a thought, a joy; but these three being one only—the existent joy—thought."

What shall we say to a scheme like this? To our Western, practical, and, as of course we think, common-sense notions, the mere statement of it would suffice for its refutation. The concluding paragraph seems to us to be as complete a *reductio ad absurdum* as possible. Think, what would be the effect of preaching such a Gospel as this to men? Stand on the exchanges, in the market-places of the world, and as you see the strained and eager countenances, the haggard looks of the boiling crowds of Mammon worshippers, lift up your voice and shout;—"Oh ye burdened, anxious, labouring multitudes—you have not and you want, or you have and you want more, your souls are not at rest, and your hearts are troubled—but listen, understand rightly the great sentence. 'That art thou, i. e. Thou—whosoever thou art—art the one,' and the root of all evil so far as you are concerned is got rid of." Go to the slaves of America, and as you see them writhing under the lash, mocked, flogged, tortured, cursing the white man for his fiendish cruelty, or so instructed that they had not spirit even to mutter the unspoken curse—preach to them ;—"Oh ye trembling, cowering, shrinking wretches, you mourn over your hard lot and long for the relief of death and the quiet of the grave—but hark, understand rightly the great sentence, 'That art thou,' and evil is subdued, all is well." Call together the thieves in some great city—the forger, the coiner, the pickpocket, the house-breaker, and try to reclaim them from the crime that has already deep stamped its impress on their faces ;—"Oh ye housebreakers and thieves, ye smashers and young prigs, listen, ye are at war with your race, very Ishmaelites are you—your hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against you, but understand rightly the great sentence 'that art thou—or in other words—believe that thou, whosoever thou art, art the one,' and then all will be well, the root of all evil will be got rid of." Go to some penitentiary, and as you see the outcasts, the Magdalens of society, some perhaps the victims, some who have been the abettors of the social evil, stand up and preach. But no, stop ! Cease this mocking of the ills and wants of humanity, add not scorn and bitter insult to their woes. Open the prison doors if you will, and bid them go free, but do not stand grinning through the dungeon bars at the fettered wretches imprisoned there. And yet such is the highest philosophy of the Hindus ! We ask our readers ;— as you read it, can you prevent the words of Holy writ from forcing themselves into your minds. "They became vain in their imaginations and their foolish heart was darkened ; professing themselves to be wise, *they became fools*."

After this brief sketch of the three systems we have the Essay itself. It is written in both English and Sanskrit, and is divided into Five Books. Book I. contains 'A Partial Exposition of Christian Doctrine.' Book II. 'The Evidences of Christianity.' Book III. 'Natural Theology.' Book. IV. 'treats of the Mysterious Points in Christianity ;' Book V. of 'The Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature.' To illustrate the mode in which the author treats his subject and discusses the different points in the systems hostile to Christianity, we extract the opening paragraphs of the 1st Book—

"A Partial Exposition of Christian Doctrine.

"May God, the giver of all good, the Saviour of those who believe on Him, accept this my humble effort in His service, and may the hearers of it, those skilled in the *Vedanta*, the *Sankhya*, and the *Nyaya*, with discriminating judgment examine it carefully.

In the first place the writer states the subject of the proposed work.

Aphorism I. Now the enquiry regards the means of the attainment of the chief end of man.

(1.) Next he states the definition of the chief end of man.

Aphorism II. Man's chief end is to glorify God, and enjoy him for ever. (1.) What is God, will be stated in the fifth aphorism. If it be said that it is impossible to glorify God because man cannot add in the slightest degree to the Glory of

God, we reply ;—Not so,—because by glorifying God we mean the acknowledging of this perfections, and behaving suitably to them, by trusting, loving, and obeying him.

(2.) To enjoy God [to experience the joy of his presence] is to be the object of this special favour here and hereafter.

(3.) But the *Nyaya* [Book I. Sec. 22] says that the chief end of man is the absolute cessation of pain; and the *Sankhya* [Book I. Sec. 1] says that it is entire liberation from all the three kinds of pain : why, abandoning that simpler view, is this new definition made? If you say this, then take this in reply :—Since such a *summum bonum*, implying nothing more than a state of nonentity, and unconnected with any sort of moral action, might satisfy beasts indeed [such as tortoises or dormice,] but not men, therefore ought a different definition of the chief end of man, e.g. as above laid down, to be accepted.

(4.) But then, it may be said, the Vedantins say, that all pain having surceased on the final intuition of deity, the chief end of man consists in the soul's then spontaneous manifestation of the joy which is its own essence, and in its mergence in deity. Why then, disregarding this, need anything higher than this be sought? If you say this, then hearken :—Since there is no evidence that there is such a chief end of man as is imagined by the Vedantins, the chief end of man had to be enquired after, and it is that which was stated before. Moreover, the opinion of the Vedantins shall be subjected to examination in the concluding Section of Book II.

(5.) But then, it may be asked, where is the evidence of this, too, which you have asserted, viz., that man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him for ever? We reply : say not so ; because the evidence of this is the plain argument that, if there is an omnipotent Ruler of all, then the supposition that man's chief end can be irrespective of His favour, would be incongruous.

(6.) Well, granting that there *is* an omnipotent Ruler, still what evidence is there that there exist any means of obtaining His favour? With an eye to this, we declare as follows :—

Aphorism III. The word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy Him. (1.) If it be asked how the sentences which stand in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, we reply that they are so because they were composed by the makers of the books under the influence of God's power. And, in respect of this, the operation of God's power is in three ways ; as explain,—1, God sometimes suggested to the writers the words as well as the matter ; 2, and sometimes the matter only, which was put into language by the writers according to their own genius ; 3, and at other times He guarded the writers from errors of memory, etc., to which they might have been liable in narrating a matter with which they had been previously acquainted.

(2.) If it be asked how a communication could be made without words, then hearken : We do not now undertake to explain this ; but that there actually are means of revelation such as it is impossible to explain to others who are debarred from knowing through such means, we cite an example to show. Our illustration is as follows :—In a certain village, the whole of the inhabitants were blind from their birth, and one of them obtained his sight by means of a surgical operation. His companions having learned that he was able to describe what was going on at a great distance even better than they themselves could tell what was going on close beside them, desire him to say by what means it was that this knowledge reached him. He endeavoured to declare it to them, but he found his endeavours useless. They could not in any way understand how a knowledge of the shape of objects not within reach of his hand could enter by the front of his head ; but that such knowledge really did belong to the man, those who candidly investigated the truth of his words became assured. The application of the illustration to the matter illustrated is obvious."

In this style does the author bring forward the various subjects of the different books, answering such objections as one may suppose an intelligent and candid Hindoo to put. We need not follow him step by step through the discussion, as we have but little space left to notice one or two remarks in the introduction. Suffice it to say, we have read the book through carefully and with great interest; it is admirably adapted for the purpose for which it was written; it is likely to be of essential service, and our earnest hope is that the author's wishes respecting it may be fully gratified. As we have given the opening, we likewise give the closing, paragraphs of the book.

> "Let us now recapitulate the matters that have been laid down in the several sections of this treatise. In Book I. is an account of the leading points in the Christian religion. In Book II. is an account of the arguments for the truthfulness of the Christian Scriptures. In Book III. it is shown that this world was made by an intelligent worker, possessed of power transcending that of mortals. In Book IV. it is shown that as these are learned, from the books which reveal God's will, things different from the visible, and which we cannot explain,—so, too, are there in God's created world things seen and yet mysterious, and by us at present inexplicable. In Book V. it is shown that as the mysteries, because of which it is imagined that the Christian Scriptures ought not to be believed, are analogous to the mysteries which exist in the visible world, and which yet do not cause men to disbelieve in the world; therefore, they ought not to be brought as objections against the Scriptures, the truthfulness of which is established by the evidence already adduced [in Book II.]
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> Thus strong reasons have been stated for the probability that the Christian Scriptures are true; and if they *are* true, it is quite clear that tremendous consequences must attend the rejection of them. We wind up, then, the present discussion of the leading points in Christianity, by indicating to those who desire to know the whole truth of these Scriptures, the method of satisfying that desire of knowledge.
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> Aphorism VIII. Search the Scriptures;—Search the Scriptures.
>
> (1.) The repetition is to indicate [as it will do to the reader of the *Sankhya* Aphorisms], that this is the conclusion of the section.
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> (2.) "Search," &c. That is to say, they are to be studied diligently and candidly, not with the intention of finding objections, but with the desire of finding the truth. Further, at the time of thus studying, let him with sincerity and humility pray to the Lord of the universe, saying, "show me the truth who am seeking to know it, and the way in which I ought to walk." Amen.
>
> Here ends the Fifth Book of the elucidation of the Christian Religion."

We are sorry that Dr. Ballantyne has in his introduction accepted without remark, and not only so, but apparently endorsed, the statements made in the quotation he has given from the Bampton Lecture of the Reverend John Penrose in the year 1808. "I borrow," says he, "these passages from Mr. Penrose instead of attempting to convey the same sentiments in my own words, the more readily, because the testimony thus borne to the importance of certain branches of learning, as subservient to the cause of Christianity, is not so liable as my own testimony, in respect of Hindu Philosophy, might perhaps seem, to the suspicion of a bias received from a favourite pursuit."* We know not how to reconcile the author's evident approbation of the sentiments of this quotation with the Essay he has written. On commencing the book this opening passage of the introduction struck us as being offensive in the highest degree; and we did not expect to find so thoroughly Christian a spirit pervading the book as we found. We feel, therefore, all the more bound to protest against both the statements and opinions expressed in this extract from the Bampton Lecture for 1808. Speaking of missionaries, Mr. Penrose says;—'In some cases (e. g. that of the Jesuits), as we have seen, they accommodate Christianity to the idolatries of those to whom they preach. In others, they forget that the same causes which make religion necessary to mankind, attach men to the religion in which they have been bred, and that every rude attack serves only to bind them to it more closely. These errors seem not to imply any particular imputation of blame to individual missionaries, but naturally to result from the constitutional imperfection of mankind. Throughout India, and other unconverted countries, they probably will extend to all teachers of Christianity, whether of native or of European extraction." Now there might be some excuse for Mr. Penrose believing this to be the fact in the year 1808, but Dr. Ballantyne has no right, fifty years after, to exhume these statements, and in the year 1859 to let it go forth to the world on his authority that throughout India and other unconverted countries probably, all teachers of Christianity, whether of native or of European extraction, "accommodate Christianity to the idolatries of those to whom they preach." Dr. Ballantyne ought to have known that such a statement is absolutely untrue, and he ought to have said so. Then as to the lecturer's opinion as to the best mode of propagating Christianity. "It is not so much to the exertions of missionaries that we must look for the future propagation of Christianity as to the general dissemination of knowledge. When (the heathen) shall add to the possession of our Scriptures, the sagacity to understand their meaning, and the judgment to appreciate their value, they will believe the doctrines that are taught in them." Of course Dr. Ballantyne has a perfect right to adopt Mr. Penrose's views as to the best mode of extending Christianity. Into a discussion of that subject we have no wish now to enter. But we would ask him, has he not met with natives of this country, who have our Scriptures, who have the sagacity to understand their meaning,

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* We cannot but think that there is ground for the author's supposing he has laid himself open to that suspicion. One or two passages in the Essay somewhat startled us, and it was only by remembering the object of the Essay, and calling to mind its general tone and spirit, that we felt relieved. We certainly differ most widely from the learned author in his interpretation of the text;—"In Him we live, and move, and have our being." He protests against the charge of Pantheism being brought against the Vedantists on the ground of their saying, "All is God," for when they say so they do not mean every thing we see around

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is God, but 'all that is *real* in this visible is the God who is invisible.' "I have discussed this again and again with learned Hindoos, and I here state my conviction that those who condemn the Vedantists as Pantheists on this particular ground, would in like manner condemn St. Paul, if, not recognized as St. Paul, he were to re-appear declaring explicitly what was implied in his asserting of God that in Him 'we live, and move, and have our being."' Surely it is a very different thing to say with Paul 'God is *everywhere*,' and to say with the Vedantist, '*everything* is God.' If the latter be not Pantheism, it is something so very like it that we cannot perceive the difference.

and the judgment to appreciate their value, and yet who do *not* believe the doctrines which are taught in them? If he has not met such, we have. And there is nothing that has made as feel more powerfully the fact that man's unaided efforts will never convert the heathen. We have talked with many educated Hindoos, men who have a competent knowledge of English, who have read the Bible, studied the evidences of Christianity, are tolerably well read in English literature. They will acknowledge candidly the errors of Hindooism,—the superiority of Christianity, and, even the *obligations* of Christianity; but yet they feel perfectly easy and uncondemned though they confess, at the same time, they do not submit to it. It may be said that an Englishman will do the same—will acknowledge his belief in the truths of Christianity and will not submit to them. True, he may acknowledge that he *ought* to submit to them and that he does not; but he will acknowledge too that he is doing wrong in not submitting, and there is just one of the many points of difference between him and a Hindoo. *A Hindoo does not feel that, if he does not try to do what he says he ought to do, he is sinning.* There seems to be no connection between his intellect and his conscience. Something more, then, is needed besides "the sagacity to 'understand the meaning of the Scriptures and the judgment to appreciate 'their value."

As for the practical suggestions tendered to the missionary amongst the Hindoos, they may be briefly summed up thus. "Be learned men. Master the Hindoo systems of philosophy, don't satisfy yourselves with getting a mere smattering of them." All well and good, if missionaries can do so, let them by all means,—but they have not much need to trouble themselves if they don't succeed in this matter. To say nothing of the length of time that it would take any man to master the Hindoo philosophy, it is not every one that has the taste for that kind of study, and of those whose tastes do lie very decidedly in that direction we question very much whether they are the men who, generally speaking, would make good missionaries. We cannot help thinking that a great deal too much fuss has been made about the natural acuteness of the Hindoo mind. We are almost taught to fear them as though they are very marvels of sagacity—the real fact being that even with well educated natives an apt illustration (which, of course, *cannot prove* but only *throws light upon* a subject) is far more effective than the most cogent argument. The practical suggestions we should rather see given and adopted would be;—"Master the colloquial language—study the everyday habits of the people—be able to speak to them in their own common daily talk—throw conventionalisms to the winds—make the people feel that you are their friends by seeking their good in every way, physically, intellectually and spiritually—don't expect to convert the people in a day. God has waited nearly two thousand years before sending them the Gospel, don't be disappointed or feel impatient if the Master sees fit still to do his work in his own time. Preach on, *nothing doubting*, and in *due* time you shall reap, if you faint not."

With the few exceptions now made, we can heartily thank Dr. Ballantyne for his book. It cannot fail to be useful. Our earnest wish is that it may succeed in the very highest sense, in helping on and hastening the complete establishment of Christianity in India.

A Familiar History of British India, from the Earliest Period to the Transfer of the Government of India to the British Crown in 1858. *For the use of Colleges and Schools. By J. H. Stocqueler, Esq., Author of the 'Handbook of India,' the 'Life of the Duke of Wellington,' the 'Military Encyclopædia,' &c., &c. London : Darton and Co., Holborn Hill.* 1859.

THE patient industry which renders a compilation valuable is wanting in this book. We did not expect much from the author, but the little we did look for, we fail to find. Written with the ostensible object of superseding other histories (Murray's more particularly, which, in his introduction, the author is at pains to convict of numerous omissions) this Familiar History of India is an unnecessary addition to our literature, and really of no value whatever. Within the space of 196 small pages, Mr. Stocqueler has contrived to compress an account of the country from the earliest period to the present time. The topography of India, its natural productions, its different religions, the habits and manners of its peoples, the Hindoo mythology, the progress of European discovery by the Portuguese, Dutch and English—all this and much more is contained in the first twenty-two pages ! This does credit to Mr. Stocqueler's literary ingenuity. The early history of the country he does not dwell on, because " there is no profit to be found in the story of a tissue of barbarities." We have always thought that the early history of a country was particularly interesting and valuable, and from the study of the early history of the Roman and other Empires of antiquity, and even from that of the Mogul Empire in this country, we have derived both profit and pleasure. The story of the rise and progress of the British Empire in the East, has been so frequently told, that we need not dwell on it here. Clive and Hastings are with us household words. The careers of these two founders of our Empire, true heroes of historical romance, are sketched by Mr. Stocqueler more fully, and form the most interesting chapters in his book. The episode of Nuncoomar's trial and judicial murder is taken advantage of, and gives the author an opportunity of defending the character of the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey. The evidence in favour of, and against Impey, has long since been analyzed by a keener intellect than Mr. Stocqueler's, and in spite of his strongly expressed opinion that the course of the Chief Justice, was "pure, upright and courageous," we still believe with the greatest of living Essayists that "he put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose," and that "no other such judge has dishonored the English ermine, since Jeffreys drunk himself to death in the tower."

Missionary enterprize and colonization come in for brief notices, and Carey, Marshman and Ward may be considered extremely fortunate in obtaining something less than half a page all to themselves. The following extract pays a well merited tribute to the exertions of those eminent men. "In spite of all obstacles, they became the pioneers of an accurate knowledge of India—its products and resources, the language, customs and superstitions of the people—which is now the stable basis of our rule. With no advantages of academic training, graduates of no college, doctors of no science, with their habits formed on the usages of ordinary artisanship, they came out to India to tell the people of the mission accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth at Jerusalem; and, without their seeking it, they were led into various courses of research, that issued in their being the agents in diffusing a greater amount of accurate knowledge regarding the people, their languages, habits, and religion, than had ever been accessible to European students before."

Mr. Stocqueler is frequently inaccurate in his statements in small things, as well as in great. As an example of the first kind we may mention that *Sola Topee* is translated "sun hat." Now every tyro knows or ought to know that *Sola* does not mean "the sun." It is merely the native name of a plant indigenous to the country (the *Oschynomene Paludosa ;*) extensively used for the purpose of making hats. He commits a much more important mistake, and one that ought to be rectified in any succeeding edition, should such a calamity ever occur, when he tells us that the battle of Chillianwallah was a defeat. This is the first time that we have ever seen this statement published in so many words; that Chillianwallah was a most disastrous victory we are perfectly willing to admit, but that it was a defeat, we doubt. How could that be a defeat which left the British Army in possession of the field, after one of the bloodiest contests that even Indian history can exhibit? Was that a defeat which compelled the Sikhs to leave their guns on the ground, and retire within their entrenched Camp at Rusoolpore? Allowing a very wide latitude for description, the battle of Chillianwallah *might* be put down as "a drawn battle," but no surviving officer of the then existing Bengal army would regard the term as complimentary. That Krishna was eminently a lively deity and "spent his youth among the dairy maids—frisking on earth with Dorcases and Mopsas," we see no reason to doubt; but that the name of this Hindoo Apollo, is *Irish* for the "Sun," this is a philological fact with which we are first made acquainted in the pages of our author. That Lord Lake was familiarly known to the natives under the name of *Lik;* that the British soldier "is of a carnivorous habit," and that the British infant "imbibes wholesome nourishment from his mother," no one will dispute.

But in the face of whole sentences of puerilities such as these, we confess that we feel rather indignant when we find that Lord Dalhousie's magnificent administration is quietly disposed of in *two* pages, and that the reign of a Governor General second only to Warren Hastings is crammed into a space little more than that allotted to a description of Delhi in the time of Aurungzebe. A bird's eye view of the Mutiny concludes this history. It is satisfactory to find that Sir John Lawrence's merits are prominently brought forward, and that not a single word is spoken in favour of the present Viceroy. There is thus one redeeming feature in the book.

On the whole, this history was not required. It is infinitely inferior to Murray's—bad as that is—and others of the author's predecessors, whose "deficiencies," he modestly asserts, he supplies. As a publishing speculation we have been told that it is a success, but so is Zadkiel's Almanac. That however did not prove the truth of his astronomical predictions. Written in haste, and under great pressure, this Familiar History, had it been published with the *imprimatur* of Routledge, would no doubt have formed an interesting addition to their popular Railway Library. But as a history, it is adapted neither "for the use of colleges or schools," nor even for young gentlemen at Hanwell in whose education, the author informs us, he has been permitted to assist.

A Cruise in Japanese Waters. By Captain Sherard Osborn, C. B., Royal Navy. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1859.

THOSE of our readers who are familiar with 'Quedah' and 'Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal,' and with the more recent work, "Captain McClure's Discovery of the North-West Passage" which Captain Osborn edited and to which Captain McClintock's Franklin Expedition has given a new interest, need not be told that 'A Cruise in Japanese Waters' is an exquisite book. The same accurate information, the same interesting narrative, the same descriptive style, the same sailor-like frankness, and the same manly goodness, distinguish its pages, as have gained for his former works, their popularity. Contributed originally to *Blackwood's Magazine* we are glad to have the records of this Cruise, and of an event perhaps the most momentous in the history of Eastern Asia, in a durable form.

The first chapter opens with a gratulation, which was natural, on the conclusion of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and China at Tientsin. Subsequent faithlessness, and barbarous counsels, have for a time dimmed the bright anticipations which every man in the squadron felt as he sailed down the Peiho, but only, we trust, to make them more likely of permanent realization. But the subsequent treaty with Japan has been carried out, and the 'hermetic' empire opened to the civilising influences of the West. It is as a life-like picture of the Capital and people of Japan, as a truthful record of the conclusion of a treaty with its Court by one who took a large share in the preliminaries, that Captain Osborn's book is of value.

Throughout he manifests an intimate acquaintance with the history of the Islands, and with the exploits of European nations in Eastern Seas. Destitute of all attempt at art in its composition, the highest art is shewn in the combination of a description of Japan as it now is, with its past history, and the incidents of Lord Elgin's embassy. There is no confusion, no difficulty in remembering the facts, or in imagining scenes which have all the freshness of novelty, and the interest of an opposite yet a high type of civilisation :—

"Japan, or, as the natives pronounce it, Nipon, consists of three large islands, Nipon, Sikok, and Jesso, and a host of smaller ones, extending from latitude 29° north to latitude 45° north. Nipon, which gives its name to the empire, and is the abode of the court, was doubtless the centre from which its present civilisation emanated. It appears that the whole group was inhabited long prior to the commencement of its authentic records. Whether first colonised by refugees from the mainlands of China and the Corea, or by a people who came direct from Babel by a north-about route, as old Kæmpfer maintains, can be of little importance. Travellers, like ourselves, may rejoice that, if it was the confusion of tongues which led to the peopling of Japan, the wanderers thither carried with them a full, rich, and pleasant sounding language, superior to the wretched discordance of their neighbours in China.

It will be going back far enough into the ancient history of Nipon to say, that 650 years B. C., when Rome was still in its long-clothes, a hero, known as the Divine Warrior, invaded and conquered it from the West. Simmoo, for so he is named, firmly established a dynasty which has flourished to the present day, in a line of 120 successive male and female monarchs. Of their reigns, far better records exist than the oldest European empire can boast. The early monarchs combined in their person the double offices of high priest and genaralissimo. Chinese historians, with their usual modesty, assert that Jih-pun, as they call Japan, was voluntarily tributary to the Celestial emperor ; but it is doubtful whether the imperial air of "subjugation perfected" ever sounded in the ears of Japanese tribute-bearers, unless in the same surreptitious manner at it was once played over a British ambassador in more modern days.

Marco Polo was the first who brought Japan to European ken under the name of Zipangu, and he was at the Chinese capital in 1278, just after Kublai-Khan with his Mongol hordes had overrun China. Envoys had been sent, we are told, to speak plainly to the Emperor of Japan. "Lest," says Kublai-Khan, "that the true state of things be not as yet known and understood in your land, therefore I send to acquaint you with my views. Already philosophers desire to see all mankind one family : I am determined to carry out this principle, even though I should be obliged to do so by force of arms ; it is now the business of the King of

> Nipon to decide what course is most agreeable to him." The Mikado, or Nipon king, did not enter at all into the philosophical views of his powerful neighbour, and behaved very unlike a tributary monarch. He was assisted in the management of secular affairs by a Zia-goon, whose office had become hereditary, as a sort of assistant-emperor; and while the Mikado zealously performed his part of praying for the success of his armies, the Zia-goon set a valiant example to the people, who victoriously repelled Kublai-Khan's invading forces. But henceforth the Zia-goon retained the increased powers with which he had been intrusted, and the spiritual and temporal emperors became joint authorities. No sooner were the Chinese and Mongols driven off, than the Japanese retaliated by ranging in their barks as pirates or buccaneers up the coast from Swa-tow to the Shantung promontory. In 1350 we find Chinese records of extraordinary levies and defences to meet the marauders, and expel them from different points in their possession. A century later, the Chinese, with their usual patient endurance of misery, were still suffering from these freebooters. They are described by writers of 1459 as a fierce people, naturally cunning: they would always put on board their ships some of the produce or merchandise of their own country, and also weapons of war; with these they would stand off and on, and so they could parade their goods, and call them "tribute to the crown," until a favourable opportunity offered, when they would take arms and make a wild inroad on the coast. In 1540, these Japanese pirates had become so formidable that the Chinese historian says their extermination was impossible."

At Ningpo the early Portuguese adventurers must have met with the Japanese. Fernando Mendez Pinto tells us he sailed in one of their homeward bound junks and reached Kanega-Sima, an island on the south extreme of Kiu-Siu. Thence he carried back to the West the first news of the re-discovery of Marco Polo's Zipangu. Received in Japan in 1542 Xavier soon achieved triumphs for Christianity which were proved by subsequent persecutions, and by the expulsion of the Portuguese, to have been far more real than those in India and other lands. His 50 churches and 30,000 convicts are, if an exaggeration, near the truth. Good Will Adams, the pilot of the Dutch India Company's fleet, after many dangers reached Japan on the 12th April, 1600, the first Englishman who lived there. He was the means, by the influence which he soon gained, of concluding a treaty between the Emperor and our King James I. After 13 weary years, in August 1613, the East India Company's *Clove*, commanded by Captain John Saris and bearing a letter from the King, reached Firando. Then too the Dutch Factory was established at the same place, and by political dishonesty, by misrepresenting the objects of the Portuguese, by submitting to have their faith insulted and themselves dishonoured, the Dutch became the only European nation with whom the Japanese would trade. Political reasons had led the English to withdraw for a time, but on the East India Company attempting to re-occupy their former factory, the Dutch, forgetting the good services to themselves of Will Adams, led the Japanese to refuse our trade because our King, Charles II. had married the daughter of the King of Portugal! From that date till 1831, no nation disturbed the serenity of Japan or the dishonourable selfishness of the Dutch. Sir Stamford Raffles, with the wisdom which he always so eminently manifested, made two vain attempts to break down the monopoly. In 1831 America sent back some shipwrecked Japanese sailors, but her ship, the *Morrison* was repelled with violence. In 1849 the Japanese so far forgot themselves as to retain some American seamen shipwrecked on their coast. They were soon glad to liberate them and in 1853 the American expedition under Commodore Perry forced a treaty from them. In a few months, the Russian war began; the vessels of the Russians and the Allies sailed among their islands, and Sir James Stirling in 1854 obtained a worthless treaty.

But now there was to be no longer such child's play. The *Furious* and the *Retribution* with the little yacht, the *Emperor*, intended as a present for the Taikoon, are off Yedo.

> "Shade of Will Adams! at last the prayer of the earnest old sailor, that his countrymen might reap wealth and advantage from commercial relations with Japan, was about to be fulfilled! Two hundred and fifty-eight years had elapsed since he, and his half-wrecked ship, had lain nigh the very spot in which we were; and now his countrymen had come in earnest. They held the empire of the East, and had won the wealth of all the Indies; and the arms of England, and the skill of her Ambassador, had thrown down all the barriers set up by China against foreign trade or intercourse. Great Britain, in those two hundred and twenty-five years which had intervened since her cessation of commerce with Japan, had carefully paved the way to the point at which it was no longer possible to tolerate the exclusiveness of an important and wealthy empire; and an English squadron and an English Ambassador were now off the capital of Japan, the bearers, it is true, of a message of good-will, but yet to show, in a way not to be mistaken, that the hour had arrived for Japan to yield to reason, or to be prepared to suffer, as the Court of Pekin had done, for its obstinacy.

* * * * * * *

> The city of Yedo, and its two southern suburbs, Siñagawa and Omegawa, curve round the bay for nearly ten miles; and subsequent comparison of our remarks upon its extent landward, with a native plan now in the possession of Mr. L. Oliphant, Lord Elgin's private secretary, confirmed the belief that the area of Yedo might be considered as a square, every side of which was seven miles long. Of course the whole of this area is not closely built over; indeed, in no capital that we know of has more care been taken to preserve fine open spaces, especially round the palaces of their emperor and princes, and the neighbourhood of their temples and tea-houses, both of which are the constant resort of all classes in Yedo. Within the limits of the city are several hills of moderate elevation, as well as gentle slopes; in all cases they were but thinly built upon, and extensive gardens, with many magnificent trees, principally adorned their sides. On a hill which rises from the heart of the city and from a mass of densely crowded buildings, the imperial palace is built with a crenellated wall, half-hidden by green banks and shady trees, within whose limits the ruler of this kingdom is immersed for life, as the sad penalty of his high position. The houses look very neat and comfortable, and are principally of wood, stone and brick being avoided as much as possible, in consequence of the frequency of earthquakes. No walls enclose the city, whose site is admirably adapted to admit of almost unlimited increase in extent, without interfering with drainage, supplies, intercommunication, or ready access to the waters of the bay, which insures to those living upon its shores cleanliness, sea air, and an easy highway. A river, the Toda gawa flows thsough the heart of Yedo; we could see one fine bridge spanning it near its mouth, and there are two others farther up. Besides the Toda-gawa, some smaller streams intersect the town and suburbs. The absence of all imposing edifices, and the general want of elevation in the ground upon which the city stands, render the view from the sea by no means imposing; but its extensive sea-front, the throb of life evident in the fleets of boats and vessels passing and repassing, the batteries and guns which frowned upon us, the hum as

> of a multitude at hand that was borne to our ears when the breeze came off the land, all impressed us with the fact that we were at anchor off one of the largest capitals of the world."

On Tuesday, 17th August, 1858, the first British Ambassador to Japan, since Captain John Saris of the *Clove*, entered Yedo. For 14 days did Lord Elgin and his suite reside in and roam about the sacred capital :—

> By the 24th August all difficulties connected with the final signature of the Treaty were removed, and as if more firmly to cement the renewal of the old alliance between these two powerful island empires of the East and West, the Japanese Government consented, for the first time in the history of Japan, to fire on that occasion a royal salate of twenty-one guns, which we, of course, undertook to return.
>
> The daily conferences which had taken place between the high contracting parties had been always held in the British Embassy, when an immense deal of bowing, prostration, and such like acts of Japanese politeness, were undergone by our indefatigable friend the Lieutenant-Governor and his myrmidons. The Japanese Commissioners usually arrived about one o'clock in the afternoon, lunched with the Embassy, and then proceeded to business. At first they desired to introduce to the conferences the usual following of reporters and spies ; but a polite firmness on the part of Lord Elgin brought them to reduce it to one secretary and their loyal interpreter, Mori-hama. Lord Elgin, we heard, pointed out to them, that even when thus diminished in numbers, they were in the proportion of five to one, and that, under such circumstances, Japanese interests need not suffer—to which the Commissioners replied, that the appointment of so many Commissioners was the highest compliment that could be paid to the well-known ability of his Lordship, and that they desired to weigh justly and fairly all his propositions, so far as their humble abilities would enable them. It is but just to add that Lord Elgin made no secret of the reasonable and impartial spirit with which all the negotiations were carried on by them ; and that he never had a more agreeable task than that of conferring with these Japanese gentlemen upon measures which would be mutually beneficial to both countries. All they sought for was a sound reason for any privilege, and proof that it was not likely to be injurious to Japan ; in some cases they acknowledged that such and such a demand ought to be conceded—that there was no reason against doing so but ancient prejudice ; and then they asked for time to enable their rulers and people to accommodate themselves to the new order of things. "Give us three or four years," they said ; " by that time we shall be ready." This will explain those clauses in the Treaty, in which specific periods are given for certain concessions.
>
> The Japanese admiral, the *ex* or duplicate Governor of Nangasaki, and the third senior Commissioner, Fghono Kami, were men of very superior ability and attainment. The latter especially was most industrious and curious as to all that related to England or America ; his note-book was always in hand, recording the name of everything he saw or heard of—occasionally he would sketch articles, ascertaining their dimensions or the mode of their manufacture ; and his observations upon their defects or merits were always intelligent. He was a wit likewise ; and when any hitch occurred, whether in the conferences or elsewhere, he would rescue all parties from the dilemma by saying something which resulted in a hearty laugh. Morihama the linguist was a host in himself ; and from the specimen the Commissioners afforded of the diplomatic skill of the servants of the Taikoon, there was no doubt that many would be found qualified to represent Japan at our own Court, or elsewhere in Europe. Indeed we heard the wish expressed, in more than one quarter, to visit Europe and the United States."

Since that time the ratified treaties have been exchanged, a British Consul, who will soon have the full powers of an accredited Ambassador, has been settled near Yedo, and other Consuls at other ports, and all bids fair for a trade which will enrich the West and civilise Japan. As in China, there is a war party opposed to foreign influence, but hitherto it has been powerless. In six weeks a Japanese Embassy will sail in the American ship *Powhatan* accredited to Washington. Already is there a brisk trade between Nagasaki and Shanghai, and the P. and O. Company's Steamers regularly ply between the two ports. The cockney may now book at Southampton for Japan. Missionaries have settled there, and though the process will be a slow one, we must yet see the singular powers and vast ability of its people elevated and consecrated by Christianity.

Periodical Literature, English and Anglo-Indian. In two Lectures delivered at Seetabuldee. With a Synopsis of two Lectures on Chemistry. Serampore. Printed at the Tomohur Press for the Author. 1859.

THESE Lectures constitute part of a course delivered in connexion with the Ordnance School of Nagpore by Captain W. F. B. Laurie; Colonel Boileau on 'Topography;' the Rev. H. P. James, the Chaplain of the Station; and by the Rev. A. White and J. G. Cooper, Scotch Missionaries. The plan is a somewhat new feature in Anglo-Indian Stations, where generally the race, or the theatre, or the ball alone have sufficient attractions to call out 'society.' It is seldom that the Presidency cities are without one or more courses of popular lectures in the cold season, but Nagpore and Kurrachee have hitherto been the only provincial stations where such have been successfully carried out. The educated element in the society of almost every station is generally sufficiently strong to make such lectures not only profitable but interesting, and an agreeable change in what is now the dull routine of station life even in the cold season. There are few places where a Chaplain, or Missionary, or Doctor, or Staff employé may not be found, fitted to discuss topics of either a purely literary or professional character in a light and attractive manner. In many cases the mere attempt to prepare a lecture would develop the ability.

Captain Laurie's lectures give a resumé of the history and extent of English and Anglo-Indian periodical literature compiled from sources which are frankly acknowledged. He naturally manifests that ignorance of detail, and is guilty of those omissions, which the professional *litterateur* could alone perfectly avoid. While a history of Anglo-Indian Literature has yet to be written, these lectures may be accepted as contributions towards it. Captain Laurie is especially complimentary to the *Calcutta Review*, although on more than one occasion we have not spared his literary productions:—

"Let us at once pass on to the establishment of the *Calcutta Review*, the first number of which appeared in May, 1844; and the foundation of which, without fear of contradiction, may be styled the greatest event in the history of Indian Periodical Literature. Sir Henry Lawrence is among the great names associated with this periodical. It has now arrived at its 64th number; and in its mental vigour we see nothing but growth, while in its powers to amuse and instruct there are certainly no signs of decay. The variety of information this *Review* has presented to the Anglo-Indian world is truly amazing. In the last number there is an Article on Carey, Marshman and Ward, the Missionaries of Serampore, a trio almost matchless in zeal and the glorious attempts to conquer Ignorance and Superstition; and, in sternness of purpose, not unworthy to take a place beside the fine old Roman triumvirates. The article is brought about by the appearance of a Life of these three men, by John Marshman, son of the great Missionary, and for so many years well known in connexion with the *Friend of India.*"

The rapid changes of India are fast removing the only men who possess a detailed personal knowledge of the authors and works and periodicals of Anglo-Indian Literature. In ten years more it will be impossible to write a trustworthy record of its rise and progress.

India and Christian Missions. By the Rev. Edward Storrow, of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta. London: John Snow. 1859.

This is, without exception, the most truthful book on Indian Missions published for purely English readers, which we have met with. The facts are told, and told in their bare nakedness, and the language in which they are set has so little of the glitter of rhetoric, that no reader can rise from their study with a false impression of either the success achieved or the obstacles to be overcome. Nor is a spirit of mere resignation, of apathetic indifference, or of hopeless despair, to be found in any page. The conclusion to which the reader necessarily comes is that, while absolutely little has been done; compared with the progress of Christianity at other periods in similar circumstances, and with the obstacles which oppose its advance in India now, a fair amount of progress has been made.

In the first chapter on "the People" statistics are so arranged and so compared with those which must be known to every English reader, that the imagination at once grasps so as to keep for ever the full extent, constituent elements and distinguishing characteristics of the whole population.—Hill Tribes, Hindoos, Mahomedans, East Indians and Europeans. Their geographical location, and political position are as clearly outlined. The following we believe to be somewhat under the truth in the case of both ' European civilians' and East Indians.

European soldiers	80,000
European civilians	20,000
East Indians	80,000
Protestant Native Christians	125,000
Syrian Christians	150,000
Roman Catholic Native Christians	620,000
	1,075,000

The second chapter on "the Obstacles" so puts the peculiar moral degeneracy and mental weakness, and their reciprocal action on each other, of the Asiatic, that the Christian Saxon who has had no experience of the Asiatic type of humanity may obtain at least a glimmering notion of the material on which the Missionary has to work. The only Englishman who has formed an accurate idea of the Oriental, without leaving his own fireside, is Thomas De Quincey. His wondrous creative and imaginative power, and his accurate knowledge of history, have led him to this. In his papers on Ceylon, China, and Christianity as an organ of Political movement, a knowledge of Asiaticism is shown such as only Lord Dalhousie and the Marquis Wellesley among Eastern rulers have ever manifested. Like all his class, Mr. Storrow over-paints the social state of "the weak and poor ryot."

> "The rich scruple not to use against them open force and secret fraud, and they are powerless alike against both. Nine-tenths of the families of India live on less than ten shillings a month. If all that they possess, to the very clothes they wear and the houses they live in, were sold, it would not produce sixty shillings for each household. They live under a despotism far more searching and relentless than that of Robespierre, and seldom without an ever recurring struggle with debt and starvation. All independence and manly thought is wrung out of the people: they are too depressed to give heed to religious questions, and if they venture to embrace the faith of Christ, they know that sooner or later the zemindar or his myrmidons will teach them what it is to bear the cross.

The English reader will at once think of the slaves described in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." All this is from an English point of view, and must be considerably modified. The Mutinies have shown that the Ryots prefer the oppression of the Zemindars to the 'justice' of our cursed regulations. It is the oppression of our Courts that is felt, it is they that occasion perjury, bribery, chicanery and opposition to the truth.

The chapter on "the Agencies" gives a fair picture of Missionary life somewhat differing from the romantic ideas formed of it by the people in England after platform speeches. The following conveys a good idea of the general style of the book, and brings out facts that good men even in India are apt to overlook.

> "The total number of European and American missionaries is 440, and of native ministers and catechists 730. This is just about one-third of the Protestant missionary agency employed throughout the entire heathen world. But let us compare this agency with the extent and population of India. Were all the missionaries equally distributed amongst the people, there would be one for every 400,000, that is, in the proportion of six for London, one for Liverpool, one for Glasgow, six for all Scotland, and one for each of the counties of Durham, Essex, Hampshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Sussex, or the whole of North Wales. Viewed geographically, there is one missionary for every 3000 square miles, or for an area as large as each of the counties of Lancashire and Lincolnshire; exactly two for the whole of Yorkshire; one for Devonshire and Oxfordshire, or Durham and Norfolk, united; and little more than two and a-half for the whole of Wales.
>
> It will be obvious that vast portions of the empire must be left without any Chris-

Circular Orders of the Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, during t years 1853-4-5-6-7. 2 vols. *Lahore Chronicle* Press.

A Revised Epitome of the Criminal Law, in Force in the Punjab and i Dependencies. Published by the Judicial Commissioner for the Punjab. *Lahore Chronicle* Press.

Copy of a Despatch from the Government of India, dated 3rd June 18 reviewing the Report of the Commissioner for the Revision of Civil Salaries and Establishments throughout India.

Parliamentary Papers on the Deepening of Paumben Passage, the Navigation of Palk's Straits and the Gulf of Manaar.

Copies of the Official Papers sent from India, touching the recent Disturbances in Travancore.

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